Historic England

Commerce and Exchange Buildings

Listing Selection Guide

Summary

Historic England's twenty listing selection guides help to define which historic buildings are likely to meet the relevant tests for national designation and be included on the National Heritage List for England. Listing has been in place since 1947 and operates under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. If a building is felt to meet the necessary standards, it is added to the List. This decision is taken by the Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). These selection guides were originally produced by English Heritage in 2011: slightly revised versions are now being published by its successor body, Historic England.

The DCMS' *Principles of Selection for Listing Buildings* set out the over-arching criteria of special architectural or historic interest required for listing and the guides provide more detail of relevant considerations for determining such interest for particular building types. See https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/principles-of-selection-for-listing-buildings.

Each guide falls into two halves. The first defines the types of structures included in it, before going on to give a brisk overview of their characteristics and how these developed through time, with notice of the main architects and representative examples of buildings. The second half of the guide sets out the particular tests in terms of its architectural or historic interest a building has to meet if it is to be listed. A select bibliography gives suggestions for further reading.

This guide treats commercial buildings. These range from small local shops to huge department stores, from corner pubs to Victorian 'gin palaces', from simple sets of chambers to huge speculative office blocks. Market halls, exchanges, banks and restaurants are also included. Commercial architecture always placed a high premium on novelty and effect. This has resulted in some of the country's most splendid public high street architecture. However, it has also led to constant change, especially regarding shop fronts and fittings. What has endured is all the more precious as a result.

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Front cover

Cover Image: Leadenhall Market (1881) in the City Of London, one of a several magnificent markets designed by Sir Horace Jones – only the great manufacturing cities of northern England came close to rivalling the scale and ambition of these temples to commerce. Listed Grade II*.

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Introduction

Commercial buildings range from small local shops to huge department stores, from corner pubs to Victorian 'gin palaces', from simple sets of chambers to huge speculative office blocks. Some specialised commercial buildings emerged in the Middle Ages: others developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But their range and scale were transformed in the nineteenth century and they made a huge impact on the face of the Victorian town; the twentieth century continued this trend. Commercial architecture always placed a high premium on novelty and effect. This has resulted in some of the country's most splendid public high street architecture. However, it has also led to constant change, especially regarding shop fronts and fittings. Rates of survival in some of the categories discussed below are sometimes very low. What has endured is all the more precious as a result.

The categories in this guide broadly cover buildings for the *face to face* buying and selling of goods or services by providers to the general public: shops and stores, market halls and exchanges; hotels, restaurants, inns and pubs; and banks. Offices and chambers, although less public, are most conveniently covered here. Warehouses are dealt with in the Industrial selection guide.

1 Historical Summary

1.1 Shops and shopping

Medieval retailing has left its imprint in countless market places. Although specialised commercial buildings developed early, very few survive. **Market houses** are among the most prominent. Open at ground floor level, they provided permanent, covered places for selling and exchange and were a natural progression from the temporary market stall. Upper-floor rooms were used for a variety of purposes including municipal government. Thaxted, Essex, boasts a celebrated example of about 1400 which is listed Grade I. Medieval lock-up shops rarely survive in anything like recognisable form and any that retain evidence of original windows, shutters, doors, or stalls for the setting out of wares are extremely rare and will always justify protection. Some medieval shops were arranged in rows, with living accommodation on upper floors or to the rear: a small number, including Abbot's House, Shrewsbury (1457-9; listed Grade I), survive in recognisable form. Undercrofts, sometimes vaulted, may be found in the more commercially valuable streets of medieval towns underneath medieval houses or their successors. The pre-eminent example of medieval town houses with shops and undercrofts remains the collection of merchants houses which comprise The Rows, Chester, (variously listed) built by master-masons and carpenters assembled by King Edward I for his campaigns in North Wales in the late thirteenth century.

The influence of confined and sometimes irregularly shaped plots on the layout of the urban house should be considered when assessing a building for listing. It is also important to take account of ancillary buildings on the urban plot, and workshops and warehouses could complement the domestic accommodation provided in the principal building or buildings. Commerce and Industry thus co-existed side-by-side.

Shops, shopping arcades and department stores

The earliest surviving complete **shop fronts** date from the mid-eighteenth century as the display of wares became ever more important in the expanding urban centres. Glazed shop fronts, first of all inserted into the ground floor of conventional houses, typically consisted of big windows with small panes, sometimes bowed, set between pilasters beneath a frieze or fascia; plinths, known as stall-risers, supported the display windows. Shop fronts from this period are rare, and shop interiors even more so: one renowned *in situ* example is the former Fribourg and Treyer tobacconists' shop, at 34 Haymarket, London, possibly of 1751, which has kept its shelves and screen (listed Grade II*). Late Georgian shop fronts are slightly more common, and form one of the pleasures of the English urban scene. Retail became increasingly assertive from the late Georgian period. The arrival of plate glass (made by casting rather than blowing) led to a wave of shop window replacement, especially after about 1850, by which time the ground-floor shop, boasting attention-seeking displays sometimes lit by gas-light, was a standard feature of most high streets. The use of cast iron allowed for two or three storeys of well-lit display rooms: Norwich's so-called Crystal House of 1868 (listed Grade II), built as a farm machinery showroom on Cattle Market Street, demonstrates the possibilities of this new approach to retail architecture. Purpose-built shops proliferated at this time. Many of the best-known varieties now assumed their familiar guise: butchers' shops with their slabs, decorated tiles and provision

