



**Rural remnants? Historical geographies of
landscape significance at Saltaire (1853-c.1900) and
the assembling of a peri-urban heritage site.**

being a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Human
Geography in the University of Hull

by Ruth Louise Quinn BA, MA

October 2021

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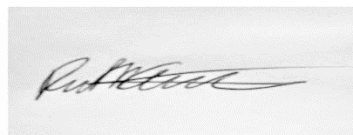
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the loved ones I said goodbye to between 2017-2021. Nana, Grandad, Gran and Ciccio the cat. You are all dearly missed.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the tremendous support of my supervisors, Professor Briony McDonagh, Professor Nicola Verdon and Dr Ruth Slatter. To provide guidance in pandemic, and time of unprecedented turmoil in higher education, is a remarkable thing. I can quite honestly say that this PhD would not have been completed without their steadfast support during the difficult final eighteen months of the project. Much thanks is also owed to my examiners Dr Katrina Navickas and Professor David Atkinson for their support, wisdom and constructive feedback. I would also like to thank the team at the Doctoral College at the University of Hull for delivering outstanding support during a time of crisis. This PhD was made possible through the support of the AHRC and the Heritage Consortium. I am extremely grateful for the opportunity provided by my funder to embark on this study, attend conferences and participate in all aspects of research. Many thanks are also owed to Dr Sarah McKeon, for organising an excellent programme for the Heritage Consortium and to Dr Amanda Capern for her compassionate leadership. I would also like to acknowledge the friendship and support of my peers in the Heritage Consortium 2017 cohort.

At the start of this PhD, I was surprised to find myself in a geography department, having previously studied in cultural studies and history departments. However, over the past four years I have realised that I was a geographer all along. I am so grateful to the wonderful geography department at Hull for welcoming this newcomer to the discipline. The support of my peers in the Gender, Memory and Place cluster has been a particularly important part of the supportive environment at Hull, as well as a source of excellent opportunities for coffee and cake! It has been a joy to share my research journey with my fellow historical geography student peers in the department Stormm, Helen and Sarah. I would also like to thank Dr Lewis Holloway for his guidance during my annual reviews and for sharing an enthusiasm about landscape and farms. As part of my experiences as a 'geographer in the making' I have been extremely fortunate to benefit from the colligate and intellectual support of the

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Studying on a localised scale gained a sharper focus during 2020, and I am extremely fortunate to have found support in my community, from people who share a passion for Saltaire and the surrounding landscapes. I am hugely indebted to my collaborative partner in this project, Saltaire World Heritage Education Association (SHWEA). When the original CDA partnership fell through SHWEA really did come to the rescue, providing the perfect space for a collaboration between historical geography research and heritage practice. It was a true privilege to spend many happy hours in the research room with fellow Saltaire enthusiasts, and I have learnt so much from the tutelage of my fellow SHWEA volunteers Maggie, Ian and Sandi. Special thanks are also owed David and Stella Downs at Milner Field for inviting me onto the farm and sharing their history with me. I am also extremely grateful to staff at Bradford Local Studies Library, The West Yorkshire Archive Service and the Leeds Library for providing access to archives, expertise and a warm scholarly environment to work in. Whilst the original collaborative world heritage element of this project fell through, I would like to acknowledge the support of Sheena Campbell who, after stepping into the role of World Heritage Site officer in 2018, took an interest in my work and involved me in wider conversations about Saltaire.

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Publications and Conferences

Quinn, R., 'Cows not campus: open space preservation in the 'buffer zone' at Saltaire World Heritage Site', *Whose Landscapes? Open Spaces Symposium*, Museum of English Rural Life (online), 8th September 2010.

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Quinn, R., 'Historical Geographies of rural interaction at Saltaire (UK) 1853–1918, and the role of countryside environments in the construction of a 'healthy heritage'', *RGS-IBG International Conference*, Royal Geographical Society 27–30th September, 2019.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the relationship between landscape, peri-urbanism and heritage significance at Saltaire (Bradford, UK), one of the largest and most complete model factory towns constructed in mid-Victorian England. Now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, parks, gardens and ‘the countryside’ at Saltaire have been framed by heritage and planning professionals as integral parts of the site’s authenticity as a historic industrial town. However, there has been very little critical scholarship examining the relationships between landscapes, both in and around Saltaire, and the site’s historical geography on a local scale.

Landscape forms a significant part of the materiality of the nineteenth-century industrial model village as an improved environment. However, interpreting nineteenth-century medico-moral understandings of the environment as a basis for heritage conservation obscures more critical understandings of the relationships between health, landscape, ‘the countryside’ and urbanisation. This thesis combines an empirical historical approach with an analysis of contemporary heritage narratives, drawing on the recent use of archival fragments to ‘read against the grain’ of grand narratives of industrial improvement. The historical analysis in this thesis examines the social and material formation of landscape at Saltaire between 1853 and 1900. During this period, the landscape of Saltaire was enmeshed in broader processes of industrialisation, farming, property development, alongside the rich local associations embedded in leisure practices in the Aire Valley. Crucially, my empirical analysis demonstrates that the ‘significance’ of landscape at Saltaire can be better understood through emergent processes of social relations and peri-urbanisation, which continue to shape Saltaire today.

The main body of this thesis focuses on three empirical case studies. In turn, these examine the moral geographies of landscape and health, rurality and the formation of the peri-urban fringe, and gardens and designed landscapes at Saltaire. These case studies demonstrate the tensions inherent in the creation of an ideal peri-urban assemblage which was at

once both compact, green and 'healthy', yet also industrial, densely populated and expansive. The findings of this thesis contribute to scholarship concerned with the development of industrial model villages and the relationships between landscape, health, leisure and property relations within the mid to late nineteenth-century. More broadly, this thesis demonstrates the importance of critically understanding the complex relationship between the historiography of planned model settlements and dominant ideas about landscape, locality, heritage and the 'character' of a place.

Contents	
Dedication	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Publications and Conferences	v
Abstract	vi
List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xiii
Abbreviations	xiv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Background.....	2
1.2 Research Design.....	7
1.3 Thesis structure.....	14
Chapter Two: Literature Review	20
2.1 Planned Model Settlements	20
2.2 Nineteenth Century Town Planning.....	29
2.3 Moral Geographies.....	32
2.4 Critical Geographies of Landscape & Place	36
2.5 Peri-urbanism & assemblage geographies.....	41
2.6 Heritage, Geography and Landscape.....	46
2.7 Conclusion	52
Chapter Three: Research Design and Method	54
3.1 Archives	54
3.2 Maps and Plans.....	58
3.3 Postcards and Ephemera.....	59
3.4 Newspapers, Periodicals and Print Material.....	60
3.5 Contemporary Source Material	66
3.6 Conclusion	69

Chapter Four: Moral geographies of landscape and ‘healthy heritage’	70
4.1 Setting the scene: from the unhealthy City to the ‘Healthy Countryside’	72
4.2 ‘Local Scenes & Characters’: walking in the landscape at Saltaire	78
4.3 Pollution in the Air(e) & the un-healthy environment.	86
4.4 Landscape, culture and community	93
4.4.1 Poetic Landscapes and literary culture at Saltaire	95
4.4.2 Landscapes of Protest & Mass Gatherings	104
4.4.3 Landscapes of Praise and Prayer	111
4.5 Landscape Character & ‘Moral Geographies’ of Heritage	116
4.6 Conclusion	125
Chapter Five: Farms, fields and Factory: Assembling the peri-urban fringe landscape at Saltaire	128
5.1 Agricultural space and the development of Saltaire	130
5.2 Assembling greenbelts and buffer zones	141
5.3 Model agricultural pursuits in Saltaire Village	145
5.4 The Development of the Model Estate at Milner Field	152
5.5 Piscatorial Pursuits at Milner Field	160
5.6 Contested Ground: Agriculture Heritage(s) at Saltaire.	166
5.7 Conclusion	179
Chapter Six: The city by the daisy chequered fields: Plants, gardens and designed landscapes	183
6.1 Saltaire and the Garden City Ideal: prototype or parallel?	184
6.2 1853 Saltaire: an ideal urban landscape as it was imagined to be.	190

6.3	Allotments, estate gardens and horticulture shows: Interaction in Saltaire's green fringes.	202
6.4	Saltaire Park & outdoor recreation in the village.	220
6.5	Garden and Park Heritage at Saltaire.	237
6.6	Conclusion	245
Chapter Seven: Conclusion.....		248
7.1	A landscape as it was imagined to be.	249
7.2	Social relations and landscape formation.....	252
7.3	Critical reading of materiality at planned model settlements	255
7.4	Local history, place and landscape	257
7.5	Epilogue: suggestions for new ways of understanding the landscape at Saltaire.....	259
Reference list / Bibliography		264
Appendix 1		297

List of Figures

Figure 1: Postcard of Shipley Glen c1904, The Saltaire Collection, c2b-286	97
Figure 2: Shipley Glen, 21 st March 2017.....	120
Figure 3: Saltaire viewed from Hirstwood, 29 th March 2018.....	123
Figure 4: Hirst Farm Saltaire, c. 1910, Saltaire Collection C2b-286d.....	136
Figure 5: Saltaire from the Northeast of England 1853. Planned with admirable arrangement for ensuring the health and comfort of the workpeople. Wellcome Images.....	137
Figure 6: Postcard of view of valley towards Saltaire c1905, Saltaire Collection C2b-286d.....	138
Figure 7: Ordnance Survey, Yorkshire 201 (includes: Baildon; Bingley; Bradford; Shipley.) Surveyed: 1847 to 1848, Published: 1852. (C) National Library of Scotland (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).....	139
Figure 8: Yorkshire CCI.11 Surveyed 1889 to 1890 Published 1893. (C) National Library of Scotland (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).....	140
Figure 9: Snicket on footpath from Gilstead to Milner Field. Feb 2019. Photo taken by Ruth Quinn	154
Figure 10: Yard at Milner Film Farm/Primrose Dairy, Bingley (Bradford UK) photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, 2018.....	171
Figure 11: Farmhouse at Milner Field. Photographed by Ruth Quinn, 2018	172
Figure 12: Barn at Milner Field, photographed by Ruth Quinn, 2018	173
Figure 13: Albert Road Allotments and Playing Fields, 1890. 1:2 500 County Series 1st Revision [TIFF geospatial data], Scale 1:2500, Tiles: york-20107-2,york-20111-2, Updated: 30 November 2010, Historic, Using: EDINA	204
Figure 14: Plan Shewing the Town and Works at Saltaire, Lockwood & Mawson, 1870.....	204
Figure 15: View of allotments opposite Albert Road, c1905, Saltaire Collection, C2b-286d.....	207
Figure 16: Allotments in Saltaire, taken by Ruth Quinn, March 2018.	208

Figure 17: Milner Field House and Gardens c1890, Saltaire Collection, 2018.36.6.....	216
Figure 18: 'Veg on the Edge' garden at Caroline Street car park, Saltaire. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, March 2018.	242
Figure 19: Contemporary creative use of front gardens for display in Saltaire village. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, February 2018.	243
Figure 20: Saltaire Park pavilion and field. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, February 2018.....	244

List of Tables

Table 1: Views in Saltaire, World Heritage Management Plan, 2014 118

Abbreviations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WHS: World Heritage Site

AHD: Authorised Heritage Discourse

KDPS: Kingsbridge Directors Pension Scheme

Chapter One: Introduction

A walk round Saltaire village today takes you through grids of long terraced streets of small houses with compact, tidy front gardens running alongside the railway, river Aire and Leeds Liverpool Canal. The hillsides rise beyond the factory, park and allotments, surrounding the rooflines with a dramatic backdrop of steep woodland and fields. It is an environment I know well through living close to Saltaire and walking in the landscape many times over the course of this project. Saltaire is part of the suburb of Shipley in Bradford (West, Yorkshire). It is now a popular residential area, and descriptions of the town frequently appear in 'best place to live' articles in the press. Indeed, a recent piece in *Yorkshire Live* described Saltaire as simultaneously 'buzzing and edgy' and a 'traditional village like you see on TV'.¹ Geographically, Saltaire is on the edge of Shipley and the surrounding towns of Bingley and Baildon. The peri-urban location of Saltaire is a key part of the sites appeal to modern residents, with urban amenities and good transport links existing alongside easy access to walks along moorland and riverside. The amenities at Saltaire are also a product of its design as a mid-nineteenth century model industrial village. However, the relationships between the historical geography of industrial community formation and contemporary understandings of the 'model' environment at Saltaire have not been critically explored.

This thesis seeks to re-examine prevailing notions about the model geography of Saltaire, through better understanding the historical geographies of the town's edges and landscapes. Saltaire was listed as a World Heritage Site based on the survival of the fabric of a nineteenth-century industrial model environment. Through examining archival descriptions and representations of the landscape

¹ Robinson, Andrew (2021). 'The 'quintessentially British' Yorkshire village that is 'buzzing, edgy' and one of the most beautiful in the UK', *Examiner Live*, July 6th. Available online: <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/quintessentially-british-yorkshire-village-buzzing-20974052> [accessed: 06/07/2021]

at Saltaire between 1853 and c1900 this thesis aims to analyse the historical geographies of landscapes in and around the village, in order to better understand how meanings around landscape and heritage have been assembled in contemporary policy documents and interpretations of the landscape. Crucially, this work is focused on relationships between the moorland edge and the factory town.

1.1 Background

This next section provides a brief historical sketch of the development of Saltaire, from nineteenth-century model industrial town to a modern UNESCO World Heritage Site, in order to contextualise my study and research questions. Saltaire was named after Titus Salt (1803-1876), who founded the town, and the river Aire which runs through it. Salt was a wealthy and successful mill owner, first entering the textile business as a wool stapler alongside his father Daniel Salt in the 1820s (Horsfall Turner, 1901). It was through the development of mechanised production of mohair cloth using 'Peruvian wool' (alpaca yarn) that Salt achieved lucrative financial success (Reynolds, 1983). Salt developed his business in the heart of Bradford's central textile districts in the 1830s and 40s. However, this was an environment which became infamous due to crowded conditions, ill health and fears of social unrest. Salt was a non-conformist and a philanthropist concerned with the morality of his workforce and the condition of the urban environment. Alongside other notable Bradford reformers such as Henry Forbes and William Edward Forster, Salt was instrumental in developing housing and civic improvement projects in the city (Reynolds, 1983). Salt was an early supporter of the Bradford Freehold Land Society and donated significant funds to the development of Bradford Tradesmen's Homes and Peel Park (Taylor & Gibson, 2015; Balgernie, 1878) Additionally, Salt's active interest in reform motivated a brief political career and he served as mayor of Bradford between 1848-49 and as an MP between 1859 and 1861 (Horsfall Turner, 1901). However, improvements in Bradford proved to be piecemeal and Salt was motivated to create a legacy to his industrial paternalism through the construction of an entire industrial model town.

Work began on Saltaire in 1852 and Salts Mill, designed by engineer William Fairburn, was the first element to be constructed, completed in 1853. The factory represented a state-of-the-art development and combined all elements of textile manufacture in one huge complex. At first workers were conveyed to Saltaire via special trains from Bradford. After the development of Salts Mill had been completed streets of workers housing were laid out, designed by architects Lockwood and Mawson. Alongside housing and employment Salt also funded the developments of communal amenities such as a washhouse, shops, a dining room, institute, schools and chapels. Much has been written on the architectural and industrial history of Saltaire (Dewhurst, 1960; Linstrum, 1978; Reynolds, 1983; Jackson et al., 2010; Minnery, 2012). However, far less has been written about the significance of green landscapes at the town. This thesis addresses this gap. The stretch of the landscape selected by Salt for Saltaire possessed both practical and aesthetic amenities. The Leeds-Liverpool canal runs adjacent to the river Aire through Saltaire, alongside the midland railway. These connections provided a central feature of the appeal of Saltaire – straightforward conveyance of raw materials from Liverpool and easy connections to Leeds and Bradford whilst being removed from more urban centres. An important, though less tangible quality of the landscape was, and still is, the beauty of the moorland edge. Saltaire sits below Hope Hill which leads out onto Rombalds Moor. This environment has provided a significant source of leisure amenity for residents since the inception of the town.

The status of Saltaire as a model environment is contingent on the moral geography of the site. Crucially, access to green landscapes for recreation and ventilation have been framed as sources of health and wellbeing, distinguishing Saltaire from the central districts of nineteenth-century Bradford. Alongside the surrounding countryside, Saltaire was also laid out with compact but significant greenspaces in the village. Provision was provided for growing fruit and vegetables on allotments, and some – but not all, of the houses contain small gardens. A park designed by William Gay and completed in 1873 was Salt's final addition to the materiality of the model environment that he had envisioned for Saltaire. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, Saltaire wasn't removed from the environmental problems associated with Bradford. Despite the model

environment, conditions were not perfect. Whilst living conditions at Saltaire were demonstrably better, industrial disease and pollution still led to loss of life and environmental damage. Furthermore, industrial relations at Saltaire also became strained, with workers at Salt's mill walking out on strike in 1868 and 1876 due to receiving lower pay than the average wage in the district (Reynolds, 1983). This thesis will challenge essentialist readings of the 'improved' industrial environment at Saltaire in order to explore the complexity of social interactions in the hybrid landscapes in and around the model factory town.

Titus Salt died on 29th December 1876 leaving the management of Saltaire to his sons Titus Salt Jnr and Edward Salt alongside mill manager Charles Stead. However, the fortunes of the firm deteriorated rapidly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the Salt's wound up their involvement in Saltaire in 1892. James Roberts took over in 1893 as part of a business consortium. Roberts' management stabilised the business at Saltaire but the relationship between the mill and the village, and therefore the totality of the industrial model environment, began to separate in the twentieth century (Smith & Coates, 2016). In 1933 the village was sold to Bradford Property Trust and over time the housing and buildings in the village have been transferred into private ownership. Manufacturing continued to operate at Saltaire until the 1980s, when British wool manufacturing entered steep decline (Greenhalf, 2005). In February 1986, Salt's Mill ceased operating and the enormous factory at the heart of Saltaire lay empty. It was the closure of Salt's Mill and the fear of further decline that galvanised the re-development of Saltaire as a heritage site. Saltaire Village Society was founded in 1984, and the group campaigned to obtain conservation status for the site. Following the closure of the mill, a campaign was mounted by the pressure group Save Britain's Heritage to safeguard the future of the village (Binney et al., 1979). Some of the architectural fabric of Saltaire had already been listed by this point. Salt's Mill was awarded Grade 2 Listing in 1966, alongside the Congregational Church which was awarded grade I listing. The houses and civic buildings in the village were awarded grade II listing in 1985, creating the impetus to conserve the area as an ensemble. Interestingly plans to develop Salt's Mill into a museum were initially resisted, and it was private enterprise and cultural regeneration which revived the economic fortunes of

Saltaire (Caignet, 2021). In 1987 entrepreneur Jonathan Silver purchased Salt's Mill. Silver re-developed Salt's Mill as an arts and enterprise centre, in partnership with Bradford born artist David Hockney.

Saltaire was awarded UNESCO World Heritage Designation in 2001, alongside two other UK 'model' industrial sites, New Lanark and Derwent Valley Mills. The regeneration of Salt's Mill has since been hailed as a benchmark in adaptive reuse (Fragner, 2012). Heritage led regeneration has been a significant element in late twentieth and early twenty first-century urban regeneration and 'place-making' projects (Pendlebury & Porfyriou, 2017; Dicks, 2019).

Saltaire is not listed as a 'cultural landscape' on the UNESCO list, however the topography of the Aire valley has been shaped by industry, and the 'rural' setting of Saltaire village has influenced representations of the site as a healthy and beautiful place. Coralie Acheson, in her recent doctoral research on World Heritage Site at Ironbridge Gorge (Shropshire, UK), found that the rural valley landscape which surrounds the site was an important part of tourist narratives and visitors sense of the 'value' of Ironbridge as a World Heritage Site (Acheson, 2019). It is also interesting to note that two sites (Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape and Blaenavon Industrial Landscape) selected for designation as UNESCO 'cultural landscapes' are industrial landscapes. In a similar, yet earlier, trajectory to Saltaire, the nomination file for the Derwent Valley Mills describes how allotments and gardens formed an important linkage to the rural world for eighteenth-century workers who moved from rural cottage or agrarian industries into industrial work in textile mills. Whereas at New Lanark, the surrounding rural landscape is described as 'sublime' and the site is situated in an area designated as 'an area of great landscape value' (UNESCO, 2001). These designations demonstrate the hybridity of industrial landscapes. Yet, as Hoskins (2016) has demonstrated, there are tensions between monumental 'grand narratives' of industrialisation and scenic value at heritage sites and the more granular and complex historical geographies of social relations amidst these changing landscapes.

At the time of writing there is uncertainty about the stability of the UK's thirty-two World Heritage Sites. Liverpool Maritime City has recently been stripped of

UNESCO designation, and the future of Stonehenge and Avebury remains uncertain.² Current controversies of world heritage value in a UK context have all largely been linked to modern landscape developments. At Liverpool, proposals for a new waterfront stadium for Everton Football Club and wider development of derelict areas of dockland were viewed by UNESCO as an erosion of 'irreversible attributes' which convey the 'universal value' of the site (*BBC News*, 2021).³ Similarly, UNESCO have expressed concern that proposals for a new road tunnel at Stonehenge and Avebury would have an 'adverse impact' on the site.⁴ As such, it is a timely opportunity to re-evaluate how and why the landscape at Saltaire is deemed to be 'significant' as heritage. John Pendlebury has demonstrated the tensions between historically contingent notions of authenticity and the complexity of contemporary urban development within a UK context. Significantly, Pendlebury (2013) has argued that the 'universalizing' approach to world heritage excludes locally produced notions of heritage and sense of place. Whilst this thesis will not dwell upon the political apparatus of world heritage designations, my analysis will demonstrate how the 'universal' WHS narrative at Saltaire does not encapsulate the town's historical geography on a local scale. The UNESCO statement of universal value for

² Halliday, J. (2021) Stonehenge may be next UK site to lose world heritage status. *The Guardian*. Internet Edition. 23 July. Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/23/stonehenge-may-be-next-uk-site-to-lose-world-heritage-status> [accessed July 2021].

³ BBC News, (2017) Stonehenge tunnel 'should be reconsidered', Unesco says. *BBC News*. Internet Edition. 15 June. Available online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-40286120> [accessed July 2021]

⁴ UNESCO (2017) Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites (State of Conservation Information System). Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Available online: [UNESCO World Heritage Centre - State of Conservation \(SOC 2017\) Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites \(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland\)](#) [accessed July 2021]

Saltaire describes the landscape as a key element in the site's authenticity and integrity:

The boundary of the property coincides with the extent of Titus Salt's original development: the model village and its associated buildings, the majority of the mill complex and the park...Beyond the site's boundaries development has surrounded the property to the east, south and west for the last century, with the remnant Aire River landscape to the north...The original rural river valley setting has gradually disappeared over the last one hundred years, but significant views remain. Given that part of Salt's original intention was to locate Saltaire in a healthy environment, the buffer zone is important in this respect⁵

The assessment of landscape significance through the lens of scenic views, the 'healthy' environment and the sole ownership of Titus Salt has prevented a more critical reading of the town's historical geography. Rather than locating 'universal' value in scenic views, this thesis will demonstrate how the materiality and cultural relationships with landscape at Saltaire have been experienced, negotiated and contested through a variety of processes over time.

