



## Industrial Heritage Making in Britain: The Conservation, Adaptation, and Reinterpretation of the Historic Textile Industry Complexes

### İngiltere'de Endüstri Mirasının Oluşumu: Tarihi Tekstil Endüstrisi Komplekslerinin Korunması, Uyarlanması ve Yeniden Yorumlanması

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#### Özet

The aim of this study is to explore the transformation of outdated industrial sites into UNESCO World Heritage Sites, focusing on their conservation history and how they were re-interpreted and presented to the public in terms of representing the working-class, women, and child labor as well as historic industrial values of the sites. As case studies, I selected three pioneering textile mills in the United Kingdom that were designated as UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001. These are the Derwent Valley, Saltaire, and New Lanark Mills. The study has been carried out by analyzing previous sources, several international and national policy documents regarding the protection and management of the sites, and conducting site visits and interviews with the site coordinators. The industrial sites examined here clearly display how the historical, economic, and practical context impacts the approaches to the conservation and adaptive re-use strategies of industrial heritage. They also illustrate how reuse and reinterpretation processes have played a crucial role in the search for a new identity for each historic industrial site.

**Keywords:** Industrial Heritage, Conservation History, Re-Interpretation, Presentation, World Heritage Sites

#### Özet

Bu çalışma tarihi endüstri alanlarının, koruma tarihi ve yeniden yorumlanıp halka sunulma biçimlerine odaklanarak, UNESCO Dünya Mirası Alanı'na dönüşümünü araştırmaktadır. Örnek vaka incelemesi olarak, Birleşik Krallık 'da bulunan ve 2001 yılında UNESCO Dünya Miras Listesi'ne alınan üç öncü tekstil fabrikası belirlenmiştir. Bunlar, Derwent Vadisi, Saltaire ve New Lanark tekstil fabrikası kompleksleridir. Araştırma kapsamında, literatür tarama, saha ziyaretleri ve alanların Dünya Miras koordinatörleri ile kişisel görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda; dönemin tarihsel, ekonomik ve pratik koşullarının, endüstriyel mirası koruma ve yeniden kullanım stratejilerine yönelik yaklaşımlarda önemli bir etkisi olduğu görülmüştür. Ayrıca, yeniden kullanım ve yeniden yorumlama süreçlerinin, her bir alan için yeni bir kimlik arayışında ne kadar önemli bir rol oynadığı ortaya çıkmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Endüstriyel Miras, Koruma Tarihi, Yeniden Yorumlama, Sunum, Dünya Miras Alanı

\* This paper is based on a research project conducted at the Centre for Conservation Studies in the University of York (UK) during the 2018-2019 academic year. The research was supported by the EU Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme (JMSP). The author is grateful to JMSP for the support, and Dr. Gill Chitty, director of the Conservation Studies, Department of Archaeology, for her generous help and guidance.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As the location of the birth of the Industrial Revolution leading to a dramatic transformation of the society, urban and rural landscapes; the question of what to do with the remains of the industrial past first emerged in Britain after the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, especially when the increasing numbers of industrial buildings became redundant or outdated with the transformation of the industrial production patterns.<sup>1</sup> There were significant economic and practical problems for the preservation of derelict industrial remains. What is more, how to deal with the uncomfortable history and negative memories associated with the industrial workplace, such as harsh working conditions, exploitation of women, and child labor was one of the questions in many conservation projects.<sup>2</sup> Since the 1960s Britain has developed several strategies for dealing with the survival of the industrial past primarily mostly through adaptation and reinterpretation. Sometimes industrial buildings fell into a state of neglect and even demolished.<sup>3</sup> From the 1970s onwards, the selective reinterpretation of the complicated past using several interpretive techniques in the newly opened industrial museums played an important role in making industrial places “heritage.” Indeed, this period witnessed a gradual transformation of public perception of industrial remains from ‘derelict functional structures’ and “relics of ‘sweated labor’” to “the icons of an innovative industrial past” (Storm, 2008:10-12; Orange, 2008:85; Cossons, 2007:12).

From the 1980s and 1990s onwards, the increasing number of designations of industrial heritage sites as UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) also contributed to the valorization and protection of the industrial heritage with the recognition of their “international outstanding values.” However, industrial heritage sites listed as world heritage are still rare compared to other heritage types such as historic cities or archaeological sites.<sup>4</sup>

This study examines the transformation of outdated industrial sites into heritage sites focusing on their conservation history, and how they were re-interpreted and presented to the public in terms of representations of working-class, women, and child labor as well as historic industrial values of the sites. As case studies, I selected three pioneering textile mills and associated sites: the Derwent Valley, Saltaire, and New Lanark Mills. Considered as the best-preserved examples that represent the beginning and development of textile manufacture, from the origins of the factory system in Derby to the creation of a complete industrial town in Saltaire, the three sites were nominated at the same time by the British government and inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL) in 2001.<sup>5</sup>

While there is an extensive scholarship on the development of legal protection and conservation of the industrial heritage sites of Britain, there is hardly any study that examines the complex relationships between the conservation history, the role of key actors in this history, and the display of the sites to the public today. This study seeks to address the following questions:

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<sup>1</sup> As for the wider implications of Industrial Revolution in Britain and global context, see Allen, 2012; Stearns, 2016, Stearns, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> For more information regarding the role of women and child labor in British Industrialization, see Joyce, 2008; Humpries, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> The development of industrial archaeology and the history of legal protection and conservation activities of the industrial sites of Britain have been well researched, documented and reviewed, often by the key actors themselves, who were actively involved in this process. The most notables are Cossons, ed. 2000, Cossons, 2007; Falconer, 2000, 2005, 2016, 2017; Streeten, 2000; Buchanan, 2000, 2005; Neaverson and Palmer, 1998; Palmer et. al, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> As for the history of inscription of industrial heritage on the UNESCO WHL, see Stott, 2016; Hughes, 2016. A detailed analysis of industrial heritage sites listed on the WHL according to UNESCO criteria, see Köksal, 2012. As for the protection of World Heritage Sites in Danger List in relation to politics of state parties, see Çiftçi, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> As for the detailed explanation of the inscription criteria and other information related to World Heritage status of the sites, see UNESCO web site: [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org).