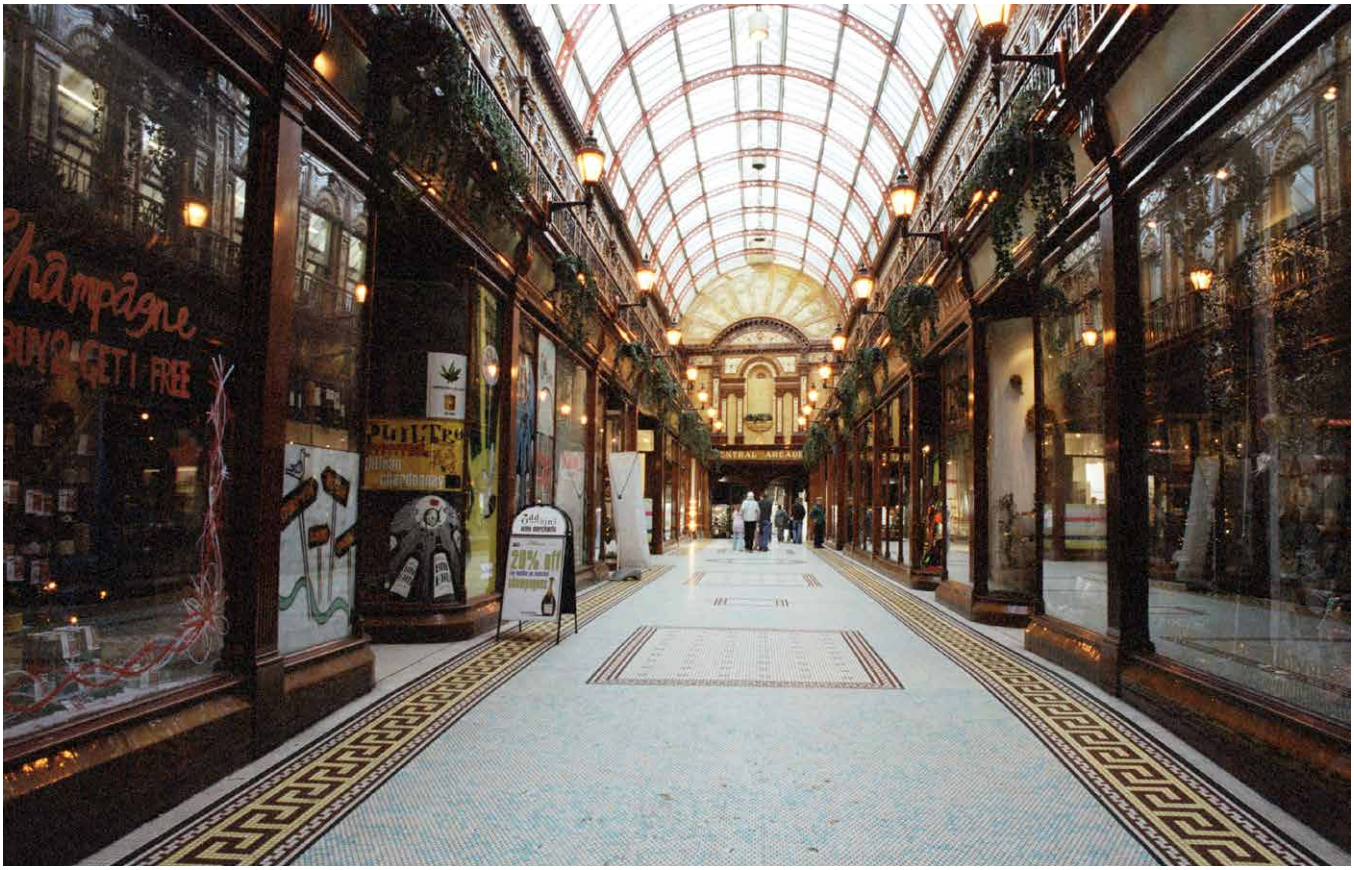

Figure 1
Central Arcade, Grey Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1906). Designed by J Oswald and Sons this early twentieth-century example of a shopping arcade perpetuated a tradition first established by London's Royal Opera Arcade of 1816-18. Listed Grade II.

for hanging meat; tobacconists, and particularly chemists, with their shelves for jars; drapers, with their drawers and shelves for bolts of materials, their aerial communication systems and emphasis on mirrors and display windows; jewellers, with their screens and elaborate shelving. Lettering, announcing the proprietor or the wares for sale, could be exuberant, and decoration grew in opulence. Ceramic enrichment was one of the particular contributions of the late nineteenth century to retail design and ranged in scale from individual butchers' shops to architectural schemes of great ambition. Over the course of the nineteenth century what later came to be called shopping parades emerged, with uniform developments of shops with often capacious accommodation above. In the twentieth century these were especially associated with suburban and dormitory communities.

The **shopping arcade** was introduced to England by John Nash from Paris, making its first appearance at London's Royal Opera Arcade of 1816-18 (listed Grade I); the city's Burlington Arcade (listed Grade II after extensive post-war repair), perhaps the best known of all, followed in 1818. A particularly fine example is the Grade I listed Royal Exchange, Cornhill, of 1841-4 (cover image). Examples outside the capital include Bristol Lower Arcade of 1824-5 (listed Grade II*) and Henry Goodridge's Union Passage of 1825 in Bath (listed Grade II). Arcades created vibrant commercial thoroughfares, architecturally united by means of repeated shop units lining covered and top-lit walkways; they enabled deep plots to be used to the full as well. They gained a new lease of life through cast iron building technology. This enabled larger, more elaborate, designs to be realised, such as the Barton Arcade in Manchester (1871; listed Grade II), the Wayfarers' Arcade in

Southport (1896; listed Grade II), and Newcastle's Central Arcade (1906; listed Grade II; Fig 1). Norwich's Royal Arcade (by George Skipper, 1898; listed Grade II*) is famous for its decorative tile work whilst the ornate City Arcade, Birmingham of 1898-1901 (listed II*) is fronted by an equally elaborate façade. Related to the arcade was the **bazaar**. This was a purpose-built structure in which retailers set up stalls: few remain, but notable among them is the former Bazaar at 7-11 Quiet Street, Bath (by Henry Goodridge,1825; listed Grade II*), with elaborate top-lighting and an embellished classical front complete with a statue of Commerce. Arcades and bazaars were the first retail buildings to inject an element of theatre and grandeur into the shopping experience.

Specialist **warehouses**, particularly those for the cutlery trade in Sheffield, and the textile industry in Manchester, often boasted elaborate wholesale showrooms for buyers on the ground floor and their elaborate architectural facades and display techniques were an influence on the development of the department store. Sadly few retain interiors of note: Watts Warehouse, Portland Street, Manchester (1851-6), remains one of the finest examples and is listed Grade II* accordingly. For warehouses generally see the Industrial selection guide.