1.2 Research Design

This PhD commenced as a proposal to examine the relationship between agricultural space and contemporary understandings of landscape as heritage at Saltaire. Whilst the focus on Saltaire was pre-determined by the call for collaborative projects to work on an element of the site's history and heritage value, my decision to focus on the peri-urban developed over the course of the project. My initial proposal was to design a project using

⁵ UNESCO (2001) *World Heritage List: Saltaire*. Paris: World Heritage Centre. Available online: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1028/> [accessed 01/12/2017].

participatory action research methods, to explore what the landscape at Saltaire means to residents and visitors today. Such a study would not be without precedent and would have followed a recognizable pattern in heritage research concerned with the development and management of Saltaire as a World Heritage Site (Wood & Thomas, 2006; Jimura, 2007; Gao, 2018). However, changes in the collaborative supervision of the project necessitated the closing of that potential research avenue. My revised proposal set out to critically evaluate historically grounded ideas around landscape at Saltaire, using historical archives and contemporary heritage documentation. The third year of my PhD was interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, and it would be disingenuous to say that this didn't affect the thesis which I have produced. Library access was extremely limited for the duration of 2020 and early 2021. This naturally affected my ability to consult literature, resulting in a thesis that draws heavily on material published in e-books and electronic journals. Whilst I have been cautious to avoid any obvious omissions, there will undoubtedly be some gaps in the literature owing to the disruption of the pandemic. However, the changes to this project necessitated by external factors have developed my methodological ability to steer a novel project in new directions whilst still fulfilling the core aims of the collaborative doctoral award.

The interdisciplinarity of my approach was developed due to the ways in which the historical synthesis contained within the WHS heritage designation at Saltaire has previously been challenged by Gaskell (1979) and has subsequently been critiqued by Schumann (2003) and Jackson et al. (2010). How to unite 'history' with heritage' is a complex question which has provoked much debate within history and heritage studies (Harvey & Waterton, 2015; Moody, 2015; Graham et al, 2016). My approach does not seek to instruct heritage decision makers on how to 'do' historical research. Instead, this thesis challenges linear narratives of landscape and place and proposes a more pluralised and locally situated understanding of landscape, space and place at Saltaire. The specific focus of this thesis is to critically explore the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire. The UNESCO World Heritage listing of Saltaire describes the landscape and

setting of the site as an important element of the model function of the town, however, there has been very little scholarship exploring this claim critically. Crucially the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire hinges on conceptions of rurality and the broader trajectory of garden city planning which, I will argue do not correspond with the distinctiveness of the geography and materiality of the peri-urban mid nineteenth-century industrial landscape in the Aire Valley. Saltaire is a compact industrial model village rather than a residential suburb removed from industry. Even from a purely observational perspective it is evident that the geography of Saltaire differs from later low-density model industrial towns such as Bourneville and Port Sunlight, which can more accurately be considered as predecessors of the garden city model.

Gaskell (1979) has concluded that nineteenth-century approaches to model villages and town planning were both varied and localised, and as such there is not a simple trajectory from factory town to garden city. The concentration of industry in West Yorkshire led to a flourishing of model industrial housing projects in the mid-nineteenth century, in which housing, factories and recreational facilities were clustered close together on land surrounding industrial towns. In Halifax the industrialists Edward Akroyd and Francis Crossley built their own model housing projects, Copley (1849-53) Akroydon (1860) and the West Park Estate, completed in 1868 (Cherry, 1969; Jowitt, 1986). These textile model villages were part of a broader trajectory of model housing projects connected to urban and peri-urban iron foundries, mining, and chemical processing in the region (Dewhurst, 1960). These nineteenth-century model housing projects and factory towns have a distinctive geography often developing as 'constellations' along waterways, with the edges of towns providing fertile ground for new settlements close to existing amenities (Girouard, 1995). Yet the distinctiveness of this landscape environment is often denigrated as 'bleak' and mundane rather than a place home to numerous attempts to create the conditions for an ideal industrial community (Reeve & McTominey, 2017). This thesis seeks to demonstrate that the materiality of the moorland edge and localised understandings of landscape character

are an important and overlooked element in broader conceptualisations of place at Saltaire. The distinctiveness of the landscape at Saltaire lies not in its separation from industry but in the hybridity between industrial, rural, domestic and urban landscapes set within the hilly topography of the Aire valley. As such, rather than framing the landscape at Saltaire as a surviving remnant from an older more rural time, this thesis demonstrates how the hybridity of the peri-urban landscape at Saltaire has been generative of a rich variety of processes, uses and meanings formed in tandem with the development of a compact, 'improved' factory town.

The scope of this thesis is interdisciplinary and draws upon a broad range of literature across the interlocking disciplines of historical geography, history, historical archaeology, human geography, landscape studies and critical heritage studies. There has been extensive work within historical geography which has explored the 'moral geographies' of nineteenth-century urban space (Long, 1982; Driver, 1988a; Beckingham, 2013). These studies demonstrate how it is important to consider the broader context of landscape as well as the built environment of model dwellings. For example, Hickman (2013) and Jones (2018) have further demonstrated the importance of understandings of morality and space in late nineteenth century parks, playgrounds and model dwellings. In this thesis I will build on research on the spatialisation of moral reform to foster a more critical reading of the intersections between space, place and industrial community formation. Saltaire's value as a heritage site hinges upon conceptualisations of place and architectural value, yet existing scholarship has seldom gone beyond descriptive accounts to critically evaluate the relationships between landscape and community formation at Saltaire. Llewellyn (2003) has demonstrated the importance of 'polyvocality' in doing critical historical geographical research and not solely reading architectural and landscape history through the lens of planners and philanthropists. Whilst Llewellyn has used oral histories in order to layer multiple narratives into architectural and landscape histories, this thesis draws upon Hoskins (2015) and Bartolini and DeSilvey's (2020) use of archival 'fragments' to

broaden our understanding of the historical experience and contemporary significance of landscape at Saltaire (DeSilvey, 2007; 2012).

The study of landscape unites the concerns of historical geographers and heritage scholars, and this thesis contributes to broader ideas surrounding landscape, temporality and peri-urbanism. Whilst developing my thesis questions it became apparent that fixed categorisations of either 'rural' or 'urban' in both heritage designations and broader historiographies have led to an interpretation that the landscape at Saltaire was rural in character at the time of the towns founding in 1853. Extant literature and heritage categorisations of Saltaire have subsequently described how as the suburbs of Bradford grew, this rural idyllic landscape has been gradually eroded with only 'remnants' remaining 'undeveloped' today. However, through a process of archival study I have established that this interpretation does not reflect the historical geography of property development and expansion at Saltaire, as well as the materiality of the industrial landscapes of the Aire valley. Rather than focusing on the binary of urban vs rural, this thesis argues that the landscapes at Saltaire are dynamic and peri-urban in character. Qviström (2017) has demonstrated how rural landscapes are often framed as the ideal landscapes for settlement, and as such peri-urbanism is characterised in terms of loss. The concepts of loss and encroachment on the countryside became a prominent theme in landscape preservation debates in the twentieth century. This sense of the loss of rural landscapes has greatly influenced heritage preservation in England and the stories that we tell about place and space (Cherry, 1985; Lowenthal, 1991; Watson, 2012; Matless, 2016). Whilst there has been a growth of appreciation for 'edgelands' in travel writing (Shoard, 2000), academic literature and in landscape conservation the peri-urban remains poorly articulated by 'grand narratives' of heritage. At Saltaire, heritage narratives lead towards the monumental and the scenic, rather than the 'mundane' and everyday spaces of peri-urban towns and villages. This thesis builds on Qviström's argument that peri-urban space should not merely be understood as a 'threat' to the countryside, or as mundane space but as an important vernacular landscape. My analysis

challenges the idea of an 'original' rural landscape at Saltaire by demonstrating how the development of the model village was a driving factor in the broader peri-urbanisation of the locality between 1853-1900.

The core question of this thesis, can be broken down into two aims and sub-questions:

- How have green landscapes, both within the model village and on the periphery, been shaped by the development of a planned industrial model village at Saltaire?
- How can a historical geographical approach to 'heritage character' better convey the hybridity of a peri-urban heritage landscape?

My approach to designing this research project was also influenced by my professional experience of working in the heritage sector. When creating exhibitions or heritage texts, objects and places are 'assembled' together in a very literal sense to create cohesive narratives (Waterton & Watson, 2010; Harrison, 2011; Waterton & Dittmer, 2014). An important challenge within this heritage context is how to speak of complexity, of absences and of heterogeneity? (Lowenthal, 1998; Hoskins, 2016; Whelan, 2016). Harvey and Waterton (2015) have demonstrated how understandings of landscape and heritage are often conflated as being synonymous. As such there is a need to unpack why some landscapes are perceived as 'historic landscapes', as heritage worth protecting, and why others are not. The research design of this thesis is underpinned by work in historical geography which has critically re-examined how landscapes are presented as heritage. Examples of this work includes DeSilvey' and Bartolini's work on industrial landscapes in Cornwall (UK) and Hoskins (2015) work on Malakoff Diggins State park in California (USA). Bryson and Lowe (2002) have also demonstrated how the 'official' histories of the industrial model village of Bournville (Birmingham, UK) do not reflect the heterogeneity of urban experience at the site during the twentieth century. There is a need therefore to examine the underlying historical geographies embedded within UK heritage and town planning discourse. My research builds on Pendlebury's (2013) analysis of the 'conservation planning assemblage' in

Britain, and further problematises how heritage 'buffer zones' and designations exclude more locally situated and pluralistic understandings of landscape.

Approaching the study of the historical geography of landscape at Saltaire required a creative methodological approach. In order to gather a substantive body of material for a historically rigorous study I used a diverse range of source material from poetry to digitised nineteenth century newspapers and books to visual material such as postcards and maps. After a period in archives at Bradford and Saltaire I focused on three empirical case studies, the historical geographies of health and 'improvement' at Saltaire, agricultural spaces and the hybridity of the landscape environment and the role of gardens and designed landscapes in cultivating a model environment at the town. As Saltaire was awarded heritage designation on the merit of its status as a well preserved Victorian industrial town, my empirical research has focused on using nineteenth and early twentieth-century materials to better understand the historical basis for the site's contemporary significance. Approaching the study of landscape at Saltaire means dealing with a great deal of overlapping narratives and complexity. I wanted to go beyond the well-worn story of how Titus Salt built a model town in the 'countryside' and critically understand the relationships between landscapes and the processes of community formation at Saltaire. In order to build an interdisciplinary study which considered both historical material and contemporary heritage documentation through the lens of historical/human geography I have adopted an approach informed by work on fragmentary historical geographies at heritage sites and assemblage theory (DeSilvey, 2003; 2007; Edensor, 2011; DeSilvey, 2012; Hoskins, 2015; Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2020). This theoretical trajectory underpins a more applied 'constellation approach' (DeSilvey, 2007) to the study of relationality between the historical geographies of industrial landscapes, and contemporary heritage narratives and decision making.

1.3 Thesis structure

The rest of this thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter two will situate the thesis within the core areas of literature detailed in this introduction: the historical geography of the planned model village, hybrid/peri-urban landscapes and landscape heritage. The first section of the literature review will critically examine existing literature concerned with the historical geography and history of the industrial model village and establish the scope for re-examining the implied significance of landscape at Saltaire – from a historiographical as well as heritage perspective. I will then move to consider my justification of the term ‘peri-urban’ to describe the landscape at Saltaire and the broader critical context of peri-urbanism and hybridity in relation to work in human geography and landscape studies. Thirdly, I will examine recent literature in critical heritage studies which has explored the interrelatedness between conceptions of landscape and heritage. Crucially, I will outline how interdisciplinary approaches between historical geography and critical heritage studies have drawn upon both historical archives and contemporary heritage documentation to sharpen understandings of how landscapes are understood to be significant as heritage. Chapter three will outline and justify my research design and methodology and how my approach has been informed by the interrelationship between historical geography and heritage. My methodological approach to the thesis has been informed by my own experiences of ‘doing’ heritage and creating historical interpretation of past landscapes using often disparate and ‘fragmentary’ material. As such, my methods have been informed by ‘constellation’ and ‘cut and paste’ methodologies which resonate with how the past is curated with in a heritage context (DeSilvey, 2007; Lorimer, 2009; Hoskins, 2015). I will outline how working with the idea of assemblage can enable us to bring together spatial histories and the idea of heritage significance in a more fluid and processual way which understands landscapes as spaces which are hybrid and emergent, rather than being solely ‘fixed’ in the past.

Chapters four, five and six form the main empirical body of the thesis and are arranged thematically. Chapter four will critically examine how the

landscapes surrounding Saltaire have been represented in relation to health, wellbeing and community formation. The search for a healthier environment was one of the core drivers behind the development of mid nineteenth century industrial model villages in Britain. However, the idea of 'the healthy countryside' has subsequently been uncritically woven into popular heritage narratives about Saltaire, which I will critique in this chapter. This thesis is rooted in a call for both historical geographers and heritage scholars to move away from 'grand narratives' of landscape and progress towards a more nuanced understanding of the multiplicity of people, processes and histories which shape the fabric of our landscapes. To propose an alternative understanding of the relationship between landscape and health at Saltaire I will explore how this idea of the healthy countryside was constructed in newspaper reports and travel guides printed between 1853 and 1900. These highly descriptive place narratives constructed a sense of 'landscape character' wherein the landscape surrounding Saltaire formed part of the improving function of the town for residents and visitors alike, who could enjoy the spectacle of the new town and the beauties of the countryside, side by side. To gain a more critical understanding of the historical geography of the 'healthy countryside' at Saltaire this thesis juxtaposes romantic place narratives with accounts of pollution and industrial disease at Saltaire, also described in newspaper columns between 1853 -1900. Rather than focusing on 'improving' narratives of health I argue that we can more accurately understand the idea of 'landscape character' and how access to landscape intersected with ideas around health and improvement, through the lens of community formation at Saltaire. I will use poetry produced by the actors within Saltaire's literary networks, accounts of open-air religious activities and examples of mass meetings to demonstrate how landscape was made meaningful not just through the site's moral design but also through the creative and collective activities of local community networks. Health, moral geography and landscape character are themes which will run through the rest of my empirical chapters and conclusions.

Chapter five focuses on agricultural space and challenges fixed notions of historic rurality at Saltaire. Heritage listings and planning documents have framed the remaining stretches of open space that border Saltaire as 'remnants' of a pre-industrial past, however this reading obscures how the landscape has been shaped by industrial processes linked to Saltaire. Drawing on the idea of assemblage theory I will use maps, plans, and newspaper reports to frame the development of a peri-urban fringe landscape at Saltaire, and how small pockets of agricultural land existed as part of a wider industrial landscape. Building on the arguments of chapter three, I will demonstrate how these small agricultural spaces were represented as scenic amenities whilst also being shaped by extensive quarrying and building development. I will use excerpts from local newspapers published between 1850 and 1901 to demonstrate how vast quantities of stone needed to build Saltaire and surrounding towns were quarried locally, a process which destabilised and to the eyes of some commentators disfigured, the landscape. As such the fields, woods and moors around Saltaire can be more accurately understood as part of a hybrid peri-urban industrial landscape. Alongside this process of change agricultural and piscatorial societies thrived in the village, not through attempts to hark back to a more rural world, but as part of the social fabric of a peri-urban industrial community where large centres of population had easy access to rivers and pockets of carefully regulated space for livestock keeping.

Contemporary notions of rurality at Saltaire have clustered around the model farms at the estates of Ferniehirst, built for Edward Salt and Milner Field built for Titus Salt Jnr. However, these estates were exurban in character, rather than rural country retreats. Using the example of Milner Field estate, I will demonstrate how Titus Salt Jnr's agricultural and piscatorial activities were deeply embedded within the social life of Saltaire, and how the estate can be more accurately described as part of a peri-urban industrial landscape assemblage, rather than an unbroken remnant to a 'rural' way of life. The historical geography and significance of the estate landscape at Saltaire became contested in 2015, when a planning

application was submitted to demolish the working dairy farm which continues to operate at Milner Field. I will use contemporary planning documents and newspaper articles to demonstrate how campaigners framed the farm as an important element of the site's community and landscape character. Conversely, the developers viewed agricultural processing as an 'eye sore' and proposed that plans for new buildings and landscaping at the site would be more 'in-keeping' with the historic setting of Saltaire. This chapter will argue that many of the developers and some of Historic England's assessments are rooted in a broader 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006) of rural nostalgia and grand narratives of technological progress. I will argue these 'authorised heritage' assessments of character do not accurately describe the hybrid historical geographies of agricultural space at Saltaire.

Chapter six will turn to consider the significance of gardens and designed landscapes at Saltaire. The significance of gardens and horticulture has been under-appreciated at Saltaire and I will argue that this is due to overemphasis on later garden city models. Using descriptive accounts of the village published between 1853–c.1900 I will demonstrate how small gardens and green spaces were viewed as an important part of the moral and sanitary function of the village. Crucially these environments blurred the boundaries between the hard, stone streets and the open moorland beyond by bringing plants and 'nature' into the new model village environment. Using newspaper reports relating to the Saltaire Horticultural Society I will demonstrate how growing fruit and vegetables was represented as a moral and model pursuit, feeding into the idea of Saltaire as a healthy environment. This chapter will also use archival material to demonstrate how Saltaire Park, alongside the more informal spaces of small private gardens and allotments formed a significant element of the social fabric of Saltaire. As a residential community which continues to present itself as a model environment, Saltaire village presents an important case study of how Victorian ideals about nature and gardening have evolved over time in the village, and in many respects continued to be embodied through heritage practices and efforts to conserve Saltaire's

green environments to benefit urban sociability, the appearance of the village and to support the health and wellbeing of residents. This chapter will conclude by analysing how contemporary peri-urban food gardens at Saltaire have developed both through locally situated understandings of heritage and through shifting conceptions of the significance of gardens and green spaces at the site.

This thesis lays the groundwork for a more critical reading of the materiality of landscapes at planned industrial model settlements. One which moves beyond a focus on 'scenic views' and 'fixed landscapes' that are interpreted through the lens of 'grand narratives' of industrial improvement. This thesis supports calls for better understandings of the relationality between landscape and heritage. I build on critiques of the use of scenic landscape assessments and buffer zones as a visual means of assessing the historical geographies of a landscape. Instead, I propose that the historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire, given the complex and overlapping histories explored in this thesis, should be re-framed through heritage narratives which emphasis process and change. My work responds to Massey's (1991) call for understandings of local distinctiveness and 'character' that are not essentialist or parochial (Massey, 1995). Navickas (2019) has underscored the importance of landscape in relation to the broader historical geographies of the Pennine regions. Furthermore, Navickas has demonstrated how, one hundred years later – the moorland landscape continued to be positioned as an important amenity for people living in the 'drab' textile towns below. Building on Navickas' approach to space and place my thesis will argue that Saltaire must be understood in relation to the localised contexts of culture, processes and identity. However, this exploration of place must steer clear of the pitfalls of essentialism and nostalgia, and demonstrate how localised understandings of landscape significance can, as Massey (1995) has described, articulate how place is a 'conjunction of many histories and many spaces' (1995:191). Through critical understandings of historical and geographical complexity, heritage discourses can better reflect affective relationships between people and place, and the many processes and scales through

which peri-urban landscapes are formed, contested and made meaningful. This thesis is an important step towards a more critical understanding of the relationships between historical geography, localism and heritage and the ways in which understandings of the past continue to shape, and sometimes prejudice, the everyday landscapes of the present.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter I will present a critical introduction to the core literature used in this thesis. Firstly, this review will present an analysis of literature concerned with the development of the nineteenth-century model village, noting a lack of critical engagement with the development of Saltaire as a mid-nineteenth century 'new town' situated on the rural/urban periphery. This first section is divided into three subsections on rural estate landscapes, the industrial model village and nineteenth-century town planning. Secondly, I will consider how historical geographers have used the concept of 'moral geography' to analyse the spatialisation of sanitary reform in the nineteenth century and the countryside as a typology. Thirdly, I will briefly outline the core debates within human/historical geography concerning the study of landscape and place. Fourthly, I will provide a summary of key literature on peri-urbanism which problematizes the deep-rooted tendency to situate peri-urban space as undesirable within both planning history and preservation policy. This section will also draw on assemblage theories and the concept of 'edgelands' to consider ways in which geographers have countered the pro-rural bias evident in popular understandings of the historic English landscape (Shoard, 2000; Farley & Roberts, 2012). Finally, I will present a summary of interdisciplinary research on heritage and landscape. This section will introduce recent work on the often-conflated ideas of heritage and landscape and outline critical arguments against scenic assessments as the primary means of interpreting the industrial landscape.

2.1 Planned Model Settlements

The origins of the model village are inextricably linked to the broader processes of enclosure, emparkment and improvement which have shaped the visual and material qualities of landscapes in Britain today (Tarlow, 2007; McDonagh & Daniels, 2012). Within rural history and historical geography discussions of the model village begin to appear in the mid to late twentieth century, as rural history began to extend away from histories of agricultural development towards more social histories of the countryside. Havinden's (1989) summary of the model village provides a

useful synthesis but provides little critical analysis of the industrial model village. This thesis argues that it is important to understand the historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire as not simply a 'healthier' pre-given environment, but as part of a complex wider trajectory of estate management, improvement and landscape change. Cosgrove (2006: 51) has emphasised the work that the pictorial dimensions of landscape as a 'green and pleasant land' has done to 'naturalise social and environmental inequalities' – and indeed wholesale erasure, through the historical processes of enclosure. Recent scholarship on estate villages has emphasised the need to situate the development of ideal landscapes and model villages within this critical context. Hindle (2015) has demonstrated how by the mid-eighteenth-century landed property owners were revising not only their economic judgements about their estates but also aesthetic considerations of the balance between people and the land. Model village building became one of the ways in which patricians justified the wholesale destruction and relocation of village communities. For example, Hindle has described how the now infamous destruction of the Oxfordshire village of Nuneham Courtenay was praised by the writer and wealthy landowner Elizabeth Montagu (1718-1800). Montagu described the newly relocated village as being 'very pretty. Comfortable and convenient. With a pretty garden allotted to every house' with cottages that were 'so neat, with such a store of excellent bacon and garden stuff to eat with' (2015: 644). As such the wholesale demolition and relocation of a community was justified through the provision of pretty gardens and houses with the aesthetics of gentility masking the breaking apart of a community.