- What type of strategies or approaches have been adopted for the conservation and adaptive re-use of the selected sites?
- Who were the key actors, public and private institutions, involved in the conservation and adaptation process?
- How historic and industrial values, for which the sites were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, are re-interpreted and presented to the public today?

This paper explores the underappreciated dimensions of heritage protection with a focus on the crucial roles local communities and voluntary associations played, and continue to play in the making of industrial heritage sites, and draws attention to the differences and similarities in how the three sites evolved, and they are currently managed and presented to the public. As for the methodology, the study has been carried out by analyzing previous sources, several international and national policy documents regarding the protection and management of the sites, such as World Heritage nomination dossiers and site management plans of the case studies. A fieldwork study gathering first-hand information through numerous site visits and semi-structured interviews with the site coordinators of case studies has also been conducted by the author.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITES

As explained in detail below, the three sites have some shared features and historical connections, which also justified their selection to represent the primacy and supremacy of Britain in the beginning and development of the Industrial Revolution.

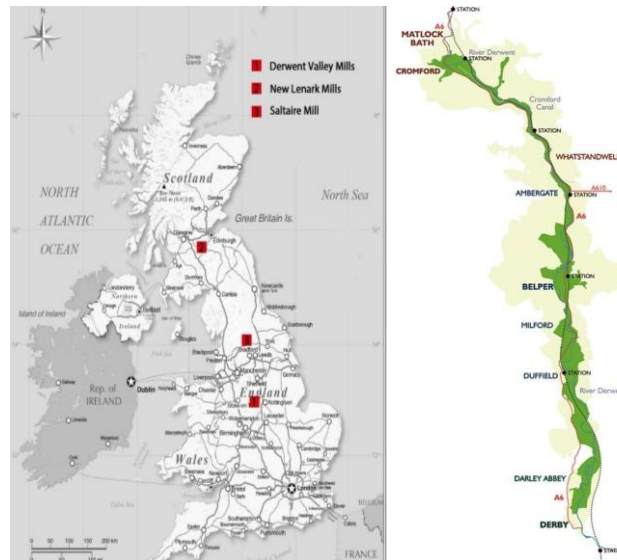
### 2.1. From Rural to Industrial Landscape

The Derwent Valley covers the historic textile areas of Cromford, Belper, Milford, Darley Abbey, and Derby located in the Derbyshire region of central England. To the north of Derbyshire, within the West Yorkshire region in the North of England, the textile village of Saltaire is located on land that slopes down to the River Aire. New Lanark, on the other hand, is in the South Lanarkshire of Scotland. Certainly, it is not a coincidence that the textile mills of Derwent Valley, New Lanark, and Saltaire were all built on the banks of the Rivers of the Derwent, Clyde, and Aire, respectively as they were primarily dependent on the waterpower.

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<sup>6</sup> The interviews with the World Heritage site co-ordinators of the sites were conducted based on a “discussion guide paper” formed by the author with the help of project advisor Dr Gill Chitty. The site co-ordinators were asked about the main challenges they faced in the protection, conservation, and management of the sites, the involvement of the local and national stakeholders in the management, and the presentation and interpretation strategies that are currently employed for the sites. The author also interviewed employees from the key institutions in heritage protection in the UK and owes special thanks to Henry Owen-John, (International Legal Advisor) from the Historic England, and Enid Williams (World Heritage Policy Advisor) from the DCMS, and all the site coordinators of the case studies.

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**Figure 1.** Map of Britain showing the location of the three sites together (Source: Google Maps, accessed on 01 March 2021)

**Figure 2.** Map of Derwent Valley WHS. It shows the location of major mills, including historic textile areas of Cromford, Belper, Milford, Darley Abbey, and Derby (Source: <http://www.derwentvalleymills.org/test-plan-visit/map-of-whs/> accessed on 15.02.2020)



**Figure 3.** The River Derwent, powered successive generations of textile mills located along the Derwent Valley through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century (all photos: author)