The shopping experience was taken further in the later Victorian period by the French concept of the **department store,** which thrived on a growing well-heeled middle class able to get into town by means of the increasingly dense and efficient public transport network. Unlike Paris (where the department store was established), there were at first relatively few opportunities in most English towns and cities for retailers to accumulate the necessary consolidated blocks of high street property and many of the earliest examples went hand-in-hand with large-scale municipal redevelopments in the 1880s and 1890s as found in cities such as Bradford and Sheffield, whilst it was fire which led to the creation of one of the country's earliest department stores, Compton House, Church Street, Liverpool (1865-7; listed Grade II), based on a French example. The success of Compton's (later Thorpe's) department store, Hustlergate, Bradford (1876; listed Grade II; Fig 2) and the Bon Marche (much altered) in Brixton, London in 1877 encouraged others to follow and diversify. Floors tended to be open allowing displays to merge one into another; floors were linked by large and opulent staircases – the first escalator was installed in 1898 – and extra services such as fitting rooms, rest rooms and tea rooms were added as customer expectations rose. Some had sleeping accommodation for upwards of 400 staff. The grander survivals, such as the renowned Liberty's store in London, which retains its wooden galleried light-well and other internal features inside the remarkable half-timbered exterior (1922-4; listed Grade II*); Harrod's (1901-5; listed Grade II*), with its outstanding food hall; or Selfridge's (opened in 1909; listed Grade II), with its powerful Beaux Arts exterior, are exceptional examples.

Many other towns and suburbs developed their own department stores, which often grew to rival their metropolitan competitors in terms of size and architectural display. Examples include Whitakers, in Bolton (1907; listed Grade II) and the

Figure 2
An early department store on Bradford's Hustlergate shows the extent to which new methods of retailing re-fashioned our town and city centres in the nineteenth century. Designed by Hope and Jardine for George Thorpe and Co., 1871-6. Listed Grade II.

former Bentall's store in Kingston-upon-Thames of 1932-5, with its 115-metre English Baroque facade (the only part of the original building to survive) based on Wren's additions to Hampton Court Palace just across the Thames.

Many nineteenth-century industrial towns had a **co-operative society**, based on the principles of Robert Owen (1771-1858), whereby profits were shared among members. By 1900 there were 1,439 co-operatives covering virtually every area of the UK. The 'Co-op' was often the only shop, or the only one of any substance, in a village or town until the 1960s. Most were modest, if purpose-built premises, but architecturally more ambitious examples were commissioned, especially in larger towns and cities. The Royal Arsenal Co-Operative Department Store in Woolwich (Royal Borough of Greenwich) of 1903 (listed Grade II), for instance, was a conscious attempt to emulate Harrods, while Doncaster's Co-Op of 1938-40 (listed Grade II) is a surprisingly progressive provincial commission (Fig 3).

Figure 3
Danum House, Sepulchregate, Doncaster (1938-40). A surprisingly progressive design for Doncaster's Co-Operative department store which shows its European credentials. Designed by T H Johnson it would not have been out of place in contemporary Germany. Listed Grade II.

The twentieth century saw the onward march of **national chain stores**, W H Smith, Burtons the tailors, Marks and Spencer's, Woolworth's, and Boots the Chemists being amongst the best known. Each developed a distinctive brand identity through shop design. Some were mildly classical revival, others half-timbered vernacular revival in style; all aimed to be reassuring and enticing. The arrival of Art Deco in the 1920s, together with wider home ownership ushered in a period of remarkable retail architecture. London shops, such as the former Simpsons in Piccadilly (Joseph Emberton, 1936; listed Grade II*) and the Fox's umbrella store at 118, London Wall, London (listed Grade II), employed chrome lettering, neon lighting, moderne detailing and non-reflective windows with curved glass, to produce highly characteristic buildings with a strong sense of the progressive that was guaranteed to appeal to the shopper. Showrooms for furniture and electrical goods also proliferated. Gas and electrical companies often incorporated elaborate showrooms in the ground floors of their offices, and these can often add interest to otherwise unremarkable buildings.

Post-war shops of special interest survive in very small numbers, so marked has been the shift towards short-lived, adaptable or ephemeral retail architecture. American influence has been very pronounced. Few display this better than the former Sanderson's showroom (now a hotel, listed Grade II*) in London's Berners Street, an unusually forthright and ambitious building in the International style of 1957-60 by Slater, Moberly and Uren with John Piper's glass to the stairwell. Smaller-scale survivals of note are surprisingly rare. Listed examples include the Canterbury branch of David Greig's, the provision dealer and grocer, (1952-4; listed Grade II) by Robert Paine and Partners which won an RIBA gold medal in 1954 and retains considerable architectural interest despite conversion (listed Grade II*); Gillespie, Kidd and Coia's 1969 Blackwell's music shop in Holywell Street, Oxford, is another – listed Grade II. The rise of the supermarket and the out-of-town mall have yet to be reflected in designations. However, in Milton Keynes (Buckinghamshire) the Central Shopping Building (now branded mk:centre),

Figure 4
The market hall, usually of two storeys, with an open ground floor, is a typical feature of the English townscape. This celebrated example of 1627 in Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, was built specifically for dairy produce and poultry. Listed Grade I.

Figure 5
This Corn Exchange of 1838 in Winchester, designed by O B Carter, is typical of the care lavished on the design of these new types of building in the early nineteenth century. Since becoming redundant in the 1960s this has been converted to a public library. Listed Grade II*.

a 650m long steel and glass structure of 1975-9 whose design was heavily influenced by the work of the leading early-mid twentieth-century architect Mies van der Rohe, was listed at Grade II in 2010.

Exchanges and markets

The earlier open-sided market house (Fig 4) spawned a number of related building types. **Exchanges** were purpose-built structures devoted to commercial activity, somewhere for traders to display their wares, for customers to gather, for business negotiations to take place, and so forth – in many ways they were also the prototype for the office building (see below). The key establishment was the Royal Exchange in the City of London, founded in 1566-8 by Sir Thomas Gresham, who was familiar with similar institutions in the Low Countries: he sought to provide merchants with an all-weather place to conduct business, set within a shop-ringed courtyard. (This has been rebuilt several times – the present building of 1841-4 is the work of Sir William Tite and listed Grade I.) Others include the King's Lynn Exchange, Norfolk (1683) and the Exchange at Bristol (1741-3, John Wood the Elder), which endowed commerce with magnificence on a near-palatial scale; both are listed Grade I. Eighteenth-century examples include the Piece Hall in Halifax (1775), a monumental wholesale cloth market comprising a courtyard surrounded by two-storeyed arcaded ranges to all sides (listed Grade I). This was the normal plan (at least in England) until the middle years of the nineteenth century. By this time they had also become diversified according to trade so we have exchanges for wool, corn, coal, hops, mining, and general produce, and so on: impressive examples include the corn exchanges in Winchester (1838; listed Grade II*; Fig 5), Leeds (1861-3; listed Grade I) and Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (1861; listed Grade II). In West Yorkshire, Bradford's Grade I-listed Wool Exchange (by Lockwood and Mawson, opened in 1867) had its foundation stone laid by Lord Palmerston, and is listed in the highest grade both for its architectural and sculptural flamboyance, and for its symbolic importance as the embodiment of wool's key role in Bradford's prosperity.