Landscape aesthetics are a significant element in the spatialisation of the model village. Mitchell (1993: 112) has described how industrial paternalism relied upon 'an idealised and romanticised vision of a feudal society that was seen to be rapidly disappearing'. This broader current of landed social relations is also cited by Burchardt (2002) in his discussion of how paternalistic housing and allotment provision emerged as an aristocratic response to growing social unrest in the 1830s and 40s. Burchardt has also explored the role of the model village in shaping

attitudes towards the countryside and constructing the concept of the 'rural idyll' (Burchardt, 2007). Significantly, Burchardt has stressed that as Saltaire does not reference the rural vernacular, Akroydon (1860) in Halifax and Bromborough Pool in Merseyside (1853) provide more significant examples of the evolution of a 'quasi-rural' industrial model village landscape. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, anti-urbanism was not the only current in approaches to mid-nineteenth century model village building. Sevilla-Buitrago's (2015a) work provides a more critical insight into the connectivity between processes of enclosure and the formation of new peri-urban industrial settlements like Saltaire, and how such shifts were part of a global schema of urbanisation and development (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012). The desire to remodel estates provided the impetus for the creation of the model planned village as a distinctive typology. Sevilla-Buitrago has focused on how a new urban spatial rationality emerged in the nineteenth century, within which rural areas were increasingly urbanised due to capitalist expansion, creating new industrial enclaves and planned settlements.

The site of the model village does not exist in isolation from the landscape of other 'non-model' settlements which surround it. However, in much of the scholarship on the English model village the surrounding environment is discussed only briefly – as a background against which the model village exists rather than a living settlement enmeshed in a network of interaction. Short (1992) has called for greater attention to be paid to the study of rural interaction, community and the relationship between rural settlements and their surrounding environments, stating that 'the congregation of environment, culture and economy gives a particularity to individual places and regions and renders it vital that theoretical ideas about the development of village differences should be grounded empirically in a real environment' (1992: 20). Short calls for understandings of the fluidity and continuity that has shaped and continues to shape rural spaces and challenges the fixed definition of the 'open' and 'close' settlement. Short's work demonstrates how model industrial communities cannot be wholly examined within the parameters of Mills (2016) original structure of a 'close' settlement which

he defined as a settlement where the concentration of landownership was in the control of a dominant authority or 'squire', with small population, religiously and politically conservative and contained an absence of heavy manufacturing activity. Short demonstrates that this definition doesn't fit industrial model settlements such as those on the chalk coastline of Kent which were dominated by family-owned Portland Cement firms who built new housing for their workers and where religiously non-conformist. It is evident therefore, that there is a fluidity to the industrial model village which doesn't fit neatly into the categories of open/close or rural/urban.

More recently, Reay (2004) has commented on the tendency for geographers to equate rurality with fixed typologies such as the village, hamlet and the farm. Reay cautions against using fixed divisions between town and country, illustrating his point with the example of workers at Wedgwood Potteries, who lived in the village of Etruria where the 'The bottle ovens, mills, collieries, brickfields, lime kilns and iron works were scattered untidily, encroaching on the contrasting fields (2004: 14) Reay also provides evidence of the surprise of two correspondents of the *Morning Chronicle*, who surveyed labour in England and Wales 1849 – 51, at the presence of industrial factories and villages situated in the 'oak coppiced vales of Lancashire... where the green of the pasture begins to give place to the brown sterility of moss and moor (2004: 21). The scholarship of Reay, Short and their peers neatly illustrates that the nineteenth-century landscape was host to spaces, like those found around Saltaire, where large scale industrial works and settlements were woven into the existing fabric of the rural society without completely obliterating it, allowing for pockets of rural idyll to interact with the factory sprawl. To better understand the diversity of space found in what he refers to as the 'often excluded north' Reay proposes that Instead of using village and towns and essential divides that scholars should 'consider spheres of influence and interaction based on networks of towns and villages, and makes reference to the work of Phythian-Adams (1993) on local interaction, and the work of Hallas (2000) on North Yorkshire and Winstanley's (1996) scholarship on nineteenth-century Lancashire. Reay provides comparable examples of industrial/rural

landscapes in Lancashire and the midlands, and he provides a useful methodology for examining historical spaces where both urban and rural characteristics are present.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that there is a need to reconceptualise rural space as a sphere of interaction with, not in opposition to, the urban and industrial (Holland, 2016). Yet so far, the model village has seldom been explored outside of the 'rural' or 'urban' binary. Whilst scholarship in rural history provides important critical context to model village building, there has been a marked tendency to equate the model village with the trajectory of Victorian rural nostalgia and the loss of the countryside. There is therefore a paucity of studies examining the material and cultural historical geographies of new peri-urban industrial towns like Saltaire and the development of idyllic understandings of the landscape within and around northern industrial model villages. This thesis will argue that the hybridity between rural and urban is central to understanding the significance of landscape at planned mid-century schemes on the periphery of towns. Howkins (2002) has demonstrated how ideas around landscape and access to land were a vital current in mid Victorian social and political life. The next section of this review will outline how existing scholarship has examined model villages in a broad variety of both rural, peri-urban and urban contexts. However, much of the literature on the development of individual nineteenth-century model villages exists in isolation from broader currents in mid Victorian society and reinforces fixed typologies of urban and rural space.

Industrial Model Villages

Scholarship on model factory villages has largely focused on biographies, case studies and achievements of industrial philanthropists. Across this literature there is a common thread of inquiry charting the significance of green landscapes within 'improved' industrial developments in both urban centres, suburbs and remote rural locations. Focused regional case studies, such as Leivers' (2009) work on early industrial communities in Derbyshire, have established that the provision of allotments and access to

open landscapes was a significant part of building the industrial model village ideal. However, Gaskell (1979) has stressed that there was not a simple coherence in approaches to the development of the model industrial village. Instead, settlements developed as localised responses to regional industries and environments. Gaskell's (1979) work has demonstrated how, even in the plainest of industrial model villages, gardens were an important amenity for workers.

However, Gaskell's (1979) work has also criticised the tendency to generalise model factory towns as a retreat from the character of 'the big city'. Gaskell has emphasized the complexity of approaches to housing reform in the nineteenth century, arguing that the contribution of model industrial towns to the broader trajectory of community planning was 'at once subtle and substantive' (1979: 5). Nineteenth-century industrial model villages were also closely linked to broader campaigns for model dwellings and green spaces within existing urban centres. Readman (2016) has emphasised how Octavia Hill's campaigns for open spaces in London in the 1870s were 'inextricably linked' to her housing work (2016: 4). Hill advocated for 'open air sitting rooms' and areas of green space near the homes of the poor. Hickman (2013) also draws attention to the relationships between model village building and broader campaigns to provide garden spaces, parks and playgrounds in nineteenth-century cities and towns. Whilst individual developments of model dwellings differ from complete model factory towns like Saltaire, they share a common trajectory concerned with providing access to gardens and open space as a curative from the stresses of industrial life - within urban and peri-urban settings.

Chance's (2017) monograph *the factory in a garden: A history of corporate landscapes from the industrial to the digital age* represents the first substantive investigation of model village landscapes. Chance's work draws attention to how the material needs of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century factories meant that industrial communities were built on rural and peri-urban stretches of land along the banks of rivers. Scenic depictions of these early factories recreated images of an idealised industrial landscape, combining the power of industry and the beauty of

nature. These landscapes, close to but outside of major cities also became a key site of industrial philanthropy. Chance traces the inception of the factory garden at eighteenth-century model developments, such as Quarry Bank Mill, near Manchester where Samuel Greg provided allotments and cottages with gardens for his workforce. The approaches adopted in these early industrial communities provided the framework for the creation of the 'healthy factory' and modern corporate landscapes at the beginning of the twentieth century. Chance's work is significant as it brings a spatial approach to the study of industrial communities which is concerned with landscape and garden aesthetics. My thesis will build on Chance's work, which largely focuses on late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century examples to re-evaluate the significance of gardens and landscape at Saltaire. Whilst Chance's work focuses on aesthetics and corporate identity, my work is concerned with process, materiality and heritage. However, there is a great deal of overlap between community and company initiatives within model village formation and appreciation of this hybridity can help better understand how the landscape became significant in industrial, medical, domestic and leisure contexts.

There has been a great deal written on the development of Saltaire, however much of this material reproduces similar accounts focusing on Salt and does not critically examine the geography of the site beyond brief references. For example, Dewhurst (1960) has described the combined appeal of easy access to both town and open landscapes at Saltaire but offers no further critical insights. Even Chance's (2017) excellent scholarship on corporate landscapes mistakenly makes the claim that at Saltaire 'the village houses had no gardens'. (2017: 24). As chapter three of this thesis will demonstrate gardens and horticulture were a significant element in the improving culture at Saltaire which can be more fully understood through the application of a historical geographical analysis sensitive to the importance of scale. Inconsistencies and omissions regarding the landscape within Saltaire are concerningly widespread. Darley (1975) has described the houses in Saltaire as 'essentially back to back' (1975: 133) and makes little reference to garden space in the village

or the broader geography of the site. Yallop's (2015) chapter on Saltaire in *Dream streets: A Journey through Britain's village Utopias* also misinterprets the geography of the site. Yallop describes how the moors surrounding Saltaire 'central to the original healthy function of the town' have 'long been built over' (2015: 113). This is misleading as, whilst there has been extensive development around Saltaire, significant green open spaces remain such as Shipley Glen, which forms part of the world heritage site buffer zone. Furthermore, Yallop describes subsequent developments of houses and factories as obscuring Salt's intention of locating Saltaire in a more remote and hygienic environment. However, as this thesis will discuss, housing and industrial development are enmeshed in the historical geography of the landscape at Saltaire. Crucially Saltaire was not a remote settlement, it is distinctively peri-urban in context and only a short distance from neighbouring manufacturing towns and historically well connected to major urban centres by road, rail and canal links.

Saltaire: The Making of a Model Town (Jackson et al., 2010) provides a more fulsome architectural history of the site and challenges common misconceptions. Significantly the authors dispel previous notions of class hierarchy within the layout of the town and demonstrate that gross household income rather than occupational status was the main determinant of tenancy. This means that many of the grander 'overlookers' houses were often occupied by multiple families who could use a combined income to pay the higher rent, whilst some of the smaller 'workers' houses were occupied by single households with a single earner in a higher paying job. The study also shows the diversity of occupations in Saltaire, with census data proving that not all residents worked in the mill. Whilst Jackson et al do not go into detail about green space or landscape, as their book is primarily a study of the built environment, their arguments provide greater scope for re-examining the historical geography of Saltaire. The work challenges some of the historical understandings underpinning the World Heritage Site designation and demonstrates the shortcomings of previous literature. The authors draw similarities in urban form between Saltaire and the Derwent Valley mill towns of Belper and Millford and

railway towns of Crewe, Wolverton and Swindon. Through considering the materiality of Saltaire in relation to broader understandings of comparable mid Victorian 'new towns' we can better understand the formation of peri-urban landscape cultures.

This thesis builds on critical scholarship within historical geography that has re-examined the development of the industrial model village from a spatial perspective. Bryson and Lowe's (2002) scholarship on the Cadbury's model village at Bourneville demonstrates how linear narratives are established through 'official' narratives which only tell one version of the town's significance. Bryson and Lowe demonstrate how gardens, often taken for granted as examples of industrial providence, were a site through which the Cadbury's imposed bourgeois family values on their work force. Rather than viewing the development of Bournville as an example of benevolence, Bryson and Lowe view the estate through the lens of prospective development, focusing on how promotional place narratives are formed which only tell a selective narrative of progress. Cultural geographer Amanda Rees (2012) has built on this examination of the industrial model village by exploring the production and limitations of spatial aesthetics at Port Sunlight and Pullman (USA). This critical scholarship demonstrates a more nuanced approach to understandings of heritage and landscape significance at the industrial model village. Rather than charting grand narratives of progress uncritically, Rees, Bryson and Lowe have used archival material to unpack some of the complexity inherent in the spatialisation of gardens and landscape at model villages which are now popular heritage sites. My work seeks to build on this approach through undertaking historical geographic analysis of archival material to critically examine the idea of landscape significance and consider how other heritage narratives might be formed that better articulate these complex landscape histories. Existing scholarship on Saltaire has neglected to analyse the importance of the environment and green space at the site. Indeed, as this section has highlighted, in some instances the presence of gardens within the town has been erased entirely. This thesis responds to these omissions and will demonstrate how gardens, alongside the

surrounding landscapes formed a significant element in the materiality of the 'improved' industrial environment at Saltaire.

2.2 Nineteenth Century Town Planning.

Development of the industrial model village is a core theme in broader literature on planning history in Britain. In the 1960s Geographer MRG Conzen developed what has become known as the 'Conzenian' tradition in urban morphology and advanced new approaches to the historical geography of towns (Whitehand, 2001). Conzen developed an analytical approach to the study of town plans including investigation between towns and 'fringe belts' over successive periods of building cycles (Whitehand, 1988). The establishment of the Planning History Group in 1974 led to renewed interest in the histories of the nineteenth century antecedents of town planning (Cherry, 1991). Cherry's (1969) work has emphasised the significance of housing and sanitary reform in creating new spatial understandings of cities (Cherry, 1979; Cherry, 1991). As Cherry (1979: 311) describes, town planning captured the 'fervour and image' of late nineteenth and early twentieth century approaches to town planning and went on to 'wear (this image) for many decades into the twentieth century'. These ideals were crystallized in the building of model dwelling houses, and factory towns. However, as Cherry demonstrates, it was the later developments of Port Sunlight and Bourneville which provided a working model for the later garden city movement. Other key works written in this period concerning the development of model housing include Tarn's (1973) work on philanthropic housing in London and Gaskell's work on model villages which we have already encountered in this review.

Scholarship on nineteenth-century town planning has largely focused on developments in urban growth of individual towns and cities, with very few critical studies of model villages and their broader landscape context. However, as local Historian Chaplin (1972) has demonstrated, the building of new suburban towns and speculative developments on the periphery of urban centres was also an active phenomenon in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Examples such as Aston near Birmingham and Hillfields near Coventry provide insight into mid Victorian new towns which

were never fully realised. However, Chaplin's research demonstrates the significance of park ideals in the laying out of these new suburbs. At Aston New Town for example Chaplin's archival research demonstrates how when the land was advertised to developers in 1851, the listing emphasised the 'beautiful park' and the desirability of views of the old parish church, alongside the close proximity of Birmingham via the turnpike roads (1972: 190).

Schumann (2003) has traced the antecedents of the improved model town back even further, to the planning ideals expressed by the eighteenth-century Scottish landowner Thomas Sinclair and his plan for the new town of Thurso, Scotland's most northerly town in Caithness. Unlike later factory towns and model villages Thurso was a pre-existing settlement, established in the twelfth century. However, in his remodelling of the town Sinclair sought to strike a balance between the town and the countryside. Sinclair developed this idea further at another settlement nearby called Halkirk, in which all the houses were situated in one acre of land. The development of new approaches to town planning in the nineteenth century occupies a broader trajectory than the garden suburb and garden city ideal. Recently, Gibbard's (2019) unpublished thesis has provided a valuable contribution to understandings of the relationships between the ideology of improvement and development of the eighteenth-century model estate villages in Scotland, a hitherto under-explored area. Through building on literature which explores the development of ideas about landscape and mid-Victorian model towns, this thesis argues that greater attention should be given to the spatialisation of regional and peripheral industrial model settlements.

Furthermore, the development of new industrial towns on the Victorian peri-urban fringe was not limited to developments which were viewed as model. This is a crucial element in understanding the significance of the historical geography of Saltaire, and the relationships between industrial towns and the moorland fringe of the south Pennines. Booth's (2014) PhD thesis on leisure and masculinity at 'dear old dirty Stalybridge' (1830-1875) has characterised the 'in-betweenness' of the new Industrial town'. Booth's

work articulates the relationships between leisure culture and place identity within the burgeoning industrial towns on the peri-urban fringe. Jowitt's (1986) edited volume on *Model Industrial Communities in Mid-Nineteenth century Yorkshire* locates the development of Saltaire within a more detailed localised context. Significantly, Jowitt et al underscore how there was a constellation of model development around the industrial towns of Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield. Jack Reynold's (1983) biography of Salt and Saltaire has demonstrated the linkages between Salt and localised initiatives such as the Bradford Freehold Land Society and the development of Peel Park. As such this work supports the argument of this thesis that Saltaire should be considered as a mid-nineteenth-century model industrial township. There is a need therefore to consider the development of Saltaire in relation to nineteenth-century peri-urban landscape cultures more broadly.

Developments in the Conzenian school of urban morphology yielded an increased interest in the urban periphery, which have subsequently been incorporated into policy guides for landscape assessments produced by Historic England (Samuels, 2010). However, as this thesis will demonstrate, understandings of 'the historic environment' have been limited by a focus on analytic modes of assessment which do not critically reflect on the shifting cultural histories of peri-urban landscapes. It is also important to distinguish between histories of the industrial model village as a precedent to Ebenezer Howard's low-density Garden City (Wheeler, 1962; Parsons, 1985; Pacione, 2011) and criticisms of this tendency to describe Saltaire as a precursor to the garden city (Gaskell, 1979; Schumann, 2003). As this section has demonstrated, there is a broader trajectory within planning history of research into what might loosely be terms as Victorian new towns. These developments represent an understudied phenomenon within historical geography and warrant further analysis within a more localised context. As Fennelly (2017) has argued critical engagement with materiality and the urban experience presents a timely avenue for reinvigorating the study of heritage sites and the urban environment. Booth's examination of Stalybridge presents an excellent

synthesis of the 'in-betweenness' of the nineteenth century industrial town and the relationality between leisure practices both within the town and in the surrounding moorland landscape. Critical material approaches to landscape present an alternative to the spatial analysis of urban planning and company biographies which have shaped how Saltaire has been positioned in wider histories of planning and urban growth.

Literature on the development of the nineteenth-century model village in the UK is extensive and wide-ranging. However, this review has highlighted a lack of critical engagement with relationships between model developments and the development of peri-urban landscapes. This thesis responds to calls to address the relationship between rural and urban space in the creation of industrial landscapes. Significantly, there has been a tendency within histories of the model village to equate landscape with the development of the garden city ideal. This thesis builds on Gaskell's arguments against generalisations of the model village phenomenon and contributes new insights into the development of distinctive, and localised understandings of landscape significance at Saltaire.

2.3 Moral Geographies

Work on the interconnection between behaviour, landscape and the idea of morality represents an important strand of work in historical and cultural geography. As defined by Cresswell (2005:128), scholarship on moral geographies:

'Helps us to analyse the taken-for-granted relationship between what is good, right and true. They reveal how central geographical objects (space, place, landscape etc.) are to the ordering of seemingly natural expectations about who and what belong where and when'

Saltaire is a product of moral geographic thought concerning health, wellbeing and the industrial environment in the mid nineteenth-century. In order to critically examine the historical geography of Saltaire it is necessary to unpack associations between landscape and health. The term 'moral geography' was first used in a critical sense to explore relationships

between 'environmentalism' and 'moralism' in nineteenth century society by Driver (1988a). Driver's analysis demonstrates how model dwellings were motivated by broader currents of 'environmentalism' through which understandings of space and place become 'prescriptive as well as descriptive' (1988: 284). There has been sustained critical analysis of moral geography and urban reform within historical geography. Ogborn and Philo (1994) have built on Driver's concept of moral geographies with a theorisation of how moral locational discourse cut across Victorian social policy and delineated certain places as moral locations. Smith (1998: 7) has summarised work on 'moral geographies' as "empirical study of how aspects of morality relate to spatial and temporal patterns and social relations". Howell (2013) has added more nuance to this definition and articulated how moral regulation cannot be mapped out as a form of terrain as such but can be better understood as a generative process 'which creates scales, spaces which cut across a range of areas through which 'moral geographies' are actively worked and reworked' (2013: 201). This influential work on moral geography demonstrates the power structures inherent in nineteenth-century approaches to planning and reform. This thesis will contribute to scholarship concerned with moral geographies of nineteenth-century spatial reform and highlight how attitudes to landscape and social relations at Saltaire can be understood as a highly localised moral geography associated with the moorland, open space and gardens in and around the town.

Environmentally deterministic attitudes adopted by health reformers in the late nineteenth century gave way to what Setten and Brown (2009) refer to as a moral vocabulary of landscape. This moral vocabulary is reflected in intersections between the materiality of parks, green spaces and commons and ideas about physical and mental health in nineteenth-century towns and cities. Daniels' (1980) unpublished thesis has examined the relationships between moral order and the industrial environments of the woollen districts of West Yorkshire between 1780–1880. Daniels provides a historical account of the development of Saltaire, which is attentive to how moral order in the town was influenced by attitudes to reform shaped by the

vast social problems experienced in Bradford during the 1840s. Indeed, this is how moral regulation at Saltaire is often framed in heritage and educational resources, as a solution to the problems of the industrial environment in Bradford. Long's (1982) work on moral regimes and model institutions has traced the specific moral geographies inherent in the creation of mid-Victorian model dwelling houses and model villages. Long's work draws attention to how by the mid nineteenth century there was a constellation of organisations working to establish sites for model housing reform in both the capital, such as the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company Ltd and also in Yorkshire, such as the Leeds Model Lodging and Mechanics Home. This rich constellation of ideas and organisations created the mid-Victorian model village as a distinctive typology, and Long lists Saltaire as an example of a settlement founded under the principles of mid-Victorian model regulation. Long has argued that the approaches to model reform which emerged in mid-Victorian society had not a 'single origin or surface of expression' and such Long has cautioned that researchers should be wary of attributing unity between model institutions and developments (1982: 114).

On the topic of public parks and urban green spaces in the late-nineteenth century Jones (2018) has examined parks through the lens of urban pathology, charting the relationship between spatial ideas of air flow, 'green lungs' and the body. This analysis resonates with Driver's conception of 'prescriptive as well as descriptive' moral geographies. Hickman (2013) has described how nineteenth-century approaches to urban parks drew on romantic ideas of the countryside as a 'healthier and moral' landscape, and further builds on prescriptive notions of parks and public space within nineteenth-century social reform. This thesis builds on literature concerned with the distinctly medical-moral dimensions of approaches to model village building and designed green landscapes in the nineteenth century. However, historical scholarship in this area has largely focused on London, and universal understandings of 'the countryside' as an ameliorative to the problems of the town. I argue that a more localised approach is needed to critically appraise the moral geographies of Saltaire. Crucially I will

demonstrate how notions of 'the healthy countryside' at Saltaire were contingent on relationality between the industrial towns of the Aire valley and the hilly, hybrid open spaces of the moorland edge.

Cultural representations of landscape are also deeply entrenched in understandings of national identity, heritage and what constitutes a 'good' place to live. Matless' (1994) work has explored how cultures of landscape have shaped a distinctive moral geography which continues to influence planning decisions and ideals around landscapes today (Matless, 1997; 2016). Crucially in *Landscape and Englishness* (2016: 20) Matless examines the moral underpinning of the concept of landscape character and how 'taken for granted' understandings of heritage and conservation mask judgements of who and what belong in certain places. Significantly Matless critiques common understandings of landscape preservation as a product of anti-modernity and nostalgia. Whilst Matless' empirical study focuses on the period between 1918–1950, his provocations can also be applied to moral geographies of Saltaire. My empirical analysis will demonstrate how between 1853 and 1900 Saltaire was viewed as a new, sanitary town set within a beautiful stretch of Airedale, a hybrid space of old and new. However, conceptions of heritage character at Saltaire have conceptualised the landscape through the lens of original rurality which views modern developments in the landscape as not in keeping with heritage character. Matless' analysis encourages us to consider the idea of landscape character as a kind of moral geography and demonstrates the need to critically appraise the mechanisms through which the materiality of a landscape is deemed to be authentic and historic or modern and out of place.