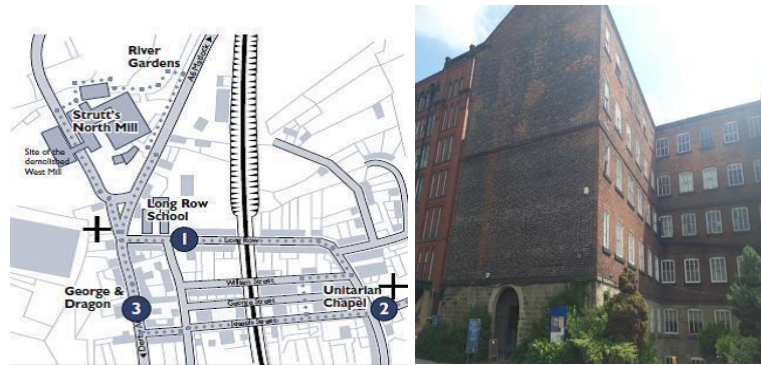
The introduction of water-powered silk throwing in Derby, and then the cotton spinning of Cromford near the river of Derwent were significant developments at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the practical necessities, these rural areas were selected for creating an industrial community ‘away from the temptations of towns and cities’ (Stratton, 2000:32). Although primarily established on the rural or semi-rural landscapes alongside the rivers, the provision of houses and other public services for the workforce of the mills, over time, transformed these rural areas into small urban and industrial landscapes by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2.2. From Factory Building to the Making of a Model Industrial Town

Within the history of the textile industry, Thomas Lombe’s silk mill in Derby, built in 1721, is regarded as the first factory-based textile mill in Britain. The mechanized water-powered cotton production was also pioneered in Cromford by one of the industrial pioneers, Sir Richard Arkwright, who built his first cotton mill in 1772. It was followed by the construction of other mills, including Masson Mills at Matlock Bath in 1783 and Jedediah Strutt’s first mill at Belper in

<sup>7</sup> For a typological and bibliographic study of textile mills in Britain, see Palmer, et. al, 2012.

1776 all located along the Derwent Valley (Palmer et al, 2012:184-187). These so-called 'Arkwright-type mills' began to transform the landscape of Britain towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 4-a.** The layout of the Strutt's North Mill and Workers' Houses in the Long Row Street, Belper (Source: <http://www.derwentvalleymills.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Belper-walks-1-map.jpg/> accessed on 20.02.2020)

**Figure 4-b.** Strutt's Mill, Belper (part of the Derwent Valley WHS)

The mills in New Lanark were also founded on the principles of Richard Arkwright, who came to Scotland in 1783 and met David Dale, a Glasgow cloth manufacturer, and banker. The first mill at New Lanark founded by Dale went into production in 1786. This was soon followed by the erection of the other mills and, several houses and public buildings by Robert Owen, who married Dale's daughter and took over the management of the mills at New Lanark. Here, the mills and other structures were all spread out in tiers along the bank above the river without forming a cohesive urban plan.

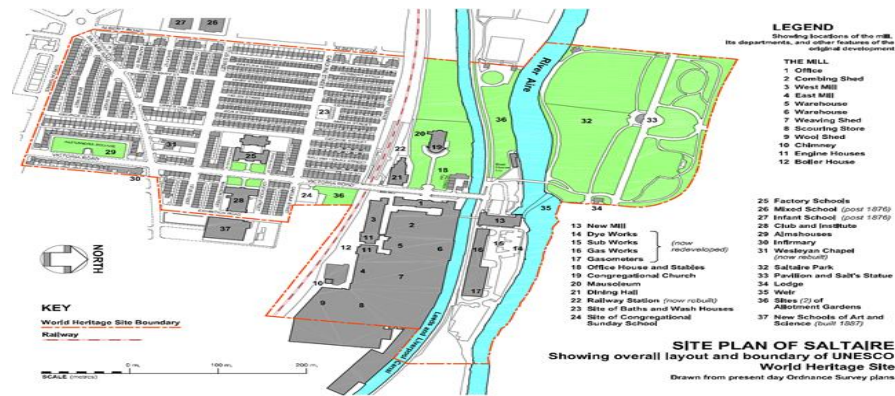


**Figure 5.** Site Map of the New Lanark WHS. It shows the layout of the key buildings and heritage attractions. (Source: <https://www.newlanark.org/map-of-new-lanark/> accessed on 22.03.2020)

**Figure 6.** An overview of the New Lanark Mills World Heritage Site

The more tightly planned industrial towns were later achieved at railway towns of Britain including Swindon, Wolverton, and Creve during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. However, it was Saltaire, which considered as the culmination of the processes that began in Derby a century ago, as a complete model industrial town of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with its public buildings and workers' houses, set harmoniously in urban gridiron plan. The founder of the village was Sir Titus Salt, who gave his new village his own name, coupled with that of the nearby river Aire (Neil Jackson et. al, 2010:2, 38).

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**Figure 7.** Site Map of Saltaire WHS (Source:

[https://saltairevillage.info/Saltaire\\_WHS\\_01\\_map.html/](https://saltairevillage.info/Saltaire_WHS_01_map.html/) accessed on 02. February 2021)



**Figure 8.a-b.** Main Street and Workers' Houses, Saltaire

### 2.3. Housing the Workforce and Philanthropic Reform

The development of water-powered carding and spinning in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> brought extensive use of children aged only five working as mule scavengers under the working machinery. Samuel Greg built one of the early purpose-built accommodations to host pauper apprentices working in shifts in Styal, Cheshire, around 1790. Following the legislation in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the apprentice system gradually decreased leading to the extensive use of family labor, while women and children constituted much of the workforce. To house their workforce as a family, the mill owners started to build the so-called 'factory colonies', which were initially a few rows of houses grouped around a mill (Palmer and Neaverson, 2001: 49-52).

The first workers' housing was built in the North Street of Cromford (1776-77) in Derwent Valley, consisting of two rows of three-story gritstone terraced houses facing each other across the street. It was followed by the other mills in the Derwent Valley, including the Square in Darley Abbey (1790) and the Long Row in Belper (1792-97) (Jackson et al, 2010:13-19; Palmer et al, 2012:222-223).