Similar panache may be found in other types of market, too. Fine examples of **general-purpose markets** survive from the late Georgian period (for instance, Covent Garden, London, 1828-30; listed Grade II* by Charles Fowler; Grainger Market, Newcastle, 1835; listed Grade I). In each case, the classical language of architecture

demonstrated its adaptability for modern uses through colonnaded arcades. The rapidly expanding urban population created massive demand, which transport developments were increasingly able to meet. New structural technologies enabled greater numbers of stallholders to be grouped together in spacious new markets under wide-span cast iron roofs, which drew on the same technology which enabled railway stations and exhibition halls: the covered market of 1870-5 in Preston, Lancashire (listed Grade II) is one example of this. By 1891 around half of England's markets were covered. Elaborate municipal **wholesale markets** were opened, greatly facilitated by the coming of the railways, Manchester's Smithfield market (largely demolished save for a market hall of 1857; listed Grade II) having once been the largest covered market in the country. Some of the finest surviving sequences are those designed by Sir Horace Jones for the Corporation of the City of London, at Smithfield (for wholesale meat, started in 1866-7; listed Grade II*), Billingsgate (for fish, built in 1874-8; listed Grade II), and Leadenhall Market (also for meat, built in 1880-1; listed Grade II*), which sported both architectural elaborateness and boldly-displayed civic swagger as befitted the capital of the Empire. These London examples are rivalled only by those in the northern industrial towns such as Bolton Market (Greater Manchester), of 1854 (listed Grade II) with ground-floor shops inserted later, the Borough Market, Halifax (West Yorkshire), of 1895 (listed Grade II), and pre-eminently the City Markets, Leeds (West Yorkshire) of 1904 (listed Grade I).

Markets remain places of particular community resonance, and some possess special historic interest on these grounds. Recently listed were the three components of Brixton Market in the London Borough of Lambeth (the Reliance Arcade, the Granville Arcade, and Market Row), which date from the 1920s and 1930s, and which played a leading role in the story of the West Indian community in England and are accordingly listed. Another listed modern market is the Coventry Central market, completed in 1958 and which combined the traditional stalls arrangement within a modern concrete structure, complete with roof-top parking. Sometimes structural innovation and artistic embellishment came together to produce modern markets of clear special interest: the Grade II listed Queensgate Market in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire (opened in 1970) possesses both a dramatic hyperbolic paraboloid roof and interesting ceramic reliefs to its exterior.

Auction houses were a common commercial building type in the nineteenth century, but very few remain in their original usage and those that survive have undergone significant alteration. Good listed examples survive on East Parade, Leeds, of 1863 (Fig 6), and at 54, Baxter Gate, Loughborough (Derbyshire) – both listed Grade II. Sometimes incorporating a carriage arch for yard access they tend to have a narrow, but elaborate, street frontage, with extensive rooms behind for

Figure 6
Often modest affairs with a slight presence on the street, this example of an auction house for Hepper and Sons, in Leeds, designed by George Corson in 1863, uses the restricted frontage to powerful architectural effect. Listed Grade II.

sales, viewing and storage. The example on Low Pavement, Nottingham, of 1910 (listed Grade II), retains an impressive display-case.

1.2 Banks and offices

Banks

The distinction between early banks and exchanges is not a clear one. In England, banking was the preserve of goldsmiths up until the late seventeenth century. Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1719) is considered to be the 'father of the banking profession' and the Bank of England was established in 1694. During the eighteenth century banks (like warehouses) were private houses with business rooms on the ground floor. What is thought to be the earliest surviving bank building – Hoare's Bank in the Strand, London (1829-30, by Charles Parker) – treated in Bath stone in an Italianate villa style, still provided accommodation for the owner's family.

Banks were built in great numbers to fuel the economy in the nineteenth century. Greater central control led to C.R. Cockerell's designs for the Bank of England in Bristol (1844-7), Manchester (1845-6) and Liverpool (1845-8) representing a high point of the Greek Revival in architecture and are all listed Grade I. Image and appearance mattered, with outward impressiveness being pursued as the embodiment of reliability, confidence and security. After the financial reforms of the 1840s, banks began to assume a more standard guise: as with exchanges, the common formula for larger banks is a grand entrance leading into a banking hall with offices off to the side. Italianate or Renaissance designs became the favoured idiom, such as the former Westminster Bank at 1-15, Bishopsgate, London of 1863 by John Gibson (listed Grade I; Fig 7) with effort being concentrated on front elevations and public areas, above all the banking hall. Rear areas tend to be much more utilitarian, with increasingly sophisticated strongrooms; employees often lived above banks for security reasons. Savings banks such as the National Penny Bank Company catered for the less well-off and their premises tended to be smaller and less elaborate, but they remain important testaments to Victorian notions of self-help and thrift. The few listed examples of Penny Banks range from a modest single-storey building in Leominster, Herefordshire (Fig 8), via the neo-Tudor premises

Figure 7
Despite its modest size and proportions, the former Westminster Bank, on London's Bishopsgate, shows the richness of commercial design at its finest. Designed by J Gibson in 1863 it is listed Grade I.

Figure 8
A modest Penny Bank in Burgess Street, Leominster, Herefordshire of 1870. Such banks were established to encourage saving amongst the working classes in Victorian Britain. Listed Grade II.

in Bury St. Edmunds of 1846, to the former Yorkshire Penny Bank in Bradford, West Yorkshire, of 1895 which retains its grand marble banking hall – all listed Grade II.

Twentieth-century banks retained their prominence on the high street, embodying solidity and respectability. Classical designs gave way to more contextual styles, with neo-Georgian a particular favourite in the 1920s. Banking halls remained the principal spaces, with increasingly more sophisticated security vaults beyond. Strong American influence was felt in some of the larger banks, such as the richly finished Martin's Bank in Liverpool by Herbert Rowse of 1927-32 (listed Grade II*), memorable for its fine sculpture by Tyson Smith and its dramatic top-lit banking hall. The Wall Street Crash slowed down the rate of bank building but did not affect the spate of bank company headquarters' rebuilding in the capital. Modernist designs arrived in the later 1930s, such as W.F.C. Holden's National Provincial Bank in Osterley (London Borough of Hounslow; listed Grade II); classical treatment gave way to a more stripped and streamlined style, while internally marble and teak were replaced with travertine and glass. Post-war banks of note are few in number: little expansion of the total stock of banks has been needed, given the number of branches already existing, and the rise of automated banking services has further undermined the case for new premises. The former Barclays bank, Maidstone, Kent (1956-60, by Sir William Holford), and the former National Provincial Bank, Plymouth, Devon (1956-8) are notable post-war exceptions to this, being designed with a high-level of craftsmanship and architectural flair – both are listed Grade II.