Long and Daniel's discussion of the moral geography and the order of the industrial environment has not been followed by substantive critical scholarship on the moral geographies of industrial model villages. The notion that 'a moral geography begets moral citizens' (Cresswell, 2005: 128) is at the heart of the design and intended function of landscape at Saltaire, both past and present. It is in exploring this complex relationality between past and present that critical conceptions of moral geographies of

landscape become most fruitful. Brown (2007: 511) has articulated how a 'plurality of moral orders exists on several overlapping spatial and temporal scales'. These shifting spatial and temporal registers of moral regulation are embedded into understandings of landscape and environment as heritage. However, there has been very little scholarship exploring how the moral geographies of the industrial model village have been uncritically presented as heritage. This thesis will build on extant literature on the moral locations of nineteenth century social reform and the moral geographies of landscape to problematise 'taken for granted' associations of landscape, morality and health at Saltaire.

2.4 Critical Geographies of Landscape & Place

Within mid-twentieth century cultural and historical geography, landscape became synonymous with both geography and history. Quantitative and morphological approaches to landscape involved detailed study of archival materials in order to piece together changes in the landscape between periods, evident in the landscape when approached as a palimpsest (Driver, 1988a; Della Dora, 2020). Within local history, Hoskins (1955) also pioneered the approach to landscape studies through the idea of layers built on over time, which the historian can 'excavate' to understand relationships between period and place. Significantly, Hoskins work equated landscape with rurality and modernity and urbanisation as a loss and spoiling of the rural past (Wylie, 2007). However, Daniels and Cosgrove (1993) challenged these notions of landscape rurality and authenticity thorough charactering landscape not just as a view, but a particular way of seeing. This more critical approach, was part of the wider approaches to new cultural geography and post-structuralist debates in the 1980s (Wylie, 2007). Mitchell (2001) has built on this through a historical materialist analysis of landscape, arguing that power and importance of landscapes derive from social relations which exist as a darker side of landscape, hidden from view.

These different approaches can be broadly grouped into 'positivist' approaches concerned with empirical and analytical studies and the more experimental and experiential 'post- processual' turn (Daniels & Lorimer,

2012; Finch, 2018). Out of this broader trajectory emerged a concern that the materiality of landscape would be undervalued by approaches concerned with a focus only on representation and 'landscape as text' (Wylie, 2007). This has been countered by the 'more than representational' turn in historical geographies of landscape. First theorised by Nigel Thrift, non-representational theory emerged as a term concerned with thinking of the world in terms of practice and process, with a focus on 'becoming' (Waterton, 2013). Lorimer (2005) adopted the term 'more than representational' to stress that this approach did not seek to do away with the representational entirely but instead pushed the limits of inquiry to engage with 'more than human, more than textual and affective' qualities of space and place' (2005: 83). In relation to landscape, proponents of the more than representational have emphasised that landscapes are not 'static backdrops' but instead are 'fluid and animated processes in a constant state of becoming' (Waterton, 2013: 9). However, the non-representational school of thought has received criticism for a 'unintentional presenteeism' through which a focus on 'living in the moment' eclipses more critical temporal engagements (Hoskins, 2015: 913). Furthermore, the tendency amongst non-representational theorists to engage with landscape through the lens of mobility and the self leads risks essentialising the gaze of the theorist and precluding a critical engagement with geographies of power and marginalisation (Waterton, 2013).

This brief summary of developments in historical landscape research sketches an outline of what is a large and complex field. The key strands relating to this PhD are the relationships between 'positivist' approaches to landscape history expressed in conventional modes of heritage designation and the advance of more critical historical geographies of landscape concerned with polyvocality, materiality and hybridity (DeSilvey, 2007, 2012; Hoskins, 2015, 2016, 2017; Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2020). Holdsworth (2004: 530) has characterised how the idea of 'landscape' and scenic quality are 'founded in a quagmire of inherited and often unquestioned assumptions'. One of the complexities of heritage work lies in unpacking these taken for granted assumptions about landscape. Outside of the

academy, Conservative views of the countryside expressed through Hoskins (1955) work on the Making of the English Landscape became part of the impetus to preserve historic landscape character. Through their analysis of the activities of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) Lowe and Murdoch (2003) have demonstrated how ideas of 'rural' and 'urban' delineation have been constructed and transgressed through the processes of landscape preservation. As such there is a need to approach understandings of landscape significance at Saltaire critically, in order to examine how scenic understandings of landscape at the site have been constructed. Rippon (2013) has explored how the term 'Historic Landscape' has emerged to inform understandings of landscape character and formation in the countryside. Rippon argues that a far better understanding of landscape character can be gained by going beyond morphological analysis alone to embrace a more 'multi-sensory' approach. However, Rippon's argument that most studies of landscape character in historical geography have focused on morphological and settlement patterns is an over generalisation. Scholarship within historical geography on landscape character and place is wide ranging, extending beyond pre-occupations with rural geography and questions around settlement patterns. For example, Crouch and Parker (2003) have demonstrated how the idea of historical place is constructed and contested by various actors who have personal and ideological attachments to places, histories and landscapes.

This thesis is a place-based analysis of the historical geographies and heritage significance of landscape at Saltaire. Place, like landscape, has been the focus of distinctive and sometimes opposing approaches within historical, cultural and human geography. Howell (2013) has summarised these differing approaches into two core strands of inquiry. Firstly, Howell delineates 'humanistic' approaches that focus on immanent 'sense of place' and materialist approaches concerned with space and place as socially produced and consumed. 'Humanistic' approaches to the study of landscape are bound up with phenomenological work on landscape and dwelling (Wylie, 2007). Examples of this approach include Ingold's (1993:

155) work on landscape and temporality which characterises place through ‘the sights sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience’. Within historical geography, scholarly interest in phenomenology has resulted in work that intersects with heritage studies (Waterton, 2013).

How to attend to significance of place without becoming myopic or nostalgic is a vexed question for historical geographers concerned with the significance and multiple meanings of heritage landscapes. The non-representational concern with dwelling, affect and emotion has yielded fruitful interdisciplinary approaches to how landscape and heritage are intertwined. However, in terms of historical inquiry this thesis seeks to be attentive to not only the affective qualities of the landscape at Saltaire, but also the social formation of the landscape and the tensions between visions of the landscape as an ideal and the more complex ‘messy’ realities of industrialisation and change. Work by Massey (1993) has been particularly instructive here in terms of thinking relationally in order to challenge notions of authenticity and essentialist readings of Saltaire as a closed, finished historic place (Massey, 1995, 1999; Massey, 2006). The concepts of ‘place’ and sense of place’ can be understood as both the product of relations both within a bounded locality and within broader cultural and geographic contexts (Massey, 2012). Massey’s theorisation of locality and place emphasises heterogeneity and place not as essentialist but instead a ‘series of stories so far’: locality as something which exists but is not bounded or finished (Clarke, 2013).

Slatter (2019) has demonstrated the fruitfulness of material approaches to historical geography, demonstrating how material sources can unsettle established themes and highlight alternative narratives. Working with the shifting materiality of landscape resonates with Massey’s articulation of landscape and place as dynamic, changing and contested and works against essentialist understandings of geography. Navickas (2009) has demonstrated how nineteenth-century identities and attitudes were not only shaped by ideas transmitted through text and speech, but also by the dynamic uses of landscapes in everyday life. However, Navickas (2015) has also argued that historical analysis can treat space as a ‘bare stage’

and confuse space and place. Navickas' (2009: 95) work on the landscapes of the south Pennines has focused on the importance of moors and fields as 'symbol, spectacle, and as part of everyday life'. Significantly Navickas' work underscores how the materiality of the south Pennine landscape formed an important part of local identity relating to protest and dissent in the early nineteenth-century. Wheeler (2016) has further demonstrated the complexity inherent within constructions of place identity and distinctiveness, and how the perceived character of a place is often associated with its historical connotations. However, Wheeler's work argues that local history practices rooted in a sense of nostalgia need not be rooted in fixed understandings of past landscapes and can articulate change and a broader set of relations. Reductive nostalgia can be challenged through examining the materiality of industrial change, and the damaging effects this had on landscapes and people. Through viewing landscape as part of the complex materiality of everyday life at Saltaire this thesis begins to unravel the primacy of fixed and scenic interpretation of landscapes as heritage.

Debates around how to approach landscape and place are at the very heart of historical geography as a discipline. This section has explored how understandings of what constitutes 'the historic environment' are underpinned by notions of what is historic and of value in the landscape. Work by Crouch, Parker and Navickas demonstrates the need to better understand how notions of historical place are constructed. Olwig (1996) has argued that a more substantive exegesis of landscape can be gained through historical analysis of changing conceptions and usages of land, 'the countryside' and nature in both urban and rural contexts. This thesis contributes to critical explorations of historical landscapes through demonstrating how the materiality of the landscape at Saltaire has shifted over time. In particular, this work draws on DeSilvey's (2012: 36) calls for histories which are constructed through 'telescoping of the past through the present' and reading against the grain'. Harvey and Waterton (2015) have also commented on how 'recognition of a non-linear temporality in accounts that move beyond the notion of a simple landscape with a uniform inevitable

chronological narrative, prompts us to understand how our material pasts, have action in the present and are co-creative in contemporary landscape processes' (2015: 915). Whilst this thesis works with a chronological time frame in a defined period, my approach seeks to develop critical understandings of the material past at Saltaire. This thesis builds a critical reading of materiality of the landscapes that is sensitive to both the affective 'more than representational' dimensions of place whilst also providing a critical empirically based analysis of how landscape was shaped, experienced and contested during the formation of the model environment at Saltaire. As such this work builds on Harvey's recent calls for scholars to bring a critical 'heritage sensibility' to more-than-representational concerns with process and materiality in order to advance relational scholarship on landscape 'beyond the personal realms of the self' (2015: 909).

2.5 Peri-urbanism & assemblage geographies

This thesis commenced as an investigation of rural space at Saltaire, however through my empirical analysis it became readily apparent that the materiality of landscape at Saltaire can be more accurately described as peri-urban. Definitions of peri-urban space range from concepts such as the rural/urban fringe, exurban and as an interface between the rural and the urban (Qviström, 2018). As John Wylie's work demonstrates, popular understandings of landscape share a common origin which can be traced through the development and popularization of romantic attitudes towards nature which became common place in nineteenth-century art and literature. This romantic understanding of rural landscapes as a preferred, natural landscape has created what Qviström (2013b) has described as an 'implicit historiography of rural urban separation' that is embedded in both planning histories and contemporary approaches to landscape (2013: 524). This 'historiography of rural-urban separation' is rooted in fixed understandings of a rural urban divide, which has subsequently been reproduced by planning frameworks that strive to delineate neat boundaries between town and country (Qviström, 2013b). However, by reframing peri-urban space as the everyday environment of a large group of people, Qviström urges landscape scholars to examine peri-urban space not as

something merely 'in-between' but as a vernacular landscape. Crucially, Qviström has called for understandings of landscapes which move away from the scenic methods of assessment to more process-based understandings of landscape (Qviström, 2007; Qviström et al., 2007; Qviström, 2008; Qviström & Cadieux, 2012; Qviström, 2013a, 2013b, 2017, 2018). Planning concepts have long been informed by the idea of separation of the town and country which have also influenced how landscape heritage is presented in the UK (Watson, 2012). However, this approach has neglected historical trajectories of peri-urbanism and developments of housing and landscapes too often dismissed as mundane or unimportant. As Qviström has demonstrated, peri-urban landscapes are an important vernacular landscape and Saltaire represents a significant example of an attempt to create an ideal peri-urban industrial town in which landscape significance operates across a multitude of scales.

How then might we celebrate rather than denigrate the materiality of peri-urban landscapes? In her seminal paper, Shoard (2000) coined the term 'edgelands' to describe the interfacial zones between rural and urban landscapes. Edgelands are the frequently unloved peri-urban spaces which exist between the town and the countryside. The peri-urban edgeland is a zone which has grown considerably in importance over the course of the twenty first century as a significant liminal space containing 'many of the appendages of modern life such as warehouses, farms, rubbish tips, out of town shopping centres, factories and sewerage works' (Gallent & Andersson, 2007: 14). Shoard (2000) invited us to reconsider the edgelands as sites of the promise of ecological regeneration, of play and escape. Subsequently, edgelands have been the subject of sustained narrative exploration in nature writing and in scholarship relating to the form, function and meaning of interfacial zones in planning discourse (Bristow, 2016). However, edgelands literature and, more experimental 'psycho-geographies' of vernacular and 'overlooked' landscapes have been criticised as being 'evocative of a narrow focus at best and short sighted escapism at worst' (Lilley, 2017: 3). More broadly, Literature concerned with peri-urban landscapes has largely focused on the twentieth century

(Whitehand, 1967; Whitehand & Morton, 2003). As Qviström (2018) and Sturzaker and Mell (2016) have argued, peri-urban landscapes are not a unique product of the twentieth century. As such there is scope for a critical examination of peri-urban landscapes at nineteenth-century industrial towns.

Recent work in historical archaeology has provided a more critical framework through which the materiality of peri-urban landscapes can be understood beyond the 'rural' 'urban' divide. Belford (2009) has argued that industrial landscapes should be considered as a separate kind of landscape which incorporates both 'rural' and 'urban' elements. Fundamentally Belford's work critiques the shortcomings of conservative and neo-romantic interpretations of a 'pre-industrial' historic landscape. Belford has argued that the materiality of the post-medieval period and broader temporal understandings of industrialisation have been underrepresented within archaeology. Plurality is an important element of Belford's argument, which draws attention to how 'a complex series of industrial landscapes are present beneath the manicured lawns of industrial heritage' (2009: 30). Trinder (1982) on the making of industrial landscapes in Britain, also emphasises process and the ephemerality of industrial extraction in the landscape. Saltaire is situated in a broader industrial landscape, and through viewing the development through Belford's conceptualisation of a hybrid environment we can better understand how the landscape at Saltaire has been formed. As such this thesis also builds on scholarship in the cognate fields of landscape studies and historical archaeology to demonstrate how the materiality of industrial and peri-urban space at Saltaire are a central part of the site's historical development and contemporary heritage significance.

How to move beyond fixed definition of landscape towards recognition of fluidity and process presents its own methodological challenges. Within cultural geography, the term 'hybridity' has been increasingly used to describe processes and problematise essentialist thinking and narratives (Mitchell, 2005). As a result of broader spatial and 'more than representational' turns in geography, the idea of assemblage has gained

popularity as a way of thinking relationally about historic landscapes and hybridity (Harris, 2018). Assemblage is a concept which emerged through the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and has subsequently been further theorised by DeLanda (2016) as a methodical approach in science and technology studies (Wiltshire, 2018). In essence, assemblage theory is a way of thinking concerned with relationality between wholes and parts that make up assemblages (McFarlane, 2011). More broadly, Harrison (2015: 232) has used the concept of assemblage to define heritage as a concept in which 'heterogeneous human and non-human actors are engaged in keeping pasts alive in the present, which function toward assembling futures'.

Assemblage theory has been used across a broad array of geographical research (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011). The attractiveness of assemblage approaches to geographers can be seen in the flexibility of the methodology as a 'flat ontology' which McFarlane and Anderson have characterised as a concern with the conditions of emergence, and a reading of power as a 'multiple co-existence'. In relation to urban space, Dovey and Ristic (2017) have argued that assemblage thinking can yield a greater understanding of the significance of street and neighbourhood scales in understanding the creativity and complexity of urban environments. Arguing that multi-scalar thinking remains a challenge, assemblage thinking invites a consideration of both the actual and the possible, the particularities of the social relations of space, how they became and how they might become transformed (Dovey & Ristic, 2017). McFarlane (2011: 42) has utilized assemblage thinking to understand the city as a series of open assemblages 'structured by a range of forms of power, capital, discourse and groups'. McFarlane's analysis argues that assemblage thinking provides geographers with a set of tools to better understand how urban space is produced, lived in, contested and transformed.

However, assemblage theory has received criticisms for a lack of attentiveness to power and a reductive focus on 'jargon' (Dovey, 2012; Kinkaid, 2020). In response to these criticisms Legg (2011) has used assemblage theory alongside the Foucauldian idea of 'apparatus' as a

broader methodology to understand scale in within international power relations. On a more localised scale Foley (2014) has applied the assemblage idea to the study of therapeutic spaces and places, through an empirical exploration of the global diffusion of the Roman-Irish Bath. Foley's work provides a valuable example of how assemblage thinking can be used empirically as a theoretical foundation for historical geographical work. This is achieved through mapping out the different relationships between medical spaces, bodies and diffusion of ideas in a way which combines a rich array of source material. Furthermore, Foley draws on the idea of assemblage theory as a 'braided approach' which can be used to bring together interdisciplinary work.

Within historical and cultural geography assemblage theory has been utilised to draw attention to the hybridity of processes of material change within landscape. Edensor (2013) has employed an assemblage orientated approach to the historical geographies of building spaces within Manchester. Drawing on the work of Ingold's (1993) ideas on 'meshwork' and dwelling Edensor (2013) has characterised' how 'relationality means that a thing is never a discrete or bounded entity but a 'knot whose constituent threads flow beyond, connecting with flows of varying scales (2013: 449). Edensor's use of assemblage aims to open historical narratives which extend beyond the desire to 'fix meaning in place' via conventional modes of preservation and conservation, and instead be open to the possibilities of absence and emergence. Furthermore, Edensor (2011) argues that a focus on material properties, networks and external agencies can reveal greater historical and temporal depth. Bartolini and DeSilvey (2020) have used assemblage thinking to engage with the complex relationality of peri-urban space, drawing attention to the hybridity of 'industrial heritage/nature cultures'. Through adopting an assemblage approach, historical geography can attend to the complex relationships between materiality and place, and the hybridity of peri-urban environments. However, it is important to be mindful of criticisms of assemblage theory and ensure critical analysis of landscape remains attentive to power, structure and agency.

Through understanding Saltaire as part of a wider peri-urban landscape environment we can better understand the site's 'landscape character' through process, change and development over time. Significantly Qviström (2013b) has demonstrated how understandings of 'rural' and 'urban' separation are a product of a wider historiography of spatial separation which has viewed the countryside as a preferred environment. This trajectory of a desire to 'go back' to the countryside theorised by Williams (1975) has informed the development of heritage conservation and definitions of what constitutes a 'historic' landscape. However, as Belford (2004) has demonstrated, industrial landscapes are blended zones which challenge ideas of the 'pre-industrial' landscape and separations of 'rural' and 'urban' life. Using the concept of assemblage and drawing on work by (Edensor, 2013), this thesis will demonstrate how the 'historic environment' or 'landscape character' of Saltaire can be more accurately framed as a peri-urban landscape. This thesis is not a critical exploration of social theory, and the primary focus of this project has been on empirical investigation rather than theorisation. Throughout this thesis the idea of assemblage will be used as a 'descriptor' to think through the historical processes of landscape formation at Saltaire and to propose an alternative to scenic landscape assessment as a means of measuring heritage significance.

2.6 Heritage, Geography and Landscape.

The status of Saltaire as a model village worthy of World Heritage status has been cultivated over time and woven into a discourse which locates the philanthropist's mill village in the countryside as a symbol of national progress. However, this heritage is only a fragment of the diverse histories of agricultural, social and industrial change located there. Harvey and Waterton (2015) have defined the linguistic relationship between 'landscape' and 'heritage' as a process in which 'a cultural memory of 'national past' is literally con-joined with specific iconic topographical reference points in a taken-for-granted, self-fulfilling and mutually supporting sense of heritage landscape' (2015: 913). Recent work in historical and cultural geography by DeSilvey (2012) demonstrates how re-

examining archival and historical research that underpins ideas about heritage landscapes can yield more nuanced understandings of past environments (Hoskins, 2015). As Harvey's work demonstrates, in order to critically re-evaluate heritage practices, we need to overcome taken for granted ideas about value and what constitutes heritage. At Saltaire the landscape has been presented as something innately good, healthier and separate from the surrounding towns and cities. However, through conducting archival research concerned with landscape and environment during the first phase of Saltaire's development this thesis will demonstrate how this heritage of progress only reveals part of the story.

The study of heritage as a discipline is a relatively new phenomenon. For much of the twentieth century, the study of heritage existed as a subset of other disciplines such as archaeology, history and geography. In the 1980s, this began to shift as scholars, such as Lowenthal (1978), began to focus on not just studying the past, but how the past has been used in the present by various actors in the western world. Lowenthal has argued that for most people, consideration of the past is incomprehensible, so heritage acts a means to make an unknowable past knowable and connects people with a sense of belonging to forebears, landscape and national identities. The process of heritage is inherently dissonant and complex as 'credence in a mythic past created for some present cause suppresses history's impartial complexity' (Lowenthal, 1998: 20). Lowenthal's contribution to heritage studies has been inherently geographic, with a focus on how people's perceptions of the past are bound up with the landscapes associated with 'history' (Gentry & Smith, 2019). On the function of landscape as heritage, Lowenthal describes three key functions: nature as fundamental heritage in its own right, environment as the setting of human action and sense of place as an awareness of local difference and an appreciation of ancestral roots (Lowenthal, 1991). Lowenthal argues that growing awareness of ecological loss has heightened cultural appreciation of landscape, and its connection to the past. Desires to save, conserve and celebrate landscapes have cemented landscape's function in constructions of British national identity. Lowenthal describes how the idea of the British

countryside has become a metaphor for the national soul yearning to “win back a share in the common heritage filched from them with enclosure and the industrial revolution” (Lowenthal, 1991: 21).

Commenting on the work of Lowenthal, Olwig et al. (2016) have argued that landscape heritage is utilised to form ideas about national identity, suggesting that people are tied together by a sense of shared ‘nature’ characterised by the topography of different nation states. However, heritage landscapes can be problematic, as Olwig has demonstrated in his consideration of how one social group’s national park has been invariably at some point carved from another people’s cultural landscape. It is very difficult to speak of a collective landscape heritage due to this plurality of claims to cultural ownership. Yet the idealized view of the British landscape, the village set against a patchwork of green fields and rolling countryside, has become a token of shared national landscape in both the literary imagination and in heritage discourses, something which Lowenthal (1993) describes as the ‘hallowed cliché’ (1993: 9). Lowenthal’s work however has been subject to criticism for viewing heritage as a stable phenomenon, and for delineating ‘history’ from ‘heritage’ and neglecting to analyse how social and cultural influences have shaped the practices of history and geography as much as they have heritage (Gentry & Smith, 2019). Indeed, as this review has demonstrated the historical geographies of industrial model landscapes have been shaped by cultural ideas surrounding the separation of urban and rural space.

Critical heritage studies emerged in the early 2000s as a response to a narrow focus on management and policy in ‘traditional heritage studies’ and problematised hegemonic discourses on what constitutes heritage (Winter & Waterton, 2013). A key theorisation in this area is Smith’s (2006) concept of the ‘authorised heritage discourse’ (AHD). The AHD has been theorised as a discursive practice which reinforces the ‘knowledge claims of cultural and aesthetic experts, privileging monumental narrative and grand scale’ (2016: 42). The concept of the AHD has led to critical examination of planning (Pendlebury et al., 2016) and landscape heritage (Watson, 2012; Robertson, 2015) which will be drawn upon in this thesis. Graham et al.