**Figure 9.a-b.** The 18th and 19th-century millworkers' houses, the Long Row, Belper

When Richard Arkwright's new factory system for textile production was brought to New Lanark, the need to provide housing and other facilities for the workers was also acknowledged. Instead of following the two or three-story terrace houses that characterized the Derwent Valley, the so-called Glasgow type tenement blocks were preferred in New Lanark (Palmer et al, 2012:229-230)

Rather than the technology of the mills, it was Robert Owen, an influential thinker of his time whose reforms transformed New Lanark into a distinctive and famous industrial town. One of the founders of 'utopian socialism, Robert Owen, implemented several reforms for his workforce in New Lanark. These included reducing working hours from thirteen to ten and employing children only above the age of ten. In addition to founding the first nursery school, he also created the "Institute for the Formation of Character" for adult education in 1818. As the name of the institute strongly suggests and as Owen explained in his *A New View of Society* published 1813, he believed that human character could be correctly formed by placing people under proper environmental influences like physical, moral, and social (Owen, 1813).

Sir Titus Salt, 1803-1876, the founder of Saltaire, was also a determined and philanthropic industrialist of his time. He took over his fathers' business in 1833. After he became Mayor of Bradford in 1848, he committed himself to reduce Bradford's air pollution problems, which had been created by his textile factory chimneys located in the village of Saltare. Like Owen, Salt built a school, hospital, church, washhouse, communal dining hall, and park for his workers. Moreover, he created the Salts Institution, housing a library, gymnasium, chess room, lecture theatre, and dance hall.



**Figure 10.** The Salt Institute (Victoria Hall)

Unlike Owen, however, Salt left no written statement of his purpose in creating Saltaire. Scholars often argued that "his motives were a mixture of sound economics, Christian duty, and a desire to have effective control over his workforce" (Jackson et. all, 2010:9).

### **3. CREATING A NEW IMAGE: FROM DERELICT INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS TO A WORLD HERITAGE SITE**

#### **3.1. Conservation and Adaptive Reuse**

In their study of *Transformation of Industrial Heritage Sites* (2015), Oevermann and Mieg have identified four different conservation approaches to industrial heritage sites in general. The first one is the 'Conservation of heritage as a testimony to the past.' According to the authors, this approach corresponds to the traditional understanding of heritage conservation. In the case of industrial heritage, however, preserving the authenticity and integrity of the sites is expected to reflect on the working conditions, labour organization, etc. The second approach is 'conservation of heritage as urban landmarks or cultural landscapes'. As the authors indicate, recent approaches to the concept of the cultural landscape and historic urban landscapes have been extending to cover the industrial landscape. The third approach is the 'conservation of heritage as-built infrastructure and spatial resource'. The value of sustainability comes to the fore by re-using built infrastructure for new requirements while maintaining 'a certain character of a site'. Finally, the

last approach is the 'conservation of heritage as architectural and atmospheric space.' This approach is critically discussed from the perspective of heritage conservation in terms of whether a new architectural production harm 'legibility and fabric of historic building' (Oevermann and Mieg, 2015:5-6).

As for the case studies examined here, it can be stated that historical, economic, and practical context impacted the conservation and adaptive re-use strategies of the industrial sites. The approaches are varied from conservation of industrial sites as "a testimony to the past" to the adaptive re-use of textile mills as hotels, business, and cultural centers. The case studies also illustrate how reinterpretation and reuse processes have created a new identity for the historic textile factories.

The conversion of textile mills for residential, commercial, or other types of adaptive reuse dates back to the factory building itself due to changing technology and financial reasons. This is especially true for the first-generation textile spinning mills, whose life span remained relatively short in their original usage due to the rapid increase in size and power consumption of machinery (Palmer et al, 2012:34). The earliest examples of cotton spinning mills in Derwent Valley underwent this type of conversion. For example, the first mills in Cromford had to cease production as early as 1890, when the fires destroyed portions of the complex. After the second fire in 1929 destroyed the top two floors of the original mill building, the mills were adapted for low-grade industrial uses, including the manufacture of color pigment resulting in contamination and disrepair of much of the site.

The conservation history of the first water-powered cotton mills of Derwent Valley begins with a robust voluntary commitment during the late 1970s. A local festival commemorating the bicentenary of the mills' establishment gave way to the creation of a society called Arkwright Society in 1971. With funding from several non-governmental heritage organizations, city councils, and individuals, the Society managed to purchase the Cromford mill, investigated its archaeology, and established a visitor center for interpreting its industrial heritage values. This limited budgeted community work treated the mills 'as a monument', avoiding any dramatic conversions and physical interventions (Stratton, 2000:44). A similar process can also be traced to the fate of mills in Belper. Here, after the cease of cotton manufacturing, the mills and associated buildings were first purchased by an entrepreneur for other industrial purposes during the late 1980s. The partnership between Belper Town Council and Derbyshire County Council and others undertook the initiative of implementing a conservation and adaptation plan for the mills in 1986. As part of this transformation, a small museum, much like an interpretive exhibition, was created within the Strut's North Mill. At the end of the 1990s, this facility started to be managed by a charitable trust (New Lanark Nomination Dossier, 2001). In the same way, when the silk production ended in 1908, the Silk Mill in Derby, the building was purchased by some other entrepreneurs to use for other industrial purposes until fires destroyed some part of the sites. The building passed ownership to the Electricity Board until 1972, when the Derby Council leased part of the building for use as an industrial museum. In 1999, the City Council obtained the freehold and the Silk Mill has now been undergoing a major redevelopment program to be opened as *Derby Silk Mill – Museum of Making* in 2021.<sup>8</sup>

Conservation and regeneration movements in New Lanark started during the late 1960s and 1970s, approximately at the same time as Derwent Valley. Here, the main actor was the New Lanark Conservation Trust (NLCT) founded in 1974, aiming to 'restoring and regenerating New

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<sup>8</sup> Adrian Farmer and Sukie Kharia, Site Coordinators of the Derwent Valley Mills WHS (02.08.2019, Personal Interview).