Offices

Offices emerged out of the development of business in the various forms of Exchange buildings in the eighteenth century. Private or speculative offices, as a distinct building type, are a development of the Victorian age: bespoke premises for the sole conducting of business do not feature in the Georgian period with the single exception of the legal chambers in London's Inns of Court, which still survive in some numbers. Purpose-built **chambers**, a forerunner of the office, appeared from the late seventeenth century onwards, such as those developed by Nicholas Barbon in the late seventeenth century in Essex Court, off the Strand and near to the Temple (listed Grade I), the earliest ones to survive. Outwardly similar to domestic architecture, but internally planned on the staircase principle of colleges, these private rooms (with limited residential quarters attached) provided places for private meeting and for the preparation and safeguarding of the increasingly complex legal and financial transactions that characterised the post-Restoration age (Fig 9). Otherwise, offices were accommodated within merchants' houses, or created within workshops and warehouses, or fronting factories: the commercial office building would only appear in the mid-nineteenth century. Public, or government-funded, office developments, the best known of which is Sir William Chambers's Somerset House on the Strand in London (begun 1774) are touched on in the Law and Government Buildings selection guide.

Figure 9
4, King's Bench Walk, City of London, Greater London. At first sight a typical Georgian terraced house, this building, and many like it in this district, were purpose-designed as barristers' chambers, or offices, for the Inns of Court. Listed Grade I.

Figure 10
Many otherwise utilitarian factories and industrial buildings were given some architectural panache by the design of their offices and administration buildings, as here at the Dobcross works of Hutchinson and Hollingworth at Saddleworth, Oldham, Greater Manchester, of 1890. Listed Grade II.

Figure 11
Charter House, Montgomery Way, Portsmouth, Hampshire. Designed as offices for the Pearl Assurance company by C W Bovis in 1891, this grand building is typical of many later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century office blocks which added a note of commercial grandeur to our cities. Listed Grade II.

Offices comprised a new kind of building type during the Victorian period, reflecting the enormous growth in Britain's domestic and foreign business. The great merchant cities of Liverpool and Manchester, Bristol, London and Newcastle retain outstanding examples – the Liverpool waterfront buildings being an instantly recognisable ensemble of office buildings now not only listed but recognised as part of a World Heritage Site. As the middle classes moved out to fast-growing suburbs, older houses in the centres of cities came up for redevelopment. Ground plots were expensive to acquire, so building heights increased to accommodate more letting space. From mid-century, these combined offices of varying ranks, meeting rooms, fire-proof strong rooms, all placed within impressively treated exteriors, often classical, or Italianate, gave an appearance of dependable dignity (Fig 10). Fully iron-framed office buildings appeared in Liverpool in the 1860s: Oriel Chambers (1864; listed Grade I) and 16 Cook Street (1866; listed Grade II*), both by Peter Ellis, are remarkable in their dramatic use of iron and glass construction. Many combined ground-floor shops, offices or banks, with further offices on the upper floors; sometimes all three appear together, as at Piccadilly Chambers, York (1915-21; listed Grade II).

Commercial pressures brought about important innovations in plan and structure. Packing as many offices as possible into a multi-storeyed building often set on an awkward site posed problems of lighting and ventilation which were solved by the introduction of small central light-wells clad with reflective white tiles. Internal glazed partitions enabled this light to be freely borrowed (as well as facilitating supervision of the clerks). Major national businesses, such as the Pearl Assurance Company (Fig 11) and Prudential Assurance, exploited such techniques whilst also creating a distinctive example of corporate identity. In the latter case this was achieved by by employing Alfred Waterhouse, and later his son Paul, to design both their main office in London on High Holborn (1885-90; listed Grade II*) and recognisable regional offices such as those at Nottingham (1880-90) and

Portsmouth (1891), both listed Grade II. Elsewhere the Waterhouse dynasty was responsible for similarly gargantuan office buildings at the Refuge Assurance, Oxford Road, Manchester (1891; listed Grade II*), whilst the Royal Insurance Building, Liverpool (1903; listed Grade II*) and the famous Liver Building in Liverpool (1908-10; listed Grade I) brought an American scale to English office buildings responding to the needs of the expanding assurance business at the end of the nineteenth century.

Providing a smart image remained paramount for the twentieth century office as it developed. The newest Modern Movement idioms were drawn on. Frederick Etchells, translator of Le Corbusier, designed what is regarded as the first modernist building in London: the offices of Crawford's Advertising, in Holborn (1930), while in Derby the former offices of Aiton and Co. (1931) were designed by Norah Aiton and Elisabeth Scott – an early example of commercial work by female architects – and Serge Chermayeff and Erich Mendelsohn designed an elegantly pared-down headquarters building for Gilbey's Gin in London's Camden Town (1937) – all are listed Grade II. In contrast York House, the modest Grade II-listed offices of the Joseph Constantine Shipping Company in Middlesborough, Teeside, appear in a Jacobethan style and show the strength of revivalism in commercial architecture as late as 1937. As with public buildings, there is a clear hierarchy of importance, with architectural effect being reserved for the principal spaces – foyers, stairs, and boardrooms. The former head office for the Bristol Aeroplane Company, New Filton House, Filton, of 1936 (listed Grade II) provides a good example including a magnificent stained-glass screen to the central stair designed by Jan Juta (d.1990), painter and muralist.

Offices have become one of the most important building types in post-war England: many of the iconic buildings of the second part of the last century are in this category. The office (like the shop) was sometimes embellished with art: the outstanding instance of this was Michael Rosenauer's Time-Life building in London's New Bond Street (1951-3; listed Grade II), enriched with

Figure 12
Millbank Tower, London, was constructed 1960-63 for the Vickers Company. Designed by Ronald Ward and Company it brought an elegance to tall office buildings that is not apparent in many of its contemporaries. Listed Grade II.

a sculpted screen by the leading world sculptor of the day, Henry Moore. American-inspired International Style skyscrapers arrived in the 1950s: Sir John Burnet and Partners' New Century House in Manchester (1959-62,) was conceived on a large scale and showed how such buildings could re-define the city. Ronald Ward and Partners' Millbank Tower on the Thames Embankment of 1960-3 possesses an adventurous use of curved curtain walling (Fig 12), while Centre Point by Richard Seifert & Partners (1961-6), in the centre of London's West End, shows how structural daring could combine with architectural inventiveness to create an iconic commercial building of its day (all listed Grade II). Key buildings also reflect new ways of working. American architects Skidmore Owings and Merrill's Heinz UK HQ and laboratories at Hayes Park, Hillingdon (1962-5; listed Grade II*), introduced the green-field office complex to Britain. Its clever design of a concrete grid bearing

the floor plates ushered in the open-plan way of working, which became more the norm during the 1970s. This factor determined the planning of the Willis Corroon building in Ipswich by Foster Associates (1972-75; listed Grade I), with its sinuous curtain-walled exterior, which is perhaps the outstanding example of the post-war office.