(2016: 103) have established a strong grounding for work which considers both geography and heritage, arguing that rather than acting purely as a means to reconstruct the past, the study of heritage, like geography acknowledges the ways in which interpretations of space and place are both 'context bound and power laden' which have the capacity to carry multiple meanings. Harrison (2015) has explored the use of spatial approaches such as Actor Network and Assemblage theory to better understand how heritage sites come together through complex interrelationships. This approach is especially relevant to UNESCO World Heritage sites, where selected constellations of buildings, landscapes and habitats are grouped together as having a 'universal' value of heritage which transcends national boundaries.

Harvey and Waterton (2015) have summarised recent work with critical heritage studies concerned with 'peopling of landscapes', heritage from below and mundane heritage. At its core this trajectory of work is concerned with disrupting taken for granted notions about heritage and landscape. Recent work on the colonial countryside has further peeled back the romantic heritage imagery of the countryside to expose the complex colonial histories embedded within national trust estate landscapes (Fowler, 2020). Furthermore, Harvey and Waterton (2015) have critiqued understandings which attribute the development of heritage as a product of the nineteenth-century preservation movement. Through understanding the idea of heritage landscape as a longer tradition of relationships between people, process and place we can explore more nuanced narratives of perceived significance. Of course, as a nineteenth century planned model town deeply linked with exhibition culture and nascent tourism narratives, Saltaire is an example of how a place has become significant in part through the development of UK heritage and conservation practices in the late nineteenth century. However, alongside these 'official narratives' are also a constellation of other interactions and engagements with space and place through which the landscape has been experienced and shaped in tandem with the emergence of a 'model industrial environment'. Heritage discourses woven by the powerful have lasting impacts on the landscape

and the process of official designation leaves the heritage of actors and spaces which are labelled mundane or unexceptional vulnerable to erasure (Morrissey et al., 2014). Heritage landscapes can become detached from the wider historical, geographic, ecological and cultural networks that they exist in leading to narratives about class, landscapes and national identity which exclude and erase certain actors and groups. Geographers can further unravel essentialist 'grand narratives' of heritage significance, and critically engage with questions around representation within understandings of spatialisation of the past. Significant work by cultural and historical geographers in this area includes Robertson's (2016) work on 'heritage from below' and Atkinson's (2008) work on mundane heritage.

Heritage is fluid, it can be nostalgic and future orientated at the same time. Tilley (2006) posits that temporalities of landscape are multiple and scaled and that landscapes are therefore palimpsests of past and present. Tilley, much like Matless (2016), has written a powerful rebuff to the idea that the Englishness embedded in the countryside is a purely nostalgic manifestation. Tilley views landscapes as spaces which are actively worked and reworked and incorporated to meet the needs of different actors and groups, and that heritage sites and museum artefacts act as kind of social relationship in which self and group identity is bound up with uncertainties of the present and ways of relating to an idealized past and an imagined future. Tilley provides the example of Mark Edmonds work on long temporalities in the Lake district as an example of a landscape study which considers the dual layering of pasts, present and futures which are embodied in landscapes and the lives of those who work with them. Edmonds work reflects on his own period specific fieldwork at prehistoric sites in the Cumbrian fells, and how archaeological approaches had been influenced by romantic images of the landscape (Edmonds, 2006). Furthermore, Jorgensen et al (2017) have questioned the relationship between landscape narrative and landscape heritage outcomes, and whether historical or chronological narratives can truly encapsulate the temporal fluidity of place. Tilley's work on the phenomenology of landscape

and material culture provides a further example of the need to think critically, and spatially about the temporality of landscape.

My interdisciplinary approach of studying the potential of historical geography to support contemporary heritage practice has been shaped by approaches taken by Hoskins and De Silvey. Hoskins work explores the complexity of historical relationships with nature and landscape and exposes representational deficiencies of 'natural' and 'cultural' as distinct categories of landscape' (Hoskins, 2015: 15). DeSilvey has described how narratives at historical sites are constructed through the promotion of selected story lines and the attempted erasure of conflicting memories (DeSilvey, 2012). These historical narratives fall short when confronted with impending transformation or disappearance of cultural landscapes and heritage artefacts. Although the examples cited above are concerned with ecological loss, my thesis argues that adopting a similar approach to understanding landscape significance at Saltaire as a fluid rather than fixed entity, can yield a deeper insight which goes beyond romantic place narratives. Hoskin's work builds on DeSilvey's 'constellation approach' to consider how archival 'fragments' can disrupt traditional narratives of anthropocentric progress and in doing so contribute to critical environmental thinking about the heritage of mineral extraction in a post-industrial world. The individuals 'brought back to life' for the purposes of heritage interpretation at historic sites, tend to be achievement orientated, such as the philanthropic mill owner who built the town, or archetypal characters central to the development of a place, such as the factory worker. This approach can certainly be seen at Saltaire, where much of the heritage interpretation focuses on the legacy of Titus Salt and his family, and those employed in textile manufacturing operations at the mill. These narratives can lead to historical sites becoming detached from more nuanced understandings of the complex webs of interaction which existed between people, animals and landscapes in the past and the people who lived on the margins of grand industrial events such as extraction at Malakoff State Park, or the boom of the textile led industrial revolution at Saltaire.

This thesis will demonstrate how fixed notions of what heritage landscapes are has led to clashes over planning and preservation. However, the idea of historic landscape character is rooted in romantic imaginings, rather than the complex ways in which landscapes are used. By re-framing what constitutes heritage, elite notions of landscape value can be challenged and instead heritage designations can facilitate a more inclusive sense of place. This section has outlined the need to think more reflexively about how narratives of landscape significance are constructed. Through grounding the idea of landscape significance through a critical re-appraisal of Saltaire's historical geography we can better understand the complexity inherent with attempts to build model industrial towns.

2.7 Conclusion

In this literature review I have presented a summary of the five primary areas of literature underpinning this thesis. There have been numerous approaches to the study of industrial model villages, much of which is beyond the scope of this thesis. In this chapter I have explored literature specifically relating to Saltaire and contextualised this within broader studies of the spatialisation of ideal model villages and landscapes. This review has established scope for analysing the historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire in relation to recent renewed scholarship on factory landscapes by Chance (2007) and on Saltaire (Jackson et al., 2010). Furthermore this thesis is responsive to the historiography of planning more broadly and responds to Qviström and Cadieux's (2012) call for renewed scholarship on peri-urban landscapes alongside Belford's (2006) theorisation around the hybridity of industrial landscapes. My historical approach has been informed by work on moral geographies and the importance of place and scale in better understanding how landscapes have functioned as part of both ideal, imagined and everyday practices at industrial model villages. My work also responds to scholarship in geography, historical archaeology and landscape studies which has challenged fixed notions of 'rural' and 'urban' space and called for a greater recognition of hybrid and peri-urban environments. Finally, this thesis builds on work in critical heritage studies which challenges the relationship

between landscape and heritage and presents geographically informed ways of interpreting the past that overcome 'grand narratives' of progress and environmental determinism. This body of work has informed the empirical work to follow in this thesis and my methods which will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Method

Approaching the design of this PhD required both methodological creativity and reflectivity. In order to build an interdisciplinary study which considered both historical material and contemporary heritage documentation I adopted an approach informed by work on fragmentary historical geographies at heritage sites and assemblage theory (DeSilvey, 2003; 2007; Edensor, 2011; DeSilvey, 2012; Hoskins, 2015; Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2020). The idea of assemblage/s provides a framework to examine the 'material, actual and assembled' and the 'emergent, processual and the multiple' (Farías & Bender, 2012:14). By adopting an assemblage approach, I was able to consider a range of landscapes at different scales, from the small spaces of the window box on a Saltaire street to the vast expanse of Shipley Glen and the moorland beyond. Through this methodology I have challenged the tendency of heritage narratives to 'fix meaning in place' (Edensor, 2011:250) and reify paternalistic moral geographies of landscape and setting at Saltaire. Instead, I have critically explored the multiple ways in which relationships with the landscape have been formed during the mid to late nineteenth century, and traced both inclusion and absences in how the historical geographies of landscape and setting at Saltaire have been woven into the 'conservation planning assemblage' (Pendlebury, 2013) of the World Heritage Designation. In response to criticisms of assemblage approaches (Kinkaid, 2020) this theoretical trajectory underpins a more applied 'constellation approach' (DeSilvey, 2007) to the study of relationality between the historical geographies of industrial landscapes and contemporary heritage narratives and decision making. This chapter will critically reflect on the methodological challenges of doing historical geographic research in archives and outline how my approach responds to recent critical work concerned with the relationships between archives, historical geography and heritage.

3.1 Archives

It is important to be mindful of the methodological challenges that archival research presents. Increasingly, historical geographers have criticised the 'age old' approach to empirical research, whereby researchers scrutinized

as many documentary archival sources as possible, cross-referenced them with exacting precision to build sophisticated databases which could then be harnessed to build models, these models could then be used to explain spatial, social and economic changes (DeLyser et al., 2009). In this complex process the existence of the archive itself was subject to very little scrutiny, it was a repository of the past rather than a product of social relations and exclusions. Archives have previously been considered as politically neutral, acting as 'official' repositories of a nation's past (Hannam, 2003). This unflinching acceptance of the archive as a mine of unproblematic historical data was shaken by the advent of post-structural and post-colonial approaches in the late twentieth century which led to a profusion of historical geographic scholarship concerned with a 'new cultural geography' which turned a critical lens onto the apparatuses of power which operate within archival practices, and methodologies which shine light on previously marginalised spaces and actors (Ogborn et al., 2014). Recent critical work in historical geography has critically examined the locational practice of international archives (Hodder et al., 2021), biography (Hodder, 2017) (McGeachan et al., 2012) and emotion (De Leeuw, 2012). This critical scholarship has highlighted how archives do not grow independently of individuals, they are constructed and controlled repositories of certain pasts, and as such can be contested spaces.

This thesis has necessitated working with a broad range of sources, which have their own strengths and limitations. Indeed, recent work in historical geography has drawn attention to the complexity of searching for information within the archive itself (Moore, 2010). On landscape history in particular, Hayden Lorimer has characterised the complexity of researching both indoors and outdoors – and the activity of finding traces of the past in present that studies of landscape often entail. Indeed, Lorimer (2009) describes how 'spending time where others did so in the past might form new kinds of connection' (2009: 249). This is essentially the work that both heritage and archive sites perform, to facilitate 'connections' with the past. As such my methodology has been informed by the work that heritage does to assemble the past, and how critical and highly localised work in historical

geography can deepen our understanding of how ideas around landscape and environment develop in places over time. Claims around the 'authenticity' of heritage are often propped up by official archives, museums and libraries (Smith, 2006; Tilley, 2006; Waterton, 2018). Within this context how can researchers 'read between the lines' (Harvey & Waterton, 2015) of both heritage practices and archive source materials? This thesis seeks to problematise the idea that the geography of Saltaire has a fixed, innate heritage value, emanating from the past to the future. When referencing this material, I have adopted the use of footnotes, including a hyperlink to the digital repositories where my archival material has been accessed and stored. The rest of the secondary source material is formatted in the conventional Harvard in-text citation style, in accordance with the regulations for Geography theses at the University of Hull. This decision to use footnotes and in-text citation has been designed with the ease of the reader in mind, to avoid cluttering the empirical chapters with long in text citations and to clearly signpost the materials I have used.

Therefore, rather than turning to the archive to assemble narratives of Saltaire's industrial progress my methodology has been informed by work on 'fragmentary' historical geographies which disrupt monumental narratives of landscape and heritage significance. As has been discussed in the previous chapter this thesis builds on multi-method approaches to problematise implied historical geographies of stability and progress assembled by heritage listings and designations. Whilst Hoskins (2015) has utilised biographical narratives DeSilvey (2012) has demonstrated how bringing together a range of visual and textual sources can demonstrate how landscape 'might be storied differently' (2012: 33). My archival data collection has focused on building a highly localised historical geography of the shifting materiality of the landscape at Saltaire, and how various actors in the mid to late nineteenth-century have engaged with and experienced outdoor space in and around the village. This offers what Lorimer (2005) has referred to as a 'thicker' and more localised account of historical geography (Hoskins, 2015). A focus on the 'every day and mundane' historical geographies of a place can work to disrupt the universalising

tendencies of industrial and geographic 'grand narratives' and lead to more nuanced understandings of heritage and place.

This rich body of material has enabled me to study landscapes at a variety of scales within and around Saltaire and crucially, this methodology made it possible to 'go against the grain' of historical trajectories of improvement at Saltaire and explore relationships with landscape and environment through the lens of complexity. This methodological approach lays the groundwork for a more critical reading of materiality and landscapes at planned industrial model settlements, which moves beyond a focus on scenic views and 'fixed landscapes' that are interpreted through the lens of 'grand narratives' of industrial improvement. Instead, I propose that the historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire, given the complex and overlapping histories explored in this thesis, should be re-framed through heritage narratives which emphasise process, change and the inherent tensions within attempts to build 'ideal' model communities within a peri-urban context. Through better understanding of historical and geographical complexity, heritage discourses can better reflect affective relationships between people and place, and the many processes and scales through which peri-urban landscapes are formed, contested and made meaningful. Steedman (2002) has wryly commented that the archive is a manifestation of both carefully selected items and accidentally acquired 'mad fragmentations' of the past. The nature of the scope of my research means that I have focused on gleaning the latter, the 'mad fragmentations'. The starting point for my searches took place in the archives of the Saltaire Collection and the Bradford Office of the West Yorkshire Archive Service. Here my task was to sort through boxes of ephemera and documents to locate information relating to the idea of landscape and the model environment at Saltaire. The Saltaire Collection has grown out of a small community archive and as such presents a rich repository of material donated by individuals with a personal connection to Saltaire. As Ashmore et al. (2012) have demonstrated, through the process of working with archives and engaging with the acts of sorting, cataloguing and documenting 'conversations, divergences and stories emerge' that

otherwise remain hidden. As a trustee of Saltaire World Heritage Association (who manage the Saltaire Collection and Archive) I have been actively involved in managing the collection of sources from which this thesis has grown. Through searching through boxes of Saltaire ephemera, containing mixed bundles of documents, the shape of this thesis began to emerge. The rest of this chapter is divided into six short subsections critically examining the types of source materials used in this thesis and the role that this material had in shaping it's thematic content and structure.

3.2 Maps and Plans

In order to build my empirical analysis of the historical geographies of landscape interaction at Saltaire, I consulted a wide range of historical sources. Maps and estate documents laid the foundation for the parameters of the project. The first cartographical sources I consulted were the copies of maps made available to me at the Saltaire Collection. However, the digitised collections of maps made available online by the National Library of Scotland were my main source for maps, owing to the increased searchability of using a digital platform. At a very basic level of observation, comparing maps demonstrated how the building of Saltaire altered the Aire valley landscape in which it is situated. I was then able to use estate documents held by the Saltaire Collection to establish who owned the land surrounding the town, locating each farm and field which borders the village and pinpointing the location on the digital OS map series, building a localised understanding of how farm estates and woodland formed a rudimentary greenbelt around the village, and a land based element of the Saltaire economy which has been hitherto under-explored in relation to the development of the village.

However, as historical sources, maps and estate documents are laden with complexity. As Hosseini et al. (2021) have demonstrated in their work on the National Library of Scotland's digital map collections, working with nineteenth-century series map collections presents practical problems for the researcher, owing to the rapid pace of change in the landscape. The development of Saltaire presents a good example of this, as the Ordnance Survey map of Shipley created in 1849 and published in 1852 contains no

traces of Saltaire. However, work began on Saltaire shortly after this map was published. As Withers (1999) has demonstrated on his work on the Scottish highlands mapping is not a straightforward process of representing, it is one of authorising and ordering, which privileges certain kinds of knowledge over others. The World Heritage Site boundary and 'buffer zone' also represent an interpretation of what should be included as heritage and what is excluded. My use of maps has been sensitive to what is included alongside what is excluded. This project could have provided scope for a GIS analysis of landscape change as a means of examining the relationships between past land usages and contemporary methods of Historic Landscape Characterisation (Fairclough & Herring, 2016). This methodology would have successfully demonstrated the peri-urban development of Saltaire and challenged notions of rural fixity. However, this method of using maps would not have allowed me to discuss the moral and cultural significance of landscape values at Saltaire, and the ways in which the landscape was described and interacted with on a granular daily level. Therefore, analysis of maps in this thesis has centred on examining the broad patterns of landscape change, and the illustration of the density of gardens and housing in Saltaire and the boundaries between the village and the surrounding landscape.

3.3 Postcards and Ephemera

Alongside maps and plans, postcards and photographs provided a valuable visual element to my data, something which can be lacking in digital resources. Slatter (2019) has demonstrated the benefits that engagement with the material qualities of ephemera and objects can bring to the study of past landscapes. Considering the usage and mobility of material that often ends up in museum collections (such as postcards, advertisements, tools and personal scrapbooks) historical geographers can better understand the role of material culture in communicating ideas about with landscapes over time. Rose (2014) has drawn attention to how photographs are never neutral records of urban change (2014). As such photographs and postcards when used as source material must be approached with a critical consideration of the work that photographs do to create and

reproduce imagined geographies. However, the original context of why a photograph or a particular scene has been used for a postcard is often lost when an image arrives at an archive. Rose has also explored how the photographic archive itself generates meaning through associations and tags. The researcher then must navigate these implied meanings and technologies when working with archival materials. This process can be frustrating when engaging with visual material that has little provenance other than the categories assigned to it by the archive. However, through applying what Edwards (2012) has described as a 'material hermeneutic' methodology to analyse archival photographs, researchers can move beyond a 'forensic' reading of representations of the past towards a concern with how and why things matter. Edward's approach resonates strongly with working with the material traces of heritage at Saltaire. The photographs and postcards I located in the archive were made meaningful by the fact they depicted scenes of Saltaire which are no longer entirely present. Much like the survey photographers Edward's describes, local historians at work in Saltaire have gathered postcard albums, photographs from lofts and ephemera from charity shops (and sometimes even eBay) to support the development of an archive and museum collection which preserves the material remnants of the town's past. Within this collection of ephemera lies the actions of past actors who, through taking photographs and printing postcards, acted on an instinct to frame the landscape environment at Saltaire and create a record of the landscape at a particular moment in time. As such by working with postcards and photographs, I did not seek to locate a sense of historical 'truth' within the representations of the landscapes they depict. Instead by focusing on the material practices inherent in the creation of images and the subsequent reuse within the archive, I have used photographs and pictorial representations of gardens and landscapes at Saltaire to explore how landscape significance at Saltaire has been constituted and reconstituted over time through material practices.

3.4 Newspapers, Periodicals and Print Material

Newspapers and periodicals are a key resource in researching material, social and cultural dimensions of historical geography (Bartolini et al.,

2019). As Bressey (2010) has demonstrated, digitised newspaper searches allow for 'needle in a haystack searches' which would prove to be too time consuming to investigate with print copies alone. Lester's work on late Victorian identity in north-east London demonstrates the importance of local newspapers in studying the idea of place identity on a small scale. Lester has emphasised the 'double role' of local newspapers as both 'source material and artefacts in their own right; formers as well as reporters of local identity' (2009: 45). Awcock (2019) has further demonstrated the rich potential of newspaper archives for research in historical geography, in her work on historical geographies of protest in London. In terms of landscape research, McTominey's (2019) work on the Washburn Reservoirs near Leeds has demonstrated how local newspapers and guides can provide insight into how descriptions of romantic and cultural landscapes were locally constructed. However, Mussell (2014) has demonstrated, such systems do not guarantee to return results which are comprehensive, and online search functionality can privilege textual information over images (Mussell, 2012). Furthermore, newspapers, are not 'neutral conduits of information, but rather gatekeepers and filterers of ideas' (Vella, 2008: 193). Online newspapers as historical source materials have their limitations, keyword searches are not guaranteed to return comprehensive results and rely on underlying digital systems of coding which underpin the digital resource to enable searchability. Often the lens through which I encountered descriptive accounts of the landscapes in and around Saltaire was a romantic one, emphasising the beauty of the countryside, and the improving quality of gardens. To avoid uncritically reproducing these grand narratives in my own work it was necessary to adopt a critical framework when sifting through material, to understand how the idea of the model landscape environment came into conflict with the often-harsh realities of life in Saltaire which was also reported within the body of newspaper texts.

The majority of historical data used in this thesis has been found in nineteenth-century newspapers and printed sources. Digitised newspapers made available through the British Newspaper Archive represented a particularly rich area of research for this study. My data collection has made

extensive use of published material from the *Bradford Observer*, *Bradford Daily Telegraph* the *ShIPLEY and SALTAIRE Times* and the *Leeds Mercury*. My searches focused on the years between 1852 and 1900. Interestingly there has been relatively little scholarship on the ShIPLEY and SALTAIRE Times. The paper ran under the following titles: 1876–85 *ShIPLEY & SALTAIRE Times and Airedale Reporter*, 1885–1905 *ShIPLEY Times and Airedale Reporter*, 1905–60 *ShIPLEY Times and Express*. I used key word searches extensively to gather material for my historical data collection, using key words and names relating to the surrounding landscapes. These searches allowed me to build up a collection of source material and identify key sections within the newspapers, such as the *Round About Bradford* column, which contained descriptive accounts of walking in the landscape. However, newspaper searches also returned descriptions of pollution, ill health and industrial disputes which go against the grain of representations of landscape at Saltaire as a purely moral, scenic backdrop. The ability to cross search a range of local publications provided a diverse data set which, crucially contained a range of viewpoints providing a ‘thicker’ and more nuanced picture of landscape significance at Saltaire as a counterpoint to more essentialist narratives.

In addition to newspapers, I utilised digitised collections of nineteenth-century scientific and gardening periodicals. As Sheets-Pyenson (1985) has outlined, nineteenth-century scientific periodicals generally fell into three main categories, general science, natural history and mechanics magazines – designed to encourage amateur scientific activity and the circulation of ‘useful knowledge’. Gardening periodicals share a similar trajectory and tailored their content to an amateur readership (Wilkinson, 2002). Whilst newspapers provided rich descriptive accounts of the landscape, specialist publications provided a greater insight into the historical geographies of interactions between people and the landscape at Saltaire, on a more granular level. Scholarship on nineteenth-century natural science and gardening publications have drawn attention to the popularity of growing and studying plants and landscape environments amongst working class people, and the regional organisation of clubs and

societies around manufacturing towns. However, as Secord (1994) has cautioned, when viewing the activities of amateur naturalists through the lens of 'improving' nineteenth century periodicals researchers must guard against seeing the contribution of working-class science merely as a 'trickling down' of improving ideas into the cultural consciousness of working-class communities. Lawrence (2020) has also drawn attention to how accounts of 'moral' flower shows and gardening as a means of improvement are often inconsistent with the complex realities of domestic and home environments in late Victorian urban environments. The fleeting insights into everyday interactions with the landscapes in and around Saltaire located in Victorian periodicals only provides a very fragmentary glimpse into the lives and experiences of past actors.