Lanark as a living and working community which is a major source of employment and commercial activity in the area". (New Lanark Management Plan, 2019).

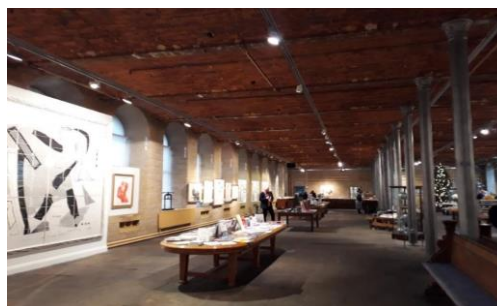
After the cease of the cotton production mills in New Lanark, the mills and other industrial buildings were sold to a metal extraction company in 1970. Like the mills in Derwent Valley, they continued to have been used for other industrial purposes. Concerns about the demolition and deterioration of the village resulted in the creation of a housing association called the New Lanark Association (NLA) in 1963. The New Lanark Working Party formed by several representatives of central and local public and civil society organizations, published a study entitled 'A Future for New Lanark' to consider how the conservation and regeneration of the area would be possible (A Report to The New Lanark Working Party, 1973:11, 55, 90). This collaborative work led to the creation of NLCT in 1974 to carry out restoration and regeneration activities in the village. In 1996, the Heritage Lottery granted 1.8 million pounds for the refurbishment of Mill 1 onto the New Lanark Hotel (Stratton and Taylor, 2000:220).



**Figure 11.a-b.** New Lanark Mill 1- the Mill Hotel, New Lanark Mill 3- the Visitor Centre.

By 2005, most of the buildings had been restored and New Lanark transformed into an award-winning tourist attraction site. As **Table 1** shows, the other mill buildings have also been transformed into various new uses such as gift shop, cafés, and exhibitions including the 'dark ride', as well as commercial lets-office and retail (*New Lanark Nomination Dossier*, 2001).

The cotton production ceased in Saltare in 1989, a later period compared to Derwent and New Lanark. The first conservation and regeneration move began with the establishment of the *Saltire Village Society* in 1984. In this period, the entire village was listed as of special architectural and historic interest, while the Church was listed grade 1 and the mills and the Institute listed as grade II\* (**Table 1**) (Jackson et. all, 2010:83). Despite local collaborative initiatives, however, the transformation of the mill building was carried out by a single person. It was Jonathan Silver, an entrepreneur with a broad interest in art, history, and culture. In 1987, he purchased the mill complex and transformed it into a business and cultural center consisting of offices, shops, and a restaurant. Due to his intellectual background and close relationships with contemporary artist David Hockney, he also opened an art gallery devoted to the works of Hockney.



**Figure 12.** The Salts Mill, the 1853 Gallery, and Collection of Art Books & Materials

After the transformation of the site into a new cultural and business center; wealthier, middle-class inhabitants started to settle in Saltaire. The lack of personal memories of newcomers related to the industrial past must have made it easy to attach a new meaning to Saltaire. This issue has also pointed out by the site coordinator of Saltaire when I interviewed her. She said that the town attracts most particularly artists and university lecturers to settle in, and while many people visit Saltaire today with interest in art and shopping; only a few are interested in its industrial past.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.2. Legal Protection and Management Context

While the UK is a country well-known for its long history of the legal protection of ancient sites and historic buildings dating back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was not until the late 1990s, a specific policy for industrial heritage was created for the first time. As explained in the conservation history of the case studies above, voluntary activities played more important role than official bodies in protecting the industrial heritage. From this time onwards, the development of 'conservation-led regeneration' schemes for which industrial buildings provided a significant potential, the creation of specific funds for heritage conservation, i.e., Heritage Lottery Fund, and a changing understanding of heritage conservation from single buildings to the wider landscape were also significant phenomenon for the acceleration of industrial heritage projects in the UK (Streeten, 2000:90-93). Therefore, it can be said that the emergence of the case studies examined here as heritage centers was closely linked with the legal and institutional developments and changing approaches to heritage protection in the UK.

The legal protection of heritage sites in Britain is currently ensured by the spatial planning system, designations, and management plans. In general, cultural sites depend on the various countrywide provisions for development control and designated as "conservation areas", "listed building", and/or "scheduled ancient monument". The national protection status of each site is shown in Table 1. While there is no specific statutory control that applies to the World Heritage Sites in the UK, it is a "key material consideration" in the determination of planning applications, and planning authorities should include policies in their local plans to protect the OUV, authenticity, and integrity of the sites (<https://historicengland.org.uk>).