In 2012-13 English Heritage (Historic England's predecessor) undertook a project which revisited 28 post-war office buildings which were already listed. This not only better defined where their special interest lay, but established valuable approaches and set benchmarks for when we assess other such buildings.

1.3 Eating, drinking and accommodation

Inns and hotels

A considerable number of medieval inns survive, usually because they have survived as hotels over the centuries, but relatively few retain their original internal arrangements and many have been substantially rebuilt. The fifteenth-century George Inn at Norton St Philip (Somerset) and the Angel Inn in Grantham (Lincolnshire) illustrate the scale and architectural finesse that could be achieved (both listed Grade I). The mid-fifteenth century New Inn, Gloucester, (a former hostelry for St. Peter's Abbey) is perhaps the finest surviving medieval galleried inn in the country and is listed Grade I accordingly. The common form of the biggest establishments survives in the late seventeenth-century George Inn, Southwark, (listed Grade I), with its coaching yard surrounded by galleried ranges (giving access to bedrooms) and stabling beyond. The improvement in road communications in the eighteenth century stimulated the establishment of large **coaching inns**. Their street fronts combined architectural elegance with strident promotion, often in the form of large overhanging signs. Inside, eating and sleeping rooms, of varying status, coincided with extensive stabling and grooms' quarters to the rear. The late eighteenth-century Royal Victoria and Bull Inn at Rochester, Kent, strategically located on the Dover Road, with its prominent central entrance, exemplifies this approach. Inns survive in considerable numbers, and are some of the most engaging of all commercial buildings.

The transition from inn to hotel – at least at the top end of the market – is the development from the simple accommodation of travellers to the provision of a wide range of cultural facilities such as a ballroom or assembly room (for which see the Culture and Entertainment selection guide). These were reminiscent of clubs (see below) and contained suites of rooms as well as single rooms for gentlemen (but not ladies). About 1800 the term **hotel** was adapted from the French (who set the pattern for civilised living right across Europe) and applied to establishments that offered clean and comfortable accommodation (and in architectural terms are little different to private houses). With the expansion of Spa towns in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the more fashionable resorts supplied impressive new resort, or destination, hotels on a hitherto unknown scale such as the Queen's Hotel, Cheltenham of 1838 by R W and C Jearrad (listed Grade II*; Fig 13). However, it chiefly fell to the railways to bring the two earlier streams together: travellers' accommodation (both suites

Figure 13
The Queen's Hotel, Promenade, Cheltenham, designed by R W and C Jearrad in 1838, shows the architectural sophistication which early nineteenth-century hotels could reach. Listed Grade II*.

and bedrooms), ballrooms, restaurants, and other public rooms. An early railway hotel is the Royal Hotel at Tring, Hertfordshire, of 1838 (listed Grade II). The major hotels are marked by their scale and facilities (some, such as the Midland Hotel, Manchester (1898-1903), listed Grade II*, self-consciously employing American standards of service and facilities): electric lighting, bathrooms and elevators in particular. The architecture could attain great heights: London's St Pancras (1868-76, G G Scott; listed Grade I) shows a mastery of planning as well as elevational treatment. Liverpool's Philharmonic Hotel of 1898 (listed Grade II*) possesses a good example of an Arts and Crafts interior (Fig 14). With the rise of the seaside holiday (made possible by the growing disposable income of the middle and working classes, by the growth of the railway system and by the development of leisure patterns), a new genre of seaside hotels and guest-houses arose around the resorts of England. Generally stucco-fronted and classical in appearance, these adapted the palace-fronted terrace for their design: Benjamin Ferrey's Royal Bath Hotel at Bournemouth (1837-8 and much enlarged; listed Grade II) is an early instance. The High Victorian examples could have very sumptuous facilities, including attached Winter Gardens. The first half of the twentieth century saw the rejection of historicist styles and focused on elegantly streamlined interiors (notably the modernist Midland Hotel, Morecambe (Lancashire), 1932-3, by Oliver Hill, which was influenced by French examples, and is listed Grade II*). Few post-war hotels have reached this level of interest as hotel design has increasingly become the preserve of interior designers, fitting out otherwise unremarkable buildings with oft-changing corporate styling. As with shop fittings of the same period it is very rare for stylish, bespoke interior schemes of the 1950s, '60s or '70s to survive.

Figure 14
Liverpool's Philharmonic Hotel of 1898 by Walter Thomas is rightly celebrated for the magnificence of its Arts and Crafts Movement interior. Listed Grade II*.

Restaurants

Extremely few restaurants have survived well enough to be designated. Like shops, they are prone to regular upgrading, and few modern eateries have permanent fixtures or decoration. Eating out as a recreational activity is largely a modern invention. Up until the nineteenth century food was available in inns and public houses but mainly as an accompaniment to drinks or for the convenience of those on a journey. The nineteenth century saw an expansion of premises serving tea or dinner, usually part of a larger establishment such as a hotel, railway station, or pleasure grounds. The Tivoli Tavern (listed Grade II) in Gravesend, Kent, for example, was built in 1836 as a hotel and boasted refreshment rooms to serve the nearby Windmill Hill Pleasure Gardens, whilst the Sale Hotel, Sale, Cheshire, of 1878 (listed Grade II) was built as both refreshment rooms and entrance to the pleasure grounds behind. Some dining rooms could be very opulent, the first class waiting and refreshment room at Newcastle Station of 1893 has Burmantofts tile decoration covering the walls and ceilings (listed Grade I). There are survivals of working class eating houses too, though these are rare: a late seventeenth-century building, Sinclair's, in Shambles Square, Manchester, for example, contains evidence of its use as an early nineteenth-century oyster restaurant; at 94 Farringdon Road, London, is an 1870s chop house – both are listed Grade II. A building with either external signage or ornamentation relating to use as a nineteenth-century dining room or survival of a restaurant interior will be a clear candidate for listing.