The Biodiversity Heritage Library (BHL) is an open access digital library which 'brings together books, periodicals and natural history collections from across the world'. The BHL also offers an extremely rich resource for historical geographers concerned with the study of past landscapes, and how the ideas about landscape and environment have been shaped over time. Through conducting key word searches into the BHL I was able to locate entries about Saltaire in periodicals such as the *Naturalist* and the *Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*. As I have established in my literature review, improving landscapes and institutes have been approached through the lens of corporate culture and the visual ideology of industrial paternalism. Working with periodicals which provided an insight into more mundane, everyday interactions through which landscapes were understood to be significant to nineteenth-century actors at Saltaire, and ways in which this significance was communicated outside of the sphere of the corporate image of the factory. In addition to specialist gardening and natural science periodicals, descriptions of Saltaire also feature in a broad variety of more general mid-Victorian publications. The source material I have gathered through searching digitised archives of the biodiversity heritage library should not be considered as a representative example of the experience of living with and interacting with landscapes at Saltaire. However, as Secord's work has demonstrated scientific periodicals can,

when used critically, deepen understanding of how past actors structured interactions with the landscape through their own agency and in their own spaces.

Through the search function on Google Books, I was able to locate further material relating to the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire in a broad variety of nineteenth-century print material. Much of this source material contained descriptive accounts of visits made to Saltaire, which generated a body of evidence to consider the antecedents of how Saltaire came to be considered as a tourist attraction. Interestingly, my search results returned American periodicals, such as *Scribner's Monthly* (1870–1881) a literary periodical. There has been a rich array of literature drawing on Saltaire in an international planning context and whilst this thesis does not seek to reproduce the methodology employed in these studies the mention of Saltaire in American printed material demonstrated how fine-grained descriptions of the village reached an international audience. The ability to utilise digital archives also enabled me to draw on sources relating to the intersections between religious space and landscape use at Saltaire, through reading published accounts of Methodist camp meetings on Shipley Glen, and reports on the town published in non-conformist periodicals. The information contained in digitised material available on Google Books is of course highly fragmentary. Nevertheless, the resource did provide a useful tool for broadening my search and identifying more specific terms to use when searching in other digital archives where more fulsome collections are held.

Nineteenth-century local travel guides and antiquarian books also formed a key source material for this thesis, accessed digitally and in physical form at the Saltaire Collection and in the Thoresby Room at the Leeds Library. Nineteenth-century writers explored the north of England in an array of print cultures, ranging from the detailed studies of local antiquarians, to the novels of the Brontës and Wordsworth's famed guides (Dellheim, 1986). Understandings of Saltaire are deeply enmeshed with a highly localised sense of 'Yorkshireness' represented in descriptions of both landscapes and people, which as Dellheim has demonstrated was atomised through

publications such as James Burnley's *West Riding Sketches*. Indeed, a key feature of nineteenth-century guides to the West Riding are descriptive accounts of the bridging of the 'old' agricultural and village landscapes and the new industrial sites of mills and new urban development (Dellheim, 1986). Within guides like Harry Speights *Airedale* (1896) the development of Saltaire is presented alongside recommended walks and material traces of the 'old' rural remnants of the district. Interestingly, Dellheim describes the aims of northern antiquarian writers as 'to make the past useful to the present, not to take refuge in a world that they had lost' (1986: 19). Whilst this statement might not be true of the broad impulse of the historical imagination and antiquarianism across late Victorian society, these sources can provide valuable insight into the development of nascent ideas about landscape as heritage. It is from this perspective which I have approached travel guides and antiquarian books in this thesis, to better understand how ideas around landscape as heritage at Saltaire were formulated in the mid to late nineteenth century, through the activities of antiquarians and guides who published descriptions and walks around the town for the interested day-tripper. Of course, working with this material has limitations, the work of Abraham Holroyd on Saltaire is highly sentimental and reinforces grand narratives of paternalism with Salt depicted as the benevolent capitalist and the residents of Saltaire as the grateful townsfolk. However, by understanding these works within a wider critical context (Holroyd was part of a local literary community in Saltaire patronised by Salt, therefore his deference is unsurprising) these accounts provide an extremely valuable insight into the discursive formation of the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire, and the formation of popular highly localised place narratives which describe the peri-urban appeal of the site.

Furthermore, the ability to search independently through the relatively small archive at the Saltaire Collection brought me into contact with surprising material, that I had not expected based on my initial literature searches, such as landscape poetry. Blair's (2021) research demonstrates the lively literary culture present within Bradford and Airedale in the mid to late nineteenth century (Blair, 2014; 2019). However, Blair's work also

demonstrates the methodological difficulty of locating working class industrial experience within the corpus of work produced by nineteenth century mill poets, as published work was often lacking in originality, conforming to popular themes and imagery around nature, childhood and morality. However, the pervasiveness of natural themes within poetry by working class writers in nineteenth-century industrial towns yields a valuable insight into the significance of local landscapes as a source of civic pride, contemplation and beauty. Heritage representations of the moorland landscapes around Saltaire have been heavily mediated by the literary imagination and the idea of 'Bronte culture' (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2019). However, on a more localised level at Saltaire, there exists a trajectory of Airedale poets whose work has been intimately connected with the representation and celebration of the beauty of the environment. Furthermore, heritage creates and reproduces geographic narratives, stories for the telling about certain places in certain times. Blair's work demonstrates, working with nineteenth century working class poetry in a highly localised content can generate rich understandings into industrial leisure pursuits, culture and significantly the development of highly localised geographies of landscape significance and civic pride. Working with poetry therefore provided another rich insight into how the landscapes around Saltaire have become embedded with meaning, and significantly, how the 'improving' institutes of Saltaire provided a fertile space for a literary and publishing culture, which disseminated narrative approaches to landscape. It is from this historical-geographical perspective that I have approach literary material in my thesis.

3.5 Contemporary Source Material

This thesis draws upon both historical archives and contemporary heritage documents in order to critically explore the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire. As such it was necessary to conduct secondary data collection exploring the representation of landscapes at Saltaire within contemporary heritage discourses. Pendlebury (2013) has demonstrated how assemblage analysis of heritage management reports and policy documents can yield new understandings of how discourses within

conservation planning fit together and relate to wider spheres of urban policy and management. Adopting a more historically orientated approach DeSilvey (2012) has made extensive use of a variety of contemporary heritage documents in seeking to understand the constructions of the past at heritage sites. In her work on the National Trust site at Mullion Cove on the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall, DeSilvey constructs what she describes as a 'reverse chronology' in order to consider how narratives at heritage sites might be reframed around 'movement rather than stasis' (2012: 34). DeSilvey layers an analysis of geological records, contemporary newspaper articles, Victorian holiday postcards, nineteenth-century antiquarian books alongside the narratives contained within National Trust signage, publicity and reports to expose the instability of the harbour environment. In addition to the 'official' documents of the Saltaire World Heritage management plan, description, and nomination files this thesis also used examples of 'unofficial' texts. Crouch and Parker (2003) have drawn attention to the ways in which campaign groups in the UK have used history and heritage to 'rupture, normative and dominant conceptions of action, space and land use' (2003: 395). Crouch and Parker have demonstrated how artefacts and heritage in the landscape are assembled by actors into claims of ownership which are presented as a counter history to institutional narratives of 'official' ownership. Furthermore, Robertson's (2015) work on 'hardscrabble heritage' has disrupted the idea of the 'authorised heritage discourse' through exploring how 'non-elites have an active, co-constitutive role in landscape making' (2015: 996). Taken together, this body of work demonstrates how different contemporary actors assemble understandings of landscape and history into claims concerning ownership and preservation.

As the previous chapter has discussed, the development of the model village as a typology is enmeshed with the broader histories of private property relations and scenic notions of landscape. Understandings of the historic and visual qualities of the landscape at Saltaire continue to shape heritage decision making in the local area. Conceptions of the value of past landscapes therefore matter in the present and have material outcomes

which affect the lives of the local community. In order to explore this complexity between past and present representations of landscape significance, I have traced the connections and omissions between the materiality and experiences of landscape at Saltaire in the nineteenth century and ways in which landscape has been perceived as heritage today. Initially my plan was to conduct interviews using participatory action research methods to ask residents and groups about their relationship to landscape as heritage at Saltaire. However, the initial collaborative element of this project came into question after the World Heritage Officer, who was a supervisor on the project and had devised the PhD with the Heritage Consortium, left their role. Without a collaborative partner in Bradford, it was no longer possible to pursue the initial proposal to work alongside the World Heritage Officer to gather interview data. Instead, I re-designed the project to use documentary sources and responses which had already been published. I drew on the wealth of experience of data within the World Heritage Site Management Plan and associated documents, UNESCO and Historic England listings, interviews in the Bradford Newspaper the *Telegraph & Argus* and other press sources and local Saltaire websites and the documents published via the Bradford Metropolitan District planning portal in response to proposed development near Saltaire. Documents around the Milner Field action campaign presented the opportunity to explore how official meanings of 'history' in the landscape have been contested at Saltaire. Community gardening practices in the village enabled an examination of how the materiality of small gardens continues to be presented as part of the town's moral and model function. These sources, alongside the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' of the WHS management plan and scenic landscape assessments demonstrated the situatedness of knowledge about landscape. Furthermore, an analysis of contemporary material can demonstrate how 'official' narratives of heritage value, focusing on the monumental can be undercut by more processual concepts of heritage informed by living in and working with landscapes. This thesis builds on the scholarship reviewed in this section to demonstrate how contemporary historically contingent of landscape can be unstable and how

a 'thicker' understanding of historical geography can foster a more democratic means of assessing heritage significance.

3.6 Conclusion

To conclude, the methodology used in this thesis represents what is still a novel approach in historical geography, albeit a way of doing creative research which is gaining increasing traction. 'Reading against the grain' of the official histories of Saltaire necessitated using a wide range of sources. As has been demonstrated in these chapters nineteenth-century descriptions of landscape at Saltaire have been shaped by scenic and moral understandings of health and place. As such it was of acute importance to develop a critical framework for understanding these texts as representations of landscape. However, in order to go beyond a focus on representation alone this thesis has been attentive to the materiality and 'lived in' experiences of the landscape expressed through, leisure, protest, worship, gardening and agriculture. Through a focus on process and the dynamics of peri-urbanism this thesis has used historical analysis to challenge scenic understandings of fixed rurality and essentialist understandings of the landscape at Saltaire. In terms of how I approached my analysis, I adopted the straightforward methodology of annotating and coding material (Awcock, 2019). Through this process the thematic structure of the thesis emerged as I grouped material into three empirical sections discussed in this thesis. I was then able to trace how the thematic historical areas discussed in this thesis have been represented in contemporary heritage interpretation of Saltaire. My approach to this research was informed by the work that heritage does to assemble the past, and how cultural and material historical sources are woven into contemporary understandings of significance at Saltaire. As such this thesis offers a critical reflection on the role that historical geography can play 'on the ground' as part of a critical, and polyvocal approach to the assessment of heritage character and place at Saltaire. These first two chapters have detailed the theoretical, critical and methodological context of this thesis. The next three chapters present my empirical research and the novel contributions that this thesis makes.

Chapter Four: Moral geographies of landscape and ‘healthy heritage’

The history of the industrial model village is part of a broader trajectory of environmental reform, through which nature was positioned as a curative. Throughout the nineteenth-century the idea of ‘the healthy countryside’ was assembled into a vast array of typologies such as asylum and hospital design (Ogborn & Philo, 1994; Hickman, 2013), ‘utopian’ communities (Tarlow, 2002; Skinner, 2017), art and culture (Albritton & Albritton Jonsson, 2016) and, popular travel and tourism (Hope & Klemm, 2001; Donaldson et al., 2017). Depictions of rural and peri-urban landscapes in Victorian culture were heavily influenced by the romantic movement, and often mediated through the lens of the individual (and often male) walker who escaped the city and found mental and moral improvement through contemplating the beauties of nature (Jarvis, 1997; Hicks, 2016). Furthermore, understandings of climatology and geography were increasingly informed by Cholera transmission in urban centres (Sciampacone, 2020). These narratives of what I call ‘the healthy countryside’ are reflected in archival material describing the development of Saltaire between 1853–1900 and contemporary understandings of heritage and residential value at Saltaire. On account of these narratives, the landscape which surrounds Saltaire is described by UNESCO (2001) as an important part of the towns ‘improving’ environment, and character.

The process of landscape designation on the grounds of importance to human health and wellbeing has generated many modern understandings of what heritage is, and why ‘nature’ should be protected (Lowenthal, 1993; Tilley, 2006; Harvey & Waterton, 2015). At Saltaire, this process of ‘heritagization’ can be traced through the emergence of nineteenth-century articles which described the improved environment at Saltaire to the designation of Saltaire as a World Heritage Site in 2001. However, this ‘grand narrative’ (Samuel, 1990) of the healthy countryside represents an extremely narrow delineation of the historical geography of Saltaire. This focus on the ‘good’ rural valley location operates on a simplistic binary which separates all traces of ‘bad’ urbanity, noise, industrialisation and ill health from the ‘countryside’ which is presented as a pristine environment,

reserved for quiet contemplation and recreation. Whilst there has been extensive work examining the complexity of industrial environments (Driver, 1988a; Winter, 1999; Thompson, 2011; Thorsheim, 2016) there has been little critical examination of environmental health narratives at Saltaire. The perceived otherness of Saltaire as an improved environment has been presented in contrast to narratives about industrialisation in Bradford, which has continued to be viewed through the lens of 'dark satanic mills', pollution and disease (Urry, 1996; Smith, 2003). At Saltaire the materiality of the industrial environment was shifted by a desire to envision an alternative of what a factory town could be, and how the industrial environment could be 'other' through an ameliorative connection to the fresh air and open space situated outside the heart of the city.

However, representations of landscape as the 'healthy countryside' has prevented a critical understanding of the historical geography of the industrial model village. To grasp the significance of the intersections between environment, health and improvement at Saltaire this thesis argues that understandings of landscape significance in a heritage context must move away from scenic landscape assessments to more critical understandings of materiality of the peri-urban industrial environment. Crucially, this chapter will demonstrate how margins between the factory town and the landscape at Saltaire were not impermeable. The factory and fields came together in ways which are not fully articulated by prevailing heritage narratives. This chapter is divided into five substantive sections. Firstly, I will examine how the historical basis for the 'healthy countryside' at Saltaire has been assembled through interpretation of deleterious conditions in Bradford in the 1840s. Through this a distinctive moral geography of spatial differentiation has emerged, which underpins understandings of Saltaire as an exemplar of sanitary planning (Reynolds, 1952; Dewhirst, 1960). The second section will examine how understandings of the perceived 'healthy' environments at Saltaire were understood in relation to the atmospheric and scenic qualities of the moorland edge. However, in the third section I will demonstrate how accounts of disease and pollution in Saltaire destabilise understandings of

the 'healthy countryside'. Fourthly, I will explore how historical understandings of the landscape at Saltaire can be re-framed around ways in which the landscape was experienced by past actors through walking, writing poetry, protest, religion and leisure. Through viewing the idea of landscape character and significance through the wider lens of industrial community formation at Saltaire we can understand how cultural associations with the landscape have been shaped through a range of processes and activities. Finally, I will critique the ways in which heritage landscape assessments at Saltaire 'de-people' the landscape and focus on fixed understandings of rurality rather than the complex relationships between people, landscape and place which have contributed to the shaping of the peri-urban landscape environment at Saltaire as it exists today. This chapter forms vital framing for the rest of the thesis which follows and grounds my argument in a critical understanding of landscape, which seeks to move beyond romantic understandings of nature, to a more nuanced understanding of how landscapes become significant at peri-urban heritage sites.

4.1 Setting the scene: from the unhealthy City to the 'Healthy Countryside'

'The original rural river valley setting has gradually disappeared over the last one hundred years, but significant views remain. Given that part of Salt's original intention was to locate Saltaire in a healthy environment, the buffer zone is important in this respect' (UNESCO, 2001).

'Working conditions for workers of the mills in Bradford in the 1840s were dangerous, cramped and frightening. The city was even once described as 'the dirtiest, filthiest and worst regulated town in the kingdom'. As well as his new 'state of the art' mill, Titus Salt built neat stone houses for his workers, washhouses with running water, bathhouses, a hospital, as well as an Institute for recreation and education, with a library, a reading room, a concert hall,

billiard room, science laboratory and gymnasium...Sir Titus Salt wanted to build homes for his workers that would provide them with better living conditions than they had had where they lived previously a few miles away in the heavily polluted city of Bradford'⁶

'Sir Titus Salt lived from 1803 to 1876. He was a good employer and built a new mill on the outskirts of the town of Bradford, where the air was fresh, and working conditions would be more pleasant for his workers. It was a massive mill with space, light and warmth in his new mill. The location was superb, in a green and pleasant area and the Mill opened in 1853 on Titus Salt's 50th birthday'⁷

The snippets above demonstrate how narratives of significance underpinning contemporary understandings of heritage value at Saltaire are rooted in the idea that the air was fresher, and prospects better on the edges of Bradford. Crucially, these accounts attribute moral significance to the 'green and pleasant' location of Saltaire with 'neat' stone houses in a 'healthy' environment positioned in opposition to the 'dangerous, cramped and frightening' industrial city. Smith (2006) has described the 'chiming' between nineteenth-century cultural and environmental concerns and the development of western 'monumental' conceptions of heritage underpinned by the processes of listing and World Heritage Designation (2006: 27). As

⁶ My Learning (2019) *Titus Salt and the First Super Mill*. Available online: <https://www.mylearning.org/stories/saltaire--Victorian-model-town-then-and-now/522> [accessed 07/11/2019].

⁷ BBC Local Bradford (2014) *Where I Live: Bradford and West Yorkshire* Available online: https://www.bbc.co.uk/bradford/features/great_britons/salt.shtml [accessed 07/11/2019].

such, Saltaire is very much part of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' of the industrial revolution in Britain, which has contributed to both broader currents of anti-urbanism and the growth of green city ideals (Gandy, 2006; Thompson, 2011). Saltaire can be viewed as an example of scalar reorganisation, similar to what Gandy has described in his analysis of the 'bacteriological city' as a 'distinctive constellation of space, society and technology' (2006:1). In order to understand the distinctive sanitary geographies of landscape at Saltaire it is necessary to trace the development of the moral geography that is reflected to us today as heritage within the context of social and environmental reform in Bradford during the 1840s.

Nineteenth-century solutions to ill health and disease in Bradford were derived geographically, with space and landscape forming a major element in proposed reforms. The poet George Weerth, described a visit to Bradford in 1846, published in the German Newspaper *Neue Rheinschen Zeitung*. In the article he narrates his carriage through the Aire Valley countryside where he saw 'beautiful gardens...meadows succulently green as Alpine flowers'. This Landscape came to an abrupt half when he arrived in polluted Bradford where, 'suddenly in became evening.... we stop in the dark alley of an evil smelling ton. We are in Bradford' (Reynolds,1983: 88). Weerth's description emphasises the duality in cultural perceptions of the district, with the wild nature of the countryside forming a counter scene to the polluted towns and city (Pocock, 1974). Prior to the construction of Saltaire, Salt's business was located in Thompsons Mill on Silsbridge Lane close to the centre of Bradford. A description of this locality can be found in the Wool comber's Report (1845) which was published in the *Bradford Observer*.⁸

⁸ Bradford Observer (1845), Sanitary Condition of Bradford, the Wool Combers Report, *Bradford Observer*, 12th June, 14. Bradford Local Studies Library.

‘This locality is situated on an eminence at a foot of which runs a filthy beck, or stream, impregnated with the refuse of dyehouses, manufactories, and dwellings contiguous to it. The streets are narrow and filthy, and the general arrangement of the buildings unfavourable to health. The inhabitants uniformly complain of ill health. In 12 cases taken by rotation, the figures show that the buildings are inhabited by ninety-five persons, having only twenty-three apartments for all purposes and twenty-four beds, making an average of four persons to each bed, or eight to one bedroom, the average size of which is seventeenth feet by fifteen!’

Crucially the authors of the report perceived differences between the health of those living in the countryside and in the city. For example, in case number seventy-five of the report, which describes the conditions present in the White Abbey area of the city, it is remarked that that a family who had once enjoyed ‘good air and consequently good health’ in Otley had suffered the loss of a daughter since moving to Bradford. Increased air and ventilation were positioned as environmental curatives to these ‘social evils’. In 1842, Bradford physician Robert Baker had reported to Edwin Chadwick his theory that the reason why mortality in the low-lying city centre was so much higher than in the more elevated villages was due to the curative effects of the ‘pure air and breezes’ outside of the city (Bender, 1982). In mid-nineteenth century Britain, low lying urban courts and narrow alleyways became synonymous with death and disease. The perception that ‘foul air’ emanating from smoky chimneys, polluted canals and bodies housed too closely together created a distinctly medical-moral notion of geography, which motivated urgent study into condition of industrial cities and an understanding of open countryside as having a healthier atmosphere than crowded residential areas (Driver, 1988b). These nineteenth-century investigations into sanitary science underpin the historical understandings of the ‘healthy countryside’ and significance of the landscape within a heritage context (UNESCO, 2001).

Salt's paternalism has been framed as a rejection of the industrial environment in Bradford, and a search for a cleaner and healthier environment for his workers and mills. (UNESCO, 2001). Titus Salt was elected mayor of Bradford in 1848 and drew on nascent understandings of environment and health in attempts to improve the town (Reynolds, 1983). In 1850 Salt commissioned a report into the moral condition of Bradford.⁹ The report concluded that the environment within the city centre was detrimental to both health and character and recommended a programme of civic improvement. The appeal of beer shops and brothels were to be eradicated by the development of attractive mechanic's institutes and temperance houses, and through strengthening religious feeling in the town. Salt's morality report recommended the creation of new green space for the working classes 'to promote the health and happiness of both old and young'. This space was to differ from pre-existing open commons, such as Fair Weather Green, which had provided the space for chartist gatherings and unsupervised leisure activities (Daniels, 1980). The common was to be replaced by parks and promenades which would be instructive, complementing the institute and school to provide a new framework for space in the city which moulded the industrial worker into a healthy moral citizen. However, in 1850 an editorial in the *Bradford Observer* asserted that the recommendations of the report did not go far enough, and that the health and morality of the city could not be meaningfully advanced without improvement to the domestic environment of the home.¹⁰

⁹ 'Moral Condition of the Town' (1849) *Bradford Observer*, 28 Jun. British Library Newspapers. available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3207896626/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=bc273604> [accessed 26 Sep 2020].

¹⁰ 'Moral Condition of the Town', *Bradford Observer*

Salt's decision to move his business out of mills in Bradford has been attributed to the conviction that a change in environment could transform the health, morality and productivity of his workforce (Daniels, 1980). As Beckingham's (2013) work on Victorian and Edwardian child protection has demonstrated, narratives of urban reform created powerful imaginary and practical responses to moral regulation and reform in urban environments. Beckingham's analysis underscores the significance of scale as being intrinsic to the social and power relations expressed through nineteenth-century approaches to reform. The patterns of urban reform within Bradford city centre were also reproduced at Saltaire through the development of the park and civic institutes (which will be explored in chapter six). At Saltaire the wholesale development of housing was a key component in realising a complete vision of an improved environment, where the sweet air of the hills could improve the conditions of the home.