Regarding the management system, there is a Steering Group made up of the key stakeholders including representatives of the owners, regional and local authorities, the DCMS, Historic England or Historic Environment Scotland, and other official bodies or NGOs with an interest in each site.<sup>10</sup> In many cases, ICOMOS UK is also a member of Steering Groups. While in Saltaire and DVWHS, the leader of the Steering Group is the relevant local authorities, in New Lanark, it is the New Lanark Trust (NLT), which is the key owner of the site.<sup>11</sup> The most common approach taken to the management of world heritage sites is the "WHS co-ordinator model", where there is a site co-ordinator supported by other working groups which meet periodically (DCMS, 2007:4). The case studies examined here is also managed by this model.

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<sup>9</sup> Sheena Campbell, Site Coordinator of Saltaire WHS (Personal Interview, 17.06.2019)

<sup>10</sup> On 1st April 2015 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England changed its common name from English Heritage to Historic England.

<sup>11</sup> Paige Hughes, World Heritage Officer, New Lanark WHS, (Personal interview, 05.08.2019)

**Table 1.** Overview of Current Protection, Management, and Interpretation Status

WH Property	National Protection Status	Ownership and Management	Original Function → Adaptive Reuse/Current Use	Interpretation Presentation
<b>Saltaire, Yorkshire</b>	The whole property is within the Conservation Area. Many buildings listed under the provisions of the Planning Act (1990) as the Grade I, Grade II*, and Grade II. Roberts Park is designated under the Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest.	Owners include the local authorities, private utilities, the Church, and private owners. Victoria Hall is owned by the Salt Foundation. Management Plan is in place.	-Salts Mill→ Art Gallery -Residential Accommodation→ Residential Accommodation -The Church → The Church -The School→ The Shipley College -The Hospital→ Residential Property -The Salt Institute→ Culture and Leisure Centre	Text (Yes) Exhibitions (Yes) Multimedia (Yes)  Visitor centre (No) Site museum (No) Information booths (Yes) Guided tours (Yes) Trails / routes (Yes) Information materials (Yes)
<b>Derwent Valley Mills, Derbyshire</b>	There are 13 Conservation Areas designated under the Planning Act (1990). 838 buildings included on the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest. Eighteen are Grade I (mostly at Cromford), 42 are Grade II*, and the remainder Grade II. There are also two sites of Special Scientific Interest, designated under the Wildlife and Countryside Act (1981); one Special Area of Conservation.	While most of the residential property and some of the industrial sites are privately owned, key industrial buildings are in public or charitable trusts ownership. Management responsibility is shared by several local authorities and government agencies. Steering Group is responsible for the implementation of the Management Plan. The Derbyshire Council employs WHS team. The management Plan is up to date.	-Masson Mill Site→ Houses a shop, a restaurant, conference facilities and a privately-owned textile museum with working machinery.  -Cromford Mill Site→ Visitor Centre housing the Arkwright Experience  -Millworkers' house, the Greyhound Hotel and Arkwright Stores in Cromford→ Residential Accommodation  -Lea Mills→ Continuous textile production  -North Mill, Belper→ Houses a Museum (Interpretive Exhibition), the visitor centre and a gift shop	Text (Yes) Exhibitions (Yes) Multimedia (Yes)  Visitor centre (Yes) Site museum (Yes) Information booths and panels (Yes) Guided tours (No) Trails / routes (Yes) Information materials (Yes)

\* This paper is based on a research project conducted at the Centre for Conservation Studies in the University of York (UK) during the 2018-2019 academic year. The research was supported by the EU Jean Monnet Scholarship Programme (JMSP). The author is grateful to JMSP for the support, and Dr. Gill Chitty, director of the Conservation Studies, Department of Archaeology, for her generous help and guidance.

- Workers houses in Belper → Residential Accommodation (Rental houses)
- The Milford Mill→ Demolished during 1906s
- Darley Abbey Mills→ Individual workplaces available to rent.
- Derby Silk Mill→ Museum of Making

<p><b>New Lanark, Scotland</b></p>	<p>The whole property is within the Conservation Area. There are currently 29 listed buildings and 2 Scheduled Monuments.</p>	<p>Ownership is shared between the NLT, South Lanarkshire Council, and twenty private householders. Management at the local level is the responsibility of the NLT. The Trust also employs a WH Officer. Management Plan 2019-23 in place.</p>	<p>Text (Yes) Exhibitions (Yes) Multimedia (Yes)  Visitor centre (Yes) Site museum (No) Information booths (Yes) Guided tours (Yes) Trails / routes (Yes) Information materials (Yes)</p>
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### 3.3. Interpretation and Presentation of Industrial Whs

The case studies examined here employ several interpretations and presentation strategies and techniques that range from simple textual descriptions (information panels etc.) to more interactive and 3D virtual reality shows getting visitors involved. The basic overview of these methods is shown in the table above. Rather than commenting on the effectiveness of these different interpretation methods, which will require more systematic visitor survey studies, this study focuses on certain themes that stand out in the interpretation and presentation of industrial and social values of the sites.

#### 3.3.1. Technological Achievements and its Link with National History and Identity

Since the formation of the industrial museums in England, their presentation of eighteenth and nineteenth-century industrial history has received several criticisms due to their overemphasis on the “celebrations of technology and inventiveness”, while a complete exclusion of social aspects of industrialization or presentation of a distorted image of the working class’ living and working conditions (Stratton, 1996:70-171; Stables, 2017:987).