Figure 15
Labworth Café, Western Esplanade, Canvey Island, Essex. Modern Movement architecture was often more welcome at the seaside than elsewhere – as this sleek white café overlooking the beach ably demonstrates. Designed by Ove Arup, 1932-3. Listed Grade II.

The first decade of the twentieth century saw many more premises built for eating and drinking. Some restaurants survive from this period: at 46-8 New York Street, Leeds of 1900, for example, and the Hat and Feathers on Clerkenwell Road, London, which was converted to a restaurant in 1900 (the building was formerly a public house); both are listed Grade II. The chop house, which did not differ dramatically from the public house architecturally, also endured: one example is Thomas's Chop House of 1901 at 54 Cross Street, Manchester (listed Grade II). There are small numbers surviving of one of the great working-class establishments of the period, the pie and eel shop, such as F Cooke's on Kingsland High Street, Dalston, in the London Borough of Hackney (listed Grade II). Where these retain their tiled interiors and signage they could be listed.

Something of a national icon, **fish and chip shops,** developing out of fishmongers and with a strong presence at the seaside, were a development of the late nineteenth century. Their premises are usually modest alterations to existing retail premises or houses and none of early date is currently listed. Only where a good original interior or particularly fine shopfront survive – as is the case with the Art Deco frontage to 492 Roundhay Road, Leeds – the former premises of Gartside and Pearson, fish fryers, of 1938-40 – will they be serious candidates for designation, here at Grade II. The modest example at 8 Broad Street, Padstow, Cornwall – an adaptation of an early nineteenth-century house – ably demonstrates the charms of this building type and is also listed at Grade II.

The greatest expansion in eateries was after the First World War when recreational dining became *de rigueur*. A good number of cafes, tea rooms and restaurants survive from this period including Betty's in York of 1936 which has an interior inspired by the cruise liners of the time, and what is now the Serpentine Art Gallery in Kensington Gardens, which was built as refreshment rooms in 1933-4. Cafes in or near tourist attractions, for example Ove Arup's Labworth Café of 1932-3 (listed Grade II; Fig 15) at Canvey Island, Essex, are

also fairly numerous and merit listing where they are of architectural distinction as part of a group. From the 1950s, cafes run by Italian immigrants, mainly in London, revolutionised British eating and drinking culture. The best, retaining Vitrolite and chrome Art-Deco exteriors and inlaid wood panelled interiors, are listed: the exemplar is Pellicci's on Bethnal Green Road (London Borough of Tower Hamlets; listed Grade II). Few of the purpose-designed Coffee Houses, and Taverns, so popular in the eighteenth century for conducting business, have survived. An exception is that designed by Thomas Paty in 1782 on Corn Street, Bristol, which is listed Grade II*.

Public houses

Pub architecture has always been a compromise between peoples' desire to drink and the authorities' desire to control it: 'the drink question' was a politically sensitive issue throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The 1830 Beer Act, a reaction to the perceived evils of gin, resulted in an increase in the number of pubs, often converted from private houses and barely distinguishable from them. Small and simple, often with no bar counter, they survive in small numbers in town and countryside. Further legislation and licensing controls encouraged the plan form that became prevalent, with multiple entrances and numerous rooms for different styles of drinking, often divided by low partitions rather than solid walls, served increasingly from a single bar. Not all pubs were lavishly decked out but most had some of the fittings that, when brought together, created the iconic 'gin palace': mahogany bar counters, shelving, mirrors, partitions, frosted glass windows, signage, decorative tiling, embossed ceilings, occasionally with public rooms upstairs. The high point of pub building was in the decades either side of 1900. As suburbs grew, so pubs of a different type developed: called 'improved' or 'reformed' such as Ye Olde Red Lion, Vicarage Road, Birmingham, one of the earliest, of 1903 and listed Grade II. These targeted 'respectable' drinkers and provided a range of eating and entertainment facilities in an attempt to reduce drunkenness. A licence was frequently only issued if one or two for an inner-city drinking den was surrendered in return. The apogee of the reformed pub was the 'roadhouse'; invariably suburban, these could attain great size to accommodate many varied functions and were generally self-consciously traditional in style. Some resembled small stately homes in their architectural pretension, others, like Brighton's Grade II-listed King and Queen of 1931 with its spectacular interior, a Tudor manor. Lutyens's Drum Inn, Cockington, Devon, of 1934 (listed Grade II) is a rarer example of a rural reformed house, here in the English vernacular style for holidaymakers (Fig 16).

Pubs can vary considerably from region to region in terms of plan and display; also, companies often adopted a distinctive house style, the interest of which should be weighed up in the assessment. The number of pubs was in decline in the later twentieth century, and the rate of loss increased in the early twenty-first century with 50 pubs a week closing in 2009. Whatever the reason (changes in licensing laws and the smoking ban of 2007 are both held to have played a part) the result was the same: the conversion of some premises to other uses, demolitions and an increase in listing requests.

Figure 16
The Drum Inn, Cockington, Devon (1934) designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens – one of many 'reformed' public houses of the inter-war period which sought to reduce drunkenness and improve the image of the British pub. Listed Grade II.

The Temperance Movement built alternatives to pubs, also often on an ambitious scale: the Ossington Coffee Tavern of 1882 in Newark (Nottinghamshire) by Ernest George and Peto marks the architectural high-water mark of temperance architecture and is listed Grade II* accordingly. The movement has left not only coffee taverns but other recreational buildings around the country including billiard halls (see the Sports and Recreation Buildings selection guide).

Gentlemen's clubs and masonic lodges

More exclusive conviviality was to be found in a select number of clubs. **Gentlemen's clubs** developed as an exclusive version of the coffee houses and political clubs that met in London in the eighteenth century. The earliest recorded example was White's, founded in 1693 and on its present location in London's St James's Street since 1755 (listed Grade I). Like many clubs it has an earlier town house at its heart, which has been remodelled with coffee, card and dining rooms, around an open stairwell. Later, clubs provided a library, and billiard room, even basement baths. The Travellers' Club of 1829-32 by Charles Barry is the British début of the Italian *palazzo* style, with a series of rooms around an imposing central staircase hall, a plan developed further by Barry at the Reform Club of 1838-41 (both listed Grade I). The Royal Automobile Club on Pall Mall (Mewes and Davies, 1908-11; listed Grade II*) took the genre one stage further by including a fine swimming pool and baths complex in its basement. Outside the capital, Liverpool's Lyceum (designed by Thomas Harrison, 1802), Bristol's Commercial Rooms of 1810, and Manchester's Athenaeum (Charles Barry, 1837) are all listed Grade II*.