The idea of Saltaire emerged through the context of social reform in Bradford in the 1840s and 1850s. Within this context, the upland landscape around the city was positioned as a source of health-giving breezes and space, which could be brought into the home through the opening of space in the city centre and the development of new model towns on the periphery. However, as Gandy (2006) has articulated urban sanitary reform in the nineteenth century was caught in a conflict between the urban fabric of cities and the expansion of industrial growth into the countryside. Paradoxically, moving new industrial towns into more rural urban fringes presented a threat to the socio-spatial separation of town and country, a concern which later dominated late nineteenth-century anti urban sentiments (Luckin, 2006). At Saltaire the moorland edge had a key imaginative function in mediating this tension between town and country. The open spaces of the moorland which bordered the town provided an imaginative and topographical separation from the high density urban-industrial world of the factory town. However, moorlands were not a universal idyll within nineteenth-century understandings of place. The northern landscape was also considered as bleak, barren and dangerous (Whyte, 2013; Flint & Jennings, 2020). However, this section has

highlighted how within the context of sanitary and social reform in Bradford, 'good air and good health' became synonymous. These associations are central to the model environment at Saltaire, which as the next section will demonstrate was viewed as an environment where the stresses of the town could be alleviated by close proximity to the moors.

4.2 'Local Scenes & Characters': walking in the landscape at Saltaire

This section will demonstrate how interrelationships between the new industrial town at Saltaire and surrounding landscape contributed to distinctive formations of local character. As Booth's (2014) unpublished thesis on the Pennine town of Stalybridge has argued, a crucial feature of the nineteenth century peri-urban landscape was the ways in which the rural and the urban intersected. Booth's findings on the localised development of walking as a leisure pursuit resonates with my own findings on the significance of landscape at Saltaire. In this section I will analyse descriptive accounts of walking around Saltaire, and the surrounding landscape published in newspapers and books. These descriptions of the landscape emphasise the beauty and health-giving qualities of upland landscapes which border the industrial towns of the Aire valley. However, the process of walking in and visiting these spaces was not an exclusively rural phenomenon. This relationality created a distinctive sense of appreciation for landscapes near industrial towns, spaces which were deeply enmeshed in both leisure culture and the processes of manufacture and extraction which formed the material wealth that built Saltaire.

As Flint and Jennings (2020) have demonstrated, the upland landscapes of Wharfedale became increasingly popular as a therapeutic resort in the mid-nineteenth century. The landscapes of Airedale and Wharfedale intersect on Rombalds moor above Saltaire and the route over from Saltaire to Ilkley was a popular excursion, as described to readers of the *Leeds Times* in an article published on Saturday 9th July 1881:

'Let us go to-day and smell the heather on the breeding grounds of the omnipotent grouse. The heat in town is almost stifling...the smoke and dust are more annoying than ever...Within a few

minutes ride of Leeds or Bradford you can be landed at the foot of Rombalds Moor. If you have half a day to spare occasionally – as many of us have – you can exchange the heated air of the town for the life giving atmosphere of the moor, spend a few hours ‘among (sic) the heather’, inhale the healthful breeze that is always to be found on the hill tops, and descending into the lovely valley of the Wharfe, smelling at this time of year, like a huge posy. If you live at Bradford, you may prefer the route via Saltaire, Shipley Glen and the fleece Inn at the edge of the moor. Either way there is a considerable rise from the railway, before the summit of the moor is gained, but the journey is relieved by several extensive outlooks. The distance from Saltaire to Ilkley is some seven miles about half the way being “among (sic) the heather”¹¹

This description demonstrates how the scenic qualities of the landscape were buoyed by the experiential and olfactory qualities of being-in-the landscape. Attentiveness to the fragmentary, affective and experiential qualities of landscape can yield more nuanced understanding of place and landscape (DeSilvey, 2007; McDonagh, 2013; Hoskins, 2015). The relationality between landscape and local identity formed a broad current in nineteenth-century understandings of place. As Dellheim (1986) has demonstrated the ‘hardiness, health and vitality of Yorkshire people’ was attributed to ‘a love of mountain air’ in printed material about the region (1986: 224). Yet when approaching the affective dimensions of ‘the healthful breeze’ it is important to situate this perceived material agency of the landscape in a critical context (Otter, 2010). The view that plants and open spaces were important sources of health and morality became a

¹¹ ‘among the Heather’ on Rombalds Moor’ (1881) *Leed’s Times*, 09 July. British Library Newspapers. Available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/GW3217559374/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5b26bdd1> [accessed 26/09/2020].

driving current in late-nineteenth century approaches to sanitary reform (Stradling & Thorsheim, 1999). At Saltaire this relationship was understood in a highly localised context, with the surrounding moorland providing respite from the city. However, there is a delicate dualism at work here. Descriptions of the health-giving qualities of the moorland landscape are products of a powerful geographic imaginary, through which the ill health and diseases found in urban courts might be transcended via walking up and out of the smoke riddled streets. It is this moral locational discourse (Ogborn & Philo, 1994) that underpins understandings of the 'healthy countryside' at Saltaire.

The ability to transcend the 'Worstedopolis' of Bradford through travelling out to Saltaire was remarked upon by Yorkshire journalist James Burnley in his column for the *Bradford Observer*:

'Bradford could not hold me, it was not exactly that I had had my nerves shaken by the ghastly site of the town hall statues frowning at each other in their stony horror in their empty chamber where they now await their final doom; it was not that the town's unconsumed smoke was stifling me; nor was it that I was grievously over wrought in body and brain, that the worstedopolis was so excessively unpleasant to me that day. But whatever were my promptings and longings there could be no doubt that one of those 'mysterious somethings' so dear to the heart of the sensational novelist was working it's will upon me and driving me out into the country air. I yielded myself to up to its influence and made my way to Manningham railway station with ardent yearnings for spring woods, rugged hill and breezy expanses of moorland. Each and all of these invigorating enjoyments were in my reach by just allowing myself to be carried to the favourite starting point of Saltaire. At Saltaire you at once stand on the verge

of river and wood and the hills and moorland are waiting for you immediately beyond'¹²

Saltaire provided Burnley with an escape from the 'unpleasant' surroundings of Bradford. However, Burnley's journey took an unexpected turn due to a train cancellation, meaning that his trip took the form of a walk from Bradford to Saltaire. In the description of his journey on foot Burnley remarked on chimneys 'thick as a forest in Airedale' and dust on roads from the surrounding quarries. Significantly Burnley's account highlights how, the easily accessible peri-urban fringe of Airedale, clustered by factories and industrial towns, was framed as a distinctive and appealing environment to escape the crowded city centre, demonstrating the scalar relationships between the centre and the fringes of the town. This is an important element of the moral geography of Saltaire, the 'spring woods' and 'breezy expanses of moorland' were only a short distance from the new industrial model village.

Crucially the appeal of the urban environment at Saltaire was the combination of 'old' rural signifiers with new sanitary improvements. In *Reynolds News* Samuel Kydd (1815–1892) described the view from Saltaire as 'romantic rural and beautiful' with 'quiet fields' surrounding the factory and 'the thatched cottage of the labourer in its rural simplicity' easily discernible on the hillside (Kydd, 1857). Crucially, Kydd described the advantages of the surrounding landscapes in relation to the health of the industrial workforce:

¹² 'Local Scenes and Characters' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, 29 May.

British Library Newspapers. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3209555933/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=a7a0623e> [accessed 26/09/2020].

The factory worker at Saltaire can in a few minutes, leave the whirling of a thousand machines and find himself in the solitude of an untilled and uninhabited moor, in the society of the songsters of the wood. In all that relates to health and enjoyment in life those are real advantages which cannot be overrated; and as I walked through the streets of Saltaire, open regular and well-built, and wandered thence up the neighbouring hill edges an old prepossession came back upon me. I felt how desirable it is that large manufactories should be separated from crowded towns¹³

However, despite Kydd's description of the benefits of rural surrounds to industrial towns, his account of Saltaire juxtaposes the development of a new town at Saltaire with the materiality of 'the old':

A new town springing into existence fresh from the quarry and the chisel, is a novelty which in staid old settled England could not fail to attract attention. Such things are managed differently by our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic... we of the parent stock are slower in action. On every side we are surrounded by the marks of an old civilisation: here the ruins of an old castle; there the gothic windows of an ancient abbey...with all their associations, reminding us at every step and turn what has been. The old is everywhere near to us...modern manufacture and commerce which have been the great innovators of the past have seldom in their own advances got rid of all traces. Half a century back there were a few mean looking houses, to which others have been added at various times. The process of

¹³ 'Condition of the People' (1857) *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 29 Nov.

Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Y3200522267/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=44f3f24d> [accessed 26/09/2020].

formation has occurred gradually. Saltaire is no more extensive than some other manufacturing establishments in Yorkshire, but it is assuredly the most remarkable. These are old – Saltaire is new.

This hybridity between ‘old’ and ‘new’ spaces in the valley was further emphasised by William Wheater in the 1891 publication *Handbook for Tourists of Yorkshire*.

SALTAIRE is aptly termed “the wonder of the valley”. The town was founded in 1852 by Titus Salt who built the gigantic mills in 1853–65 gathering the town about them until it had been greatly enlarged in 1868. The factory, in the Italian style, covers an area of twelve acres. The history of the whole valley west of Leeds absolutely pales in the presence of Saltaire. The old monastery, with four hundred years of wealth and possession is a figment as compared with its influence....The walk over the moors from Ilkley to Saltaire is one of the most bracing and invigorating to be had in the country. Saltaire Glen is invariably visited by those who take the famous walk, for the glen is a really picturesque and lovely ramble, greatly sought out by the Saturday excursionist for the beauty of the scenery and quietude and loveliness of the place. North of Saltaire and about the scarp of Wood Head and Baildon Crag is Baildon Moor, Dobrudden 927 feet – where cairns and barrows are yet to be found, and abundant traces of the celts down to the “druidical castle” on Hawksworth Moor with its glimpses into Otley and over the Chevin¹⁴

¹⁴ Wheater, W. (1891) *Handbook for Tourists of Yorkshire*. (Leeds: Richard Jackson) 298-299. Google Books. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Handbook_for_Tourists_in_Yorks

Much like Samuel Kydd's account, Wheater's description of Saltaire juxtaposes the new factory town at Saltaire with the institutions of 'old' England. These descriptions of Saltaire demonstrate that the rural and urban were not always diametrically opposed. Instead, the place narratives explored in this section emphasise the significance of the idea of the local character in attributing significance to a landscape as a healthy or beautiful environment. Crucially, the distinctive moral geography of landscape at Saltaire has developed through associations with the improved factory and the scenic and atmospheric qualities of the Airedale landscape. The moral geography of Saltaire was one of locational transformation, with the marriage of moorland and factory rendering a distinctive, health-giving peri-urban ideal in the minds of commentators. The combination of the marvels of Saltaire and the beauty of the surrounding landscape was framed as an advantageous environment for both visitors and Saltaire residents alike. Bradford antiquarian William Cudworth considered his series *Round About Bradford* incomplete without a feature on Saltaire which he described as a Utopian environment:

Saltaire is situated about half a mile from Shipley and nearly four miles from Bradford, in a picturesque part of the valley of the Aire. We question, indeed if a prettier bit of scenery is to be found along its whole course than meets the eye of the visitor while looking up the valley from Saltaire Bridge. The slopes of Baildon bank, feathered with healthy foliage, the lively foreground of meadow and water and the picturesque mansion of one of the lords of Saltaire crowning the little knoll of Milner field and the opening vista of wood, water and moorland in the distance all make up a truly pretty picture. Should it be on a summers evening...or a holiday when troops of town visitors

http://www.yorkshiretourism.com/visit/hire_and_C/aankAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Handbook+for+Tourists+of+Yorkshire&printsec=frontcover [accessed 03/04/2019].

after bestowing a wondering gaze at the big factory linger about on the bridge or wind their way up to Eldwick Glenn the scene is most animating...Saltaire has been likened to a commercial utopia. However, as daring a flight of imagination this might seem, yet to our mind we have a fairly realised utopia even in manufacturing Saltaire. As a town, especially a manufacturing town – it is a marvel of cleanliness, cheerfulness and beauty. Its inhabitants should be, whether they are or not a superior and happy people¹⁵

Understanding how the affective qualities of the Airedale landscape were viewed in relation to the hustle and bustle of the established cities of Bradford and Leeds and the new town at Saltaire provides an insight into how spatial rationalities at Saltaire were (and in some ways, still are) locally situated in a sense of regional character, culture and identity. Crucially, it is important to consider Saltaire in relation to the broader context of industrial culture and improvement in the surrounding towns rather than simply as a spatial manifestation of Titus Salt's paternalism. As this section has demonstrated the affective qualities of the surrounding landscape shaped perceptions of the model environment at Saltaire as the 'wonder of the valley'. As an industrial town on the edge of open moorland and woods, Saltaire became a nucleus for outdoor industrial leisure culture, day trips and rambling – activities which were deemed as a healthy escape from the factory and through which the upland landscapes on the edge of the town

¹⁵ 'Round about Bradford' (1875) *Bradford Observer*, 06 May. British

Library Newspapers. available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208050061/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=dd8c68b2> [accessed 26/05/2019].

were celebrated in terms of the amenity that open space presented to readers of local newspapers and guides.

Yet the margins between industrial town and 'healthy countryside' were and, and still are, delicate, and the idea of geographical barriers between the problems of Bradford and the industrial environment at Saltaire can be illusory. Whilst my empirical research located a variety of nineteenth-century accounts which described the healthy environment, there are significant omissions from these descriptions. Hoskins (2016) has demonstrated how a focus on the scenic and picturesque at heritage sites can lead to a depoliticized understanding of the past at industrial heritage sites. This thesis argues that a focus on narratives of improvement and exceptionalism within the heritage designation of Saltaire risks reproducing environmentally deterministic narratives of health that are rooted in nineteenth-century sanitary understandings of geography (Tuan, 2013). This chapter will now complicate the 'healthy heritage' of Saltaire through an examination of historical material relating to industrial disease at the town.

4.3 Pollution in the Air(e) & the un-healthy environment.

Whilst the environment at Saltaire was in some respects healthier, the 'sweet mountain air' did not mitigate against the health risks posed by textile production. In addition to extolling the virtues of Saltaire, Samuel Kydd also acknowledged the presence of ill health and disease in Saltaire. Kydd noted that:

Notwithstanding all the advantages referred to, strange as it may sound, not yet more strange than true – Saltaire shows a high rate of mortality and is considered by many to be unhealthy.¹⁶

Kydd associated the rate of mortality in Saltaire with the harsh realities of industrial labour, stating that 'longevity and factory labour, never as a rule

¹⁶ Kydd, S. (1857). 'Condition of the People' *Bradford Observer*

go together' and that in particular the 'rate of mortality amongst wool sorters of alpaca and mohair is high'. He attributed the high mortality amongst wool sorters to the dust which arose from the fleeces when they were being separated, which if inhaled could cause fatal damage to the lungs. Kydd was referring to wool sorter's disease now scientifically known as Anthrax. Bradford became an epicentre for the disease in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, owing to the widespread use of imported alpaca and angora fleeces popular in the production of worsted fabrics. The use of these new wools carried a hidden risk in the form of *Bacillus anthracis*, the etiologic agent which causes Anthrax (Bell, 2002; Stark, 2015). The risks associated with Anthrax were not spatially bound to mills in the centre of Bradford, as the risk of disease lay in the materiality of the industrial processes at the heart of Salt's Mill.

Pressure mounted to investigate the cause of the woolsorter's disease at Saltaire in 1866, following the deaths of William Cawthra and Thomas Goldthorpe, two well respected figures in the Saltaire community (Reynolds, 1983). Medical officers at Saltaire initially concluded that 'only weak chested men' were susceptible to the disease (Ittmann, 2016). However, sustained critique of the Saltaire medical officer's investigations into Anthrax can be found in the letters sent by factory operative Sutcliffe Rhodes to the *Bradford Observer* in the 1860s and 1870s. Rhodes lived in Saltaire and worked in the worsted industry. Writing often in response to other letters and published articles, Rhodes' letters demonstrate a keen awareness of the complexity of the model environment at Saltaire. Rhodes wrote in praise of the amenity of the surrounding landscape and the patronage of the Salts whilst also critiquing the short comings of the town. Significantly, Rhodes letters challenged the notion that the woolsorters, through weakness or vice, were somehow at fault if they fell victim to disease. He instead set out a case for an improved work environment and greater financial remuneration for the wool sorter's labour. In a letter entitled 'the Alpaca and Mohair Question', published in *The Bradford Observer* on March 12th, 1868, Rhodes argued that no amount of moral recreation could

prevent the disease and placed responsibility on the mill managers to improve working conditions:

The men may be most temperate in their habits, and embrace every opportunity for healthful recreation, masters alone possess the power of improving their physical condition.¹⁷

Rhodes' letters drew a clear delineation between the responsibility of the individual wool sorter to look after themselves via engaging with 'healthy recreation' and the need for Titus Salt Bart & Co to urgently improve conditions in the mill. The presence of Anthrax in Saltaire challenged nineteenth-century moral geographies of health and the idea that virtue, fresh air and cleanliness alone could rid industrial settlements of disease. Furthermore, environmental understandings of the curative power of fresh air and ventilation could obscure the industrial causes of the disease, providing an example of where the idea of the 'healthy countryside' worked against the campaigning efforts of Rhodes. William Henry Ellis, the surgeon tasked with investigating Wool Sorter's disease in Saltaire disagreed with the claims made by Rhodes and categorized Wool sorting as a healthy occupation:

Let Mr Rhodes on the first foggy day take a deep inspiration with his mouth first open then closed, and I fancy he will agree with me as to how jealously the nose guards the air passages. Sorting

¹⁷ Rhodes, S. 'Alpaca and Mohair Question' (1868) *Bradford Observer*, 12 March available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3212621240/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=5409aab8> [accessed 26/08/019].

being a light indoor employment is attractive to persons of delicate health¹⁸

Ellis' defence against Rhodes' argument that wool sorting was a dangerous occupation was rooted in atmospheric understandings of health, and importantly placed the onus on the wool sorters to maintain their health through exercise and fresh air at break times.¹⁹ This episode demonstrates how, in some instances, the moral geography of Saltaire worked against investigations into the more problematic cause of disease, factory labour – which could not be mitigated against through moral recreation and gulps of mountain air.

The prevalence of wool sorters disease in Saltaire demonstrates how industrial disease was not spatially bound to cities but affected the lives of workers on the periphery of towns and in the countryside. The invisible presence of Anthrax disrupts the grand narrative of a scalar solution of moving a workforce out of a city into a 'healthy environment'. This understanding is significant as the UNESCO nomination for Saltaire makes repeated reference to the Aire valley as a healthier environment. However industrial risks such as wool sorter's disease was located within the raw material economy of Saltaire and could not be removed from the body by taking in the moorland air. The permeability between industrial contaminants and 'the healthy countryside' was demonstrated further by

¹⁸ Ellis, W M. (1874) 'The Woolsorter's Meeting' *Bradford Observer*, 28 December. British Library Newspapers. Available online: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208047804/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=3031f750> [accessed 26/07/2019].

¹⁹ (1875), 'the sorters disease', *Bradford Observer*, 7th January. British Library Newspapers. Available online: available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208047804/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=3031f750> [accessed 26/09/2019].

the instance of livestock contracting wool sorter's disease at a farm near Harden Grange in 1880, owing to water which had been used to wash contaminated fleeces at nearby factories being allowed to run into the fields where the animals grazed.²⁰ The water courses of the Aire valley were an important part of the industrial landscape, facilitating industrial processing and transportation of goods. However, the presence of industrial pollutants also presented health risks and disrupted the pleasant surroundings of the Aire valley landscape.

On 17th of November 1866, a supplement to the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* devoted much of the front page to reporting on an inquiry held by the Royal Commission on The Pollution of Rivers, held at St George's Hall in Bradford. Mr Henry Mitchell, a stuff merchant based at Esholt Hall, and Mr John Holmes a Gamekeeper both described the condition of the river at the enquiry and their comments were published in the newspaper:

(Henry Mitchell had) known the river all his life, and when he first knew it, it was as very clear. At the present time it was foul. As the water flowed past it was almost black, and in the summer, he believed, very offensive. At the village of Esholt there was one woollen mill, two or three at Shipley and other near Keighley and Saltaire. All these polluted the stream to a certain extent...At present the chief source of pollution was Bradford but in the course of a few years, other towns such as Shipley and Saltaire would add very greatly to the offensive state of the river in consequence of the rapid growth of their manufacture. Mr John Holmes, gamekeeper at Esholt Hall...when he first knew the river it was full of fish...trout,

²⁰ Bradford Daily Telegraph (1880) Contamination of Livestock at Harden Grange *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 2 July, 3. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3227032503/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=f7435e26> [accessed 26/08/2019].

dace, perch and gudgeon whilst that was there now was an occasional chub. The cattle used to drink at the river fifteen or sixteen years ago, but for several years they had ceased doing so; and if they entered the river, he thought it would discolour their feet²¹

A more caustic description of the pollution of the Aire was published in the *Leeds Mercury* in 1869. In this, the pollution of the Aire in its course from the Yorkshire Dales was described in stark terms:

The Aire, as it issues, cold and sparkling from under the frowning limestone wall of Malham Cove, is a sight to rejoice the heart, but each mile of its course towards the sea is, in more than a mechanical sense, a downward progress. Even romantic little Skipton tarnishes its original purity, and Keighley and Bingley, Saltaire and Shipley render it anything but a “a thing of beauty and a joy ‘forever’ as it hastens to meet the Bradford Beck. The heart sickens at the hideous pollution that defiles its once sparkling waters from this point down to our own borough.²²

The ironic usage of Keats’ romantic words on nature as a ‘thing of beauty and joy forever’ sets up an interesting dualism between romantic readings of the Aire Valley and critical descriptions of the pollution caused by the

²¹ The pollution of Rivers Commission: Inquiry at Bradford (1866) *Supplement to the Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 November. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3227032503/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=f7435e26> [accessed 26/08/2019].

²² 'The Pollution of the River Aire' (1868) *Leeds Mercury*, 04 September. British Library Newspapers. available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201637263/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=2cfe38e8> [accessed 26/08/2020].

industrialization of the locality. Indeed, the same words were used unironically to describe the bucolic scene at Saltaire Park (which will be explored in detail later in this thesis). The landscapes that surrounded Saltaire were the site of marked industrial expansion and as such the more rural landscape which had existed in the Aire Valley in the 1850s looked markedly different by the 1880s and 90s. A column published in the *Leeds Mercury* on April 2nd, 1869 remarked that:

The rapid increase of Shipley is fast obliterating the old landmarks by which the place was known, and its beautiful situation in one of the most charming spots of Airedale has not been saved from the inroads of manufacturing prosperity.²³

This thesis argues that affective narratives of experiential qualities of the ‘healthy countryside’ surrounding Saltaire must also be tempered with an examination of experiences of industrial disease and pollution, which were also part of the experience of industrial ‘improvement’. A core tension in idea of character at industrial heritage landscapes is the tension between the scenic qualities of the contemporary post-industrial landscape and the historical geographies of industrial disease and pollution (Guttormsen & Fageraas, 2011). The landscapes surrounding Saltaire are not merely ‘remnants’ from an older, more rural and less industrial time. The materiality of the Aire valley has been extensively shaped through industrialisation and the development of Saltaire. As this chapter has demonstrated, the Aire valley, whilst experienced as beautiful was not automatically ‘healthy’. Significantly industrial pollution at Saltaire contributed to further pollution and ill health in the locality. However, this does not mean that the landscapes surrounding Saltaire were not an important part of the model

²³ 'The Growth of Shipley: near Bradford' (1872) *Leeds Mercury*, 02 April, British Library Newspapers. available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201660308/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=dbfeade7> [accessed 26/07/2022].

environment at the town. The grim stereotypes of industrial landscapes around northern towns seldom do justice to the richness of localised place narratives concerning landscape and culture (Reeve & McTominey, 2017). However, as this chapter has demonstrated the paternalistic place narratives at Saltaire obscure the complexity inherent in attempts to create a model industrial environment. Through understanding Saltaire as a hybrid peri-urban environment the character of the landscape can be more accurately articulated as heritage which provides a fulsome exploration of environment and health at model industrial communities on the peri-urban fringe. This chapter will now consider how the landscape was accessed and experienced as part of the emergent industrial town at Saltaire between 1853 and 1900.