In response, recent decades have witnessed a changing approach to the interpretation themes at various industrial heritage sites and museums to embrace wider social and economic impacts of industrialization. Despite this recent turn, however, the celebration of progressive technological achievements in the textile industry and its relations with the British identity has still constituted the focus of most industrial heritage sites I examined here. For example, the preservation of the earliest cotton spinning machines at the North Mill Museum in Belper, and Cromford Visitor Centre is used to present the role of the sites as the kick-start of the Industrial Revolution. The ‘essential influence’ of Britain on the other places in the world is also emphasized through visual and textual descriptions.



**Figure 13.a-b.** Strutt’s North Mill, Interpretive Exhibition, interior and working textile machinery, Belper.

In Cromford Mills, using computer-generated imagery (CGI), the so-called Arkwright Experience tells the story of how Derwent Valley changed the world in the 18th century with the growth of the British cotton industry. Visitors can easily appreciate how Richard Arkwright developed technology that gave rise to the industrial revolution by creating the modern factory with an emphasis on the relationship between history and British national identity.

#### 3.3.2. Highlighting a Specific Historical Period and ‘the Great Men’s History’

The presentation of technological and industrial achievement naturally brings more attention to certain historical periods, the peak of the industrial development, rather than an evolution of the industry or post-industrial history of the sites.<sup>12</sup> In relation to this, the great male founders of the sites, namely, Sir Arkwright in Cromford, J. Strutt in Belper, Robert Owen in New Lanark, and Sir

<sup>12</sup> The focus on a specific period is not particular to the case studies examined here. The major industrial museums in the UK including Beamish and Ironbridge Museums have been criticized for their dedication to the Victorian/Edwardian period, avoiding the history of later periods. See Sables, 2017.

Titus Salt in Saltaire have always been paid special attention. Visitors can easily appreciate the importance of their personalities from their detailed written biographies and large-scale photographs presented at the site.



**Figure 14.a-b.** (left) Portrait of J. Strutt, the North Mill, Belper. (right) Owen's proverbs placed on the walls of the building all around New Lanark

In many industrial heritage sites, the so-called 'Dark Ride' or 'Experience' where the visitor is guided on a journey back through time to a particular period is often the major attraction to achieve the presentation of 'the most significant part of the history' of the industrial sites. In New Lanark, the so-called Annie McLeod's experience focused on the scenes of life in New Lanark in 1820. This year was the completion of town, the most mature period of the village under the management of famous Robert Owen. In the re-creation of a mill worker's house, visitors can also experience how Annie McLeod's family would have lived in 1820. (*New Lanark Management Plan*, 2019:10). According to a study on the visitor experience on New Lanark concluded that 'the feeling of admiration for Robert Owen as a social pioneer, therefore, was found to be a common emotion experienced by many visitors' (Beeho and Prentice, 1997:83).

In fact, this specific focus on a certain historical period, the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was also seen in the conservation and regeneration activities of New Lanark. As is acknowledged by ICOMOS at the time of its inscription, this was a conscious act, involving the demolition of many more recent buildings: "in a sense, New Lanark has been arrested at a certain time of its history" (ICOMOS Evaluation Report, 2001).

In Cromford, the history of the site is told through the so-called Arkwright Experience, which is the main attraction of the site. Here, thanks to the CGI technology, visitors 'can meet' the Sir Richard Arkwright himself, who tells the story of how he developed the site (<https://www.cromfordmills.org.uk>). He also tells the revolutionary techniques that used to make it an international success and the story of the Derwent Valley's global impact on the cotton industry. It should also be noted that while the presentation of the personal success of Arkwright is the main concern, the exhibitions also display the post-industrial history of the building complex, particularly the restoration challenge faced by the Arkwright Society to bring the buildings back into use and create 'the heritage attraction'. At the Visitor Centre in Belper, similarly, while the focus is on Strutt, the founders of the mill, displays the big size photographs, graphics, and models, visitors can also be informed about the history of the building complex.

Even though the presentation of industrial history is not the main concern at Saltaire, for reasons mentioned above, the personality of Sir Titus Salt and his achievements in turning Saltaire into a perfect industrial town still constituted a major part of the exhibition. 'Salts History Exhibition: People and Process' located on the third floor of the mill tells the story of the Mill through objects including a few types of machinery, clothing, and art objects including 'a precious

plate from the lavish opening banquet of 1853, to which Sir Titus Salt invited 2.440 workers and 1.310 guests” ([www.http://www.saltmill.org](http://www.saltmill.org)).

### 3.3.3. Representation of Working Class, Women and Child Labor

Despite a recent turn for a more ‘inclusive interpretation’, many industrial heritage sites and museums still present a male-dominated and “top-down” history (Greenlees, 2007:24). Although the majority of workers employed in the textile industry were women and children, they do not form the dominant themes of the interpretation and presentation of the sites that I examined here. Moreover, workers, in general, are often mentioned in the residential context, housing, etc. rather than within the workplace. For example, while visitors are informed about the technological and social achievements of Arkwright in Cromford mill, the working conditions of workers are almost excluded from the formal presentation of the site. Instead, the guided walking tour of Cromford Village, ‘traces the footsteps of hundreds of Mill workers and explore 18th-century village life including the North Street as the earliest industrial housing in Derbyshire’ (<http://www.derwentvalleymills.org>). Similarly in Belper, while the official interpretive panels and old textile machines provide visitors with the story of personal achievements of owners of the factory; the guided-tour, I personally joined in, highlights the life of ordinary workers, including female and child labor. It is interesting to see how enthusiastic local historians provide a very different perspective from the formal interpretive panels at the museums.