A parallel development can be detected in a wide variety of **working men's clubs** and **institutes,** either paid for by subscription or provided as an act of philanthropy by factory owners as with Heathcoat Hall, Tiverton, Devon of 1874-6 (listed Grade II). Usually housed in modest adapted premises, very few have survived with sufficient special interest to merit designation. The Cobden Working Men's Club and Institute, Kensal Road (London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea), of 1880, designed by Pennington and Brigden, is a rare survivor and boasts a theatre or song-room to its third floor (Fig 17), whilst Edwin Lutyens designed that at Rolvenden, Ashford, Kent, in 1927-8 – both are listed Grade II.

Figure 17
Cobden Working Men's Club is a very rare survivor of this once ubiquitous building type. Situated on London's Kensal Road it was designed in 1880 by Pennington and Brigden complete with a theatre or song room to the top floor. Listed Grade II.

The most exclusive of all associative buildings are **masonic halls** and **temples,** the ceremonial and administrative headquarters of Masonic lodges. These comprise a series of meeting and dining rooms around a formal hall or temple. Their architectural character is deliberately ancient and symbolic, with Egyptian motifs frequently

Figure 18
Masonic temples have given our towns and cities some of their most esoteric buildings – this copy of an Egyptian temple in Boston, Lincolnshire, built 1860-3, is a particularly fine example. Listed Grade II*.

to the fore (the Freemason's Hall, Boston, Lincolnshire, of 1860-3 (listed Grade II*; Fig 18), is a replica of the Temple of Dandour, Nubia). Also designed in classical styles, they were built in considerable numbers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whilst sometimes portraying a deeply traditional architectural image – such as the Phoenix Lodge, Sunderland, of 1925 but containing elements of an earlier sixteenth-century lodge (listed Grade I) – the masons also sometimes challenged architectural convention with their originality. This is well demonstrated in the Freemason's Hall, Great Queen Street (London Borough of Camden), of 1927-33 (listed Grade II*) and the Masonic Hall, Berwick-upon-Tweed (Northumberland), of 1872, with its varied symbolism (listed Grade II). The lodge at Bradford, of 1926-8, is a good example in a classical style, with a marble-lined entrance hall, two dining rooms, a small temple and a large two-storey temple-cum-banqueting hall.

2 Specific Considerations

2.1 Selectivity

Most commercial buildings post-date 1850. Many other commercial building types – offices, pubs, shopping arcades, department stores, and hotels – are largely nineteenth-century creations. Because they survive in such large numbers and were subject to a high degree of standardisation, selection for designation needs to be very discriminating.

2.2 Group value

However, it is also the case that nineteenth- and twentieth-century commercial buildings transformed our townscapes and gave many English town centres their distinctive character. Where coherent commercial townscapes survive reasonably intact, there will be a strong case for designating individual components comprehensively in recognition of their cumulative impact, or assessing them holistically as part of an area appraisal; claims for listing may well be reinforced by group value of neighbouring listed premises.

2.3 Date

All medieval commercial buildings will be eligible for designation since they are exceptionally rare. Even fragmentary evidence will be very important. Most buildings prior to about 1850 surviving in anything like their original form will be listable; intact contemporary details and fittings, both internal and external (like shop fronts, tiled decoration, counters and back-fittings) may justify a high grade. As with all buildings after about 1850, rigorous selection is necessary. Given the high rates of attrition, however, all buildings which retain claims to special architectural interest, irrespective of date, deserve careful consideration. Intact modern retail architecture of note is surprisingly rare, however, so it is important to identify these examples as well.

2.4 Rarity

It is easy to overlook the significance of some modest and plain commercial buildings. They can sometimes possess significance beyond their outward form. Also, listing in the past has favoured the opulent and the grand at the expense of the more modest, the 'gin palace' and the palazzo bank rather than the beer shop or humble savings bank: consequently the latter have suffered disproportionate loss. Listing should aim to redress this balance where special historic interest clearly resides in unadorned fabric on the grounds of rarity. Unusual sorts of business – undertakers, pawnbrokers and hatters, for instance – may have left premises of note which are deserving of protection. And some common types of establishment – like fish and chip shops – are actually very rare in terms of bespoke and intact premises of interest.

2.5 Alterations

Commercial premises are intrinsically prone to change and alteration, and cannot be expected to survive in their original configuration. Careful assessment is needed as to whether enough survives of the special interest for designation to be warranted. Sometimes the special interest will be concentrated in a single aspect of a building (such as a shop front or fine interior) and this needs to be identified at the designation stage. Front elevations can sometimes be sufficiently interesting or rare architecturally to warrant listing, even if the interior has been substantially altered or even lost.

2.6 Interiors

Commercial architecture is sometimes skin-deep, and many cases of buildings being listed for their facades only can be cited. Particularly for more recent buildings, special interior interest may be present only in key areas such as entrances and directors' suites; office floors tend to be plain and prone to alteration. Due allowance should be made for this.

2.7 Signage

Where historic signage or advertisements survive, these can contribute to the case for listing. Exceptionally this will include painted signage or advertising on blind end walls. Surviving signage with especially interesting lettering, unusual illustrations, or advertising a distinctive product or company may warrant listing in its own right, even if the building to which it is attached is of negligible interest. It should be remembered that the development of corporate identity is part of the interest of commercial buildings.

2.8 Authenticity

Care needs to be taken as a fair number of shop fronts that *look* original often turn out to be modern reproduction, and attention is needed in confirming authenticity when assessing for designation. This applies to banks, pubs and hotels as well.

2.9 Community interest

Commercial premises, as prominent places of public gathering, have sometimes played leading parts in the story of a community and their claims to note should be considered accordingly. Some commercial buildings tell of the establishment of minority communities through their signage as well.

2.10 Extent of listing

Amendment to the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 provides two potential ways to be more precise about what is listed.

The empowerments, found in section 1 (5A) (a) and (b) of the 1990 Act, allow the List entry to say definitively whether attached or curtilage structures are protected; and/or to exclude from the listing specified objects fixed to the building, features or parts of the structure. These changes do not apply retrospectively, but New listings and substantial amendments from 2013 will provide this clarification when appropriate.

Clarification on the extent of listing for older lists may be obtained through the Local Planning Authority or through the Historic England's Enhanced Advisory Service, see www.HistoricEngland.org.uk/EAS.

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