4.4 Landscape, culture and community

This thesis argues that the relationships between people, processes, and landscapes at Saltaire are central to understanding the historical and contemporary development of community formation at the site. Saltaire is a village defined by its communal facilities expressed through the built environments of the factory, institute and chapels in the village. However there has been very little attention paid to how the fields, woods and moorland landscapes form part of the dynamic community heritage of the site. By considering landscape through the lens of community interaction rather than solely through aesthetics or the grand narratives of paternalism, we can better understand the idea of 'landscape character' at Saltaire, and how landscapes are integral to the broader processes which underpin the site's significance. Health is undeniably a significant element in the historical geography at Saltaire, the town contains a hospital, almshouses and was designed around sanitary principles. However, as the previous section has demonstrated, the idea that green landscapes have an immutable and 'healthy' quality obscures the complexity of how ideas around improvement and health were manifested spatially in hybrid peri-urban spaces, and significantly, the different ways in which people have accessed and shaped the landscape over time. Massey (2006:19) has conceptualised the notion of place as a 'meeting place' or 'series of stories

so far' which is open, not fixed and in a state of becoming'. Building on Massey's theorisation, Tilley (2006) has demonstrated how this sense of openness challenged cultural understandings of scenic landscapes as romantic and immanent places that anchor understandings of morality and national identity. However Massey's (2005) conceptualisation of landscape has provided a lens to critique parochial and exclusive understandings of place whilst also stressing the significance of deep meanings rooted in the specificities of local areas. Rather than viewing landscape history at Saltaire through the lens of the scenic and fixed 'healthy countryside' we can understand the ways in which the landscape has been made meaningful through social relations linked to the processes of life in the town.

Crucially, exploring ways in which past actors have accessed the landscape eschews a sense of fixity. Exploring how the landscape was accessed for a host of activities emphasises how different actors have attached different meanings to the relationship between Saltaire and the surrounding countryside, in ways which have sometimes proved to be conflicting. This next section will explore how distinctive appreciations of the landscapes at Saltaire were developed through collective and individual expressive activities which embraced local open spaces and countryside. This section is split into three subsections, the first will examine landscape poetry produced by residents in Saltaire. The second will explore how the landscape provided a meeting ground for political demonstrations, acting as a nexus between Saltaire and the surrounding Aire valley towns. Finally, the third subsection will examine how the landscape was used as part of collective religious and holiday activities. This analysis will underscore the importance of local networks and regional cultures of landscape which were embedded in the broader contexts of industrial social relations in the Aire valley during the first fifty years of development at Saltaire. However, this section will emphasize how the landscape was more than just a scenic backdrop to the town. Rather than purely existing as a reservoir of health and morality, the landscape was enmeshed in the social life of the town in a rich variety of ways that can be better understood as emergent, rather than fixed.

4.4.1 Poetic Landscapes and literary culture at Saltaire

In the mid to late nineteenth-century there was a lively literary culture in Saltaire, supported via the amenities of the institute and the local publisher, Abraham Holroyd, who lived in the village (Holroyd; 1873). The published work of Saltaire's literary circle provides a valuable example of how the materiality of the local landscape fused with the intellectual culture of the town. This next section will examine published work by poets who lived in Saltaire village and demonstrate how the landscape was conveyed intellectually, emotionally and experientially. Poetry was a significant way in which nineteenth-century actors recorded their experiences of walking and being in natural landscapes (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Hess, 2012). Significantly, the writing of poetry was not a practice solely reserved for the wealthy and more 'learned' middle and upper classes. Blair (2019) has demonstrated how poetry was a popular pastime amongst textile workers in Bradford, tracing the connections between the lively cultures of improvement embedded in workplace politics and working class literary and cultural associations active in the district in the nineteenth century.

Vibrant descriptions of restorative walking in Saltaire's rural hinterlands can be found in the work of poet and mill worker, James Waddington. In the 1861 Census, Waddington was recorded as living at 24 Herbert Street, Saltaire and was employed as a wool sorter at Salts Mill.²⁴ According to his friend Eliza Craven Green, Waddington spent his free time 'woo-ing the muse on Shipley Glen'.²⁵ Green (1803-1866) was a prolific poet, actress

²⁴ 'James Waddington' (1861) *Census return for Shipley, Herbert Street*, The National Archives, TNA RG 9, Folio no 499, p 38. Available at www.findmypast.co.uk [accessed November 2019].

²⁵ Waddington, J (1862) *Flowers from the Glen: The Poetical Remains of James Waddington*. Edited by E. Craven Green, Bradford: Holroyd & Byles. Google Books. Available

and writer and active contributor to literary circles in West Yorkshire and Manchester. Green's daughter, Frances was engaged to Waddington (Needs, 2016). Waddington wrote about the landscape which surrounds Saltaire in his poetry, which Green compiled into a volume after Waddington died of typhoid 1862, aged 32.²⁶ In his poem *An Invitation to Shipley Glen*, Waddington describes how a 'spirit-worn and chafed with anxious fears' can be 'strengthened to meet the world and cope with strife' through communion with the sights of the birch trees, flowers and gentle sound of the brook upon the Glen'. In an 'Apostrophe to Airedale' Waddington greets the surrounding landscape as a friend, describing his relationship with landscape through poetry:

My own beloved valley! I have walked
Along thy paths where silvery Aire Glides on
Through lofty woods or grandly circling hills
...I have walked along thy paths in silence and in joy
I have loved thy shades when summer cloth'd the woods
O sweet it was to breathe the cooling breeze
And hear water as it fell
Near yonder mill

online:<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=YtcIAAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PR24&hl=en> [accessed November 2019].

²⁶ 'James Waddington', Abode: Saltaire, Buried Oct 15, 1862, *Burials in the Parish of Bradford in the County of York*, GRO: England & Wales Deaths 1837-2007, 1056, 133. Available at: <https://www.findmypast.co.uk> [accessed November 2019].

And communed with thy spirit, till thou has become to me a
dear familiar friend²⁷

These fragments of embodied experiences in the landscapes surrounding Saltaire fit within a wider tradition of nineteenth-century leisure practices cultivated in peri-urban industrial towns (Tebbutt, 2006; Booth, 2014). Hill walking and rambling in the Yorkshire/Lancashire uplands became a popular, and accessible, form of respite from factory work and accounts written by poets and walkers in industrial towns were often expressive of a deep appreciation of the landscape and an attachment to local scenery and nature (Walton, 2013).

The practice of restorative walking at Saltaire correlates with the perambulatory culture described by Edensor in which ‘walking is a valuable and enjoyable antidote to the increased uncertainty and tension that are so often features of modern life’ (2000: 84). Edensor has also described how the experience of walking in the landscape has found expression through ‘prose, poetry and the narrative of the guidebook’ and how the rise in popularity of walking in the romantic era has become embedded in modern corporeal reflexivity (2000b: 91). James Waddington’s poetry expresses a

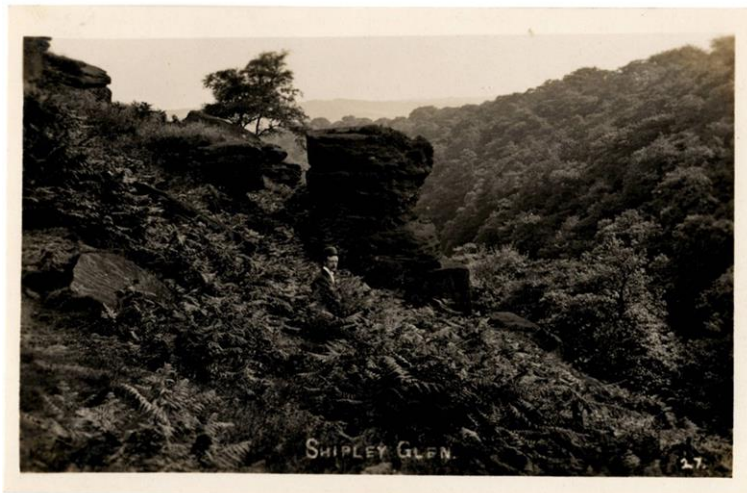


Figure 1: Postcard of Shipley Glen c1904, The Saltaire Collection, c2b-286

²⁷ Waddington, J (1862) *Flowers from the Glen: The Poetical Remains of James Waddington*, p19.

deep appreciation for woodland and moorland landscapes which were only a short distance from the factory in Saltaire and the string of industrial towns along the Aire valley where he himself lived and worked.

Poetry and literature were an important element in the culture of improvement at Saltaire. In the forward to Green's compilation Waddington is described as 'having availed himself of the liberal aids to instructive knowledge munificently supplied' at the Saltaire Institute (1862: 3). Green described Waddington's writing as a means of self-improvement, and the treatment of landscape in Waddington's poetry describes being in nature as a meditative and refining experience. Waddington's class is frequently remarked upon in the forward to *Flowers from the Glen*, and Craven Green described his poems in her preface to his work as 'the efforts of a mind raised above its class by a simple nobility of thought and feeling'(1862: 7).Waddington's poems formed part of a wider culture of 'improvement' and paternalism, instrumentalised a Saltaire through the development of the Institute (Blair, 2021). Waddington's publication of poems in newspapers led to him forming friendships with 'influential persons' in the Bradford district. His poems gained the support of Titus Salt. Craven- Green's volume is inscribed with a dedication to 'Titus Salt Esq whose benevolent sympathy recognises worth and genius in whatever class it may appear' (1862: 3).

However, Waddington's verse should not be purely viewed through the lens of Salt's paternalism. As Hobbs and Januszewski (2014) have demonstrated in their analysis of working-class literary culture in mid Victorian Blackburn, poetry represented both pride of place and culture which was a product of self-determination and expression. This pride of place and meditation on the local landscape, did not mean that the landscape was healthier or free from trouble. However, Waddington's poems provide a fleeting insight into an emotional relationship with the landscape. Through a consideration of Waddington's poems and life, a more critical sense of landscape culture at Saltaire can be defined. Waddington's poems are expressive of the beauty and affective qualities of the moors and woods around the town. However, his own death at 32 is

indicative of the low life expectancy amongst industrial workers in Saltaire, alluded to by Samuel Kydd (1857). As such, Waddington's landscape poetry provides an example of the relationality between Saltaire and the local landscape as a nexus for literary and associational culture both in Saltaire and the broader Airedale district.

Landscape poetry was also instrumentalised in promotional place narratives about Saltaire, which were published locally. Waddington's posthumous poems were published by Abraham Holroyd, who lived in Saltaire from 1868 until 1874 and conducted his business as a publisher and stationer from 36 Victoria Road. Holroyd found that nature poetry sold well, after selling all of the copies of one of his poems called 'Eldwick Glen' which he published in 1854 (Forshaw, 1891). The popularity of Saltaire and the surrounding landscape supported Holroyd's business, and he capitalized on this, and his relationship with Titus Salt, by publishing a glowing biography of Salt 'Saltaire & Its Founder' (1873) and two commemorative poems, which depicted Saltaire as a perfect factory town set within an idyllic landscape

Roll on gentle Aire in thy beauty
Familiar in story and in song
The subject of many a ditty
From Nicholson's' musical song ...
Then let us all join in the chorus
And sing in qualities rare
Of one who by nature is noble and hail him the lord of Saltaire
He has reared up a palace of labour!
Will equal the Caesars of old:
The church and the school and the cottage!
And lavished his thousands of gold

Where the work man may live and be happy

Enjoying the fruit of his hand²⁸:

A Lay of Saltaire

Rear high thy towers and mansions fair,

Thou gem of towns, renowned Saltaire!

Long may thy fanes and spires arise

In beauty pointing towards the skies:

For Labour dwells ennobled here.

Our homes to bless, our hearts to cheer:

From morn to eve, the sun I ween

Shines not on a sweeter scene.

Sequestered in this lovely dale,

Here Art and Wealth at length prevail:

Blent with hum besides thy walls

Aire's gentle mummering falls²⁹

²⁸ Holroyd, A. (1853) *The Lord of Saltaire: written on the opening of the Saltaire Works* 74/806.k.16.(85*.). General Reference Collection, British Library, London.

²⁹ Holroyd, A. (1871). *A Lay of Saltaire: written on the opening of the Saltaire Institute*, 74/806.k.16.(85*.). General Reference Collection, British Library, London.

Holroyd's sentimental poems frame Saltaire as a beautiful landscape set within an idyllic landscape. There is resonance between Holroyd's verses on how 'art and wealth at length prevail' and the narrative in Cudworth's *Round About Bradford* column described earlier in this chapter, which positioned Saltaire as a commercial utopia. The description of the local landscape in Holroyd's commemorative work demonstrates how romantic place narratives were used to promote Saltaire as a model environment to work and live in. Chance (2017) has described how gardens and landscapes became a significant way in which philanthropy was spatialised in late nineteenth-and early twentieth century corporate environments. At Saltaire both designed landscapes within the village and the surrounding moorland were assembled into promotional place narratives which emphasised Salt's benevolence and the 'healthy' qualities of Saltaire.

Significantly, Nineteenth-century descriptions of Saltaire drew on pre-existing romantic associations with Airedale, which have influenced how the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire has been formed. Holroyd's poetry referenced the work of John Nicholson (1790–1843) who was known as the 'Airedale Poet'. Nicholson's work celebrated the Airedale scenery, and he achieved some modest success in his lifetime, and his work was also supported by Salt (Hird, 1873). The reference to Nicholson's work by Holroyd demonstrates an awareness of the literary symbolism associated with the Airedale landscape, and the broader cultural significance of industrial poets in the locality. The celebration of Airedale as 'Bronte Country' (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2013) is the most prominent example of how local landscapes have become celebrated as heritage, however the formation of the idea of idyllic landscapes around Saltaire shares the same roots in nineteenth century print culture and literary explorations of the landscape. These associations should not be divorced from the local culture found in nineteenth century Airedale, and as such landscape poetry should be viewed not as something separate from the industrial experience but as an expressive part of the community found in Saltaire and neighbouring manufacturing towns.

The dissemination of poetry describing the character of the landscape at Saltaire was deeply interlinked with the cultural networks in the village, and networks of friendship and patronage. A literary network can be traced between Holroyd, the Saltaire landscape poets and the patronage of Titus Salt. The poet Abraham Wildman (1803-1870) was supported by Holroyd to write to Salt to secure accommodation at the Saltaire almshouses in later life (Forshaw, 1891). Wildman was born in Keighley in 1803 and worked as a wool sorter for Messrs Wood and Walker after his own business endeavours failed. Whilst Wildman was not employed at Saltaire he became well known for his published works and became part a broader network connected to the Salts and was granted support due to these associations. Like Waddington's poetry, Wildman's nature poems described the affective character of the Airedale landscape through a localised gaze:

What a scene of fall'n beauty engages my sight

The fields, late so cheerful and gay

Have Changed to autumn dead white

Or pass'd with the season away

Not a voice in the air; nor a song from the trees,

In Harmony breaks on mine ear:

But chilling and cold is the northern breeze

The herald that winter is near.

No Sound save the hum of the sweet village bells

Which roll down the river so clear

Awakening the echoes that sleep in the dells

The voice of plaintive despair

Sweet Aire, as thou' flow'st the leaves as they fall

Remind me of beauty and fame

And the scenes now in eloquence call

That beauty's a delicate name³⁰

Whilst Holroyd's work was highly sentimental and presents an idealised view of life in Saltaire, radicalism and the mobilisations of romantic landscape narratives were not mutually exclusive. Edensor (2000) frames nineteenth century working class experience of walking in the countryside within the context of rambling clubs and fellowship away from the 'antagonistic relations' of the factory. However, distinctions between landscape appreciation and industrial relationships in nineteenth century literature and print culture were far from oppositional (Blair, 2014). Landscape poetry at Saltaire, rather than being purely a means of 'escape' from the factory town, emerged through the social relations and networks enmeshed in the industrial culture of the village, and the materiality of the surrounding landscape.

The poetic legacy of Wildman demonstrates how poetry written by factory workers could be used to agitate for factory reform and describe the romantic and idyllic qualities of local landscapes. Wildman became a well-known campaigner, drawing up petitions to both houses of parliament in the 1830s, and wrote poetry about the plight of industrial workers (Forshaw, 1891). Poetry was an important part of the culture of industrial community formation and improvement at Saltaire. The creation of local landscape poetry can be seen as an expression of appreciation of nearby open space as a source of artistic inspiration and self-determination and as a commercially savvy means of promoting Saltaire as a model environment to secure patronage and broker literary relationships. This section has

³⁰ Forshaw, C.F (ed) (1891) *The Poets of Keighley, Bingley, Haworth and District*. Bradford: Thornton and Pearson. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Ax1aLeivGpAC&pg=GBS.PA16&hl=en> [accessed March 2020].

demonstrated how the local landscapes around Saltaire were enmeshed in working class literary and associational culture in the village. Cultural depictions of the landscape emerged out of the wider context of social relations in the village, which can be read beyond the context of industrial paternalism as an example of working-class authorship, friendship and organisation. The relationships between landscapes were also expressed in mass political and leisure gatherings held on the moorlands which connect Saltaire to the neighbouring industrial towns and cities of the Aire valley.

4.4.2 Landscapes of Protest & Mass Gatherings

Landscapes are spaces in which experiences, histories and memories are gathered, and as such are a vital part of how culture and the idea of regional character are formed over time (Bender, 2002; Harvey, 2010). This section will explore how landscapes in and around Saltaire have been used as places to gather and to protest, challenging exclusively moralistic reading of the landscape as a spatial manifestation of Salt's paternalism. Navickas (2009) has demonstrated that nineteenth-century identities and attitudes were not only shaped by ideas transmitted through text and speech, but also by the dynamic uses of landscapes in everyday life. In particular, the moors and fields surrounding the textile districts in West Yorkshire and South Lancashire were used throughout the nineteenth century for mass meetings, demonstrations and gatherings, and the materiality of the landscape itself became embedded in the language of protest. As the previous section has demonstrated, landscape and countryside appreciation did not 'trickle down' into popular culture from sensibilities of the 'polite classes' (Walton, 2013). Accounts of meetings and demonstrations held at Shipley Glen in the mid to late nineteenth-century demonstrate how the surrounding landscape at Saltaire was more than just a pleasant backdrop and source of quiet contemplation. The moorland edge was a dynamic meeting place and significantly a place to call for an alternative future. Furthermore, tensions can be revealed regarding the 'right use' (Matless, 2016) of Shipley Glen on popular holidays, demonstrating that quiet contemplation and communion with nature were

not the sole appeal of the landscape. The open space of moorland edge also drew in revellers and thrill seekers, prompting debate regarding the proper 'character' of landscape.

The 1860s were marked by a considerable revival in popular politics in agitating for extension of the vote, and much of this activity took place outdoors (Chase, 2017). The moorland landscapes between manufacturing towns in the West Riding were an important meeting space for mass meetings and leisure activities. In 1866 enormous crowds attended rallies and demonstrations in Yorkshire and the Pennine Regions, with a demonstration on Woodhouse Moor in Leeds attracting somewhere between 150,000 and 400,000 people (Chase, 2017). In addition to mass meetings taking place near city centres, meetings were also held on moorland spaces adjacent to smaller manufacturing towns, with one notable example being the procession of thousands in the freezing snow of January 1867 to Cronkeyshaw Common near Rochdale to 'listen to the oft-told tale of reform' (Chase, 2017). The cause of reform links together the spaces of Woodhouse Moor, the uplands near Rochdale and Shipley Glen. On Tuesday April 3rd, 1866, some 'hundreds of people' gathered on Shipley Glen to discuss the reform bill.³¹ The crowd was comprised of working men from Bradford, Keighley, Bingley, Shipley and Saltaire. Mr Constantine, from Saltaire, chaired the proceedings on Shipley Glen, with the National Reform Union holding further meetings in Saltaire and surrounding localities in the same week.

Titus Salt had been sympathetic to the cause of moral force Chartism (Reynolds, 1983), and sought to extend the franchise through his involvement with the Bradford Freehold Land Society (Chase, 1991) and

³¹ 'Shipley Glen' (1866) *Leeds Mercury*, April, 05, British Library

Newspapers. Available Online:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201618966/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=891ca20e> [accessed March 2020].

sponsored the Reform League in the 1860s (Harrison, 1960). Given Salt's involvement in liberal politics and his support for reform, the involvement and attendance of workers from Saltaire does not represent resistance to Salt per se. However, the event does demonstrate the importance of moorland and open space in political organisation at the time, and the advantage that moorland offered as a meeting place between manufacturing towns, where people could join at a localised level and seek to influence political decision making nationally.

On 19th April 1867, another Reform Meeting was held on Shipley Glen in advance of a large demonstration in Leeds on Woodhouse Moor:

Yesterday in response to the invitation of the Bradford committee of the Reform League, there was a mass meeting of the aforesaid reformers of Bradford, Saltaire, Shipley, Bingley, Keighley, Idle and other towns held in Shipley Glen, in an unambiguously sheltered spot so suited to the holding of a great assemblage that it really appeared to have been dedicated to the purposes of a national amphitheatre.³²

The use of Shipley Glen as a space for the Reform Union meeting demonstrates that political discussion was not limited to indoor meeting rooms, and that industrial communities in the West Riding used the expansive nature of the moorland landscape as a space where large crowds from across the Aire Valley could join together. The demonstration on Shipley Glen correlates with Walton's (2013) and Navickas' (2011) analysis of how local knowledge of footpaths and routes were an important part of attachment to place and organisational culture, with places like

³² 'Local & District' (1867) *Leed's Times*, April 20, British Library

Newspapers. available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IG3217534270/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=c3a5ce8c> [accessed 03/04/2019]

ShIPLEY Glen offering a well-known and iconic location, rich with associations that extend beyond the historical trajectory of Saltaire. Significantly, the article in the *Leeds Times* illustrates how the contours of the landscape itself provided an ‘amphitheatre’ like setting for the meeting and large crowd. This episode illustrates how the materiality of landscape formed part of political, as well as literary and artistic culture. Navickas (2011b) has articulated how in the early nineteenth-century the moorland edges of the Pennine landscape were becoming associated with free speech and radicalism (Navickas, 2009). This provides insight into another moral locational discourse associated with the landscapes