The situation seems to be a little bit different in New Lanark where the major visitor attraction, a dark ride known as the “Annie McLeod Experience”, in which the visitors are seated in two-seater, suspended pod-like modules, completely re-creates the story of ‘what a typical day at New Lanark’ by the voice of Annie, a 10-year-old mill girl. We learn that “children from as young as five had been working for thirteen hours a day in the textile mills, before Owen stopped employing children under ten and reduced their working to ten hours a day.”



**Figure 15.a-b.** Annie McLeod Experience Ride, New Lanark

The problem here is that although the subject of the exhibitions seems to be the workers including women and children, their story is told from the perspective of the founder, the great men. The exhibitions perpetuate the idea of how personal enthusiasm and motivations of Owen improved the way of life of workers during his management of the mills. Visitors can also appreciate the revolutionary ideas of Owen by visiting the institutions and schools he founded. Here, it was told Owen created the first infant school in the world with a comprehensive education system for children. In a re-created historic classroom, visitors can discover ‘what it was like to go to school in Robert Owen's time’.



Figure 16. a-b. New Lanark, Historic Classroom

As Saltaire has a predominantly cultural agenda, rather than industrial, it is much more difficult to find any references for women and child labor here. Archival studies on the identity of a few workers living and working in Saltaire has been presented at the online exhibition titled “the Saltaire Village” created by volunteers in 2006 (<https://salthairevillage.info>).

### 3.3.4. Monumental Architecture and Beauty of the Landscape

Comprising of several functional buildings including spinning blocks, weaving sheds, finishing works, and reservoirs; the textile factory is one of the iconic images of industrialization. While their form and appearance were very much related to the processes that they housed, in some examples, they were constructed in a very expressive form and size. A good example was the Salt Mill, whose grandeur dimensions were compared with St Paul’s Cathedral in London. Moreover, by its design of façade, doors, and windows, the mill was also likened to “Italian Renaissance palaces” by its contemporaries. At its opening ceremony in 1853, the Mayor of Bradford stated that “our generation, built Palaces of the industry almost equal to the palaces of Caesars!” (Cooper, 2011:81). The monumentality and aesthetic qualities of the Salts Mill is still used as a backdrop for the new image of Saltaire as an art and cultural center.



Figure 17. The School, Saltaire

The monumentality and beauty of the landscape formed a dominant theme in the presentation of New Lanark surrounded by waterfalls and a forested gorge (*A Report to The New Lanark Working Party* 1973:21). The “Walkers & Nature lovers` in the Falls of Clyde Wildlife Reserve is one of the suggested itineraries for the visitors (<https://www.newlanark.org>).





**Figure 18-a-b.** New Lanark, an overview from the Roof Garden, and the Exhibition panels: “Inspired by the Landscape: Poetry and Prose”

The beauty of the landscape has also been an essential part of the interpretation of the Derwent Valley since 1979, when a research trust published the first interpretation document for the site. The study entitled ‘Interpreting the Derwent Valley’ puts an emphasis on the geology and landscape of the site as well as its archaeology and industrial values. (*Interpreting the Derwent Valley*, 1979: 21-25). The guided nature walks are presented as important visitor activities of the site. The World Heritage site coordinator is also guiding walking tours to natural areas around the Derwent Valley.<sup>13</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The industrial sites examined here clearly display how historical, economic, and practical context impacts the approaches to the conservation and adaptive re-use strategies of industrial heritage. They also illustrate how reuse and reinterpretation processes have played a crucial role in the search for a new identity for each historic industrial site. In this context, we see that the nature of the new meaning and character created from the redundant industrial sites was closely related to those actors: individuals and institutions, who were primarily involved in the adaptation and conservation process itself. While a local community-based project at the Derwent Valley helped transform the site from decay and disrepair into an “industrial heritage center”, private entrepreneurship at Saltaire created a very different image for the site, is less interested in its industrial past. New Lanark, on the other hand, seems to be situated in between these two different approaches. On the one hand, sustainable development of local community living in New Lanark tried to be achieved by the adoption of a heritage-led regeneration as in the case of conversion of mills into a hotel and business center. The creation of exhibitions and “experience center” dedicated to the industrial history and values of the site, on the other hand, transformed the site into a significant industrial heritage site.

In terms of interpretation and presentation of the sites to the public, there are also some commonalities and contrasts among them. First, it can be clearly seen that certain historical periods and ‘the great male founders of the sites’ are the major presentation themes in all the sites. The post-industrial history of the building complexes, particularly, the transformations of the sites into a “heritage center” in each case are also displayed to some extent. While the representation of the role of working-class, women, and child labor are more pronounced in New Lanark and to a lesser extent in the Derwent Valley, there is very little in Saltaire, as it has a completely different agenda.

In this study, while the evaluation of the current legal protection and management of the sites is based on international and local policy documents, the examination of the interpretation and presentation them to the public today is only based on authors own perceptions and on-site observations, rather than public opinion which will require more systematic visitor survey studies.

<sup>13</sup> Adrian Farmer and Sukie Kharia, Site Coordinators of the Derwent Valley Mills WHS (02.08.2019, Personal Interview)

Therefore, future research which employs different data collection methods will provide further insights into visitor's expectations, experience, and interpretations of the display of the sites. Furthermore, several themes that stands out in the current display of the sites, such as the inadequate representation of the women labor in industrial sites, merits further investigation in a similar or different context.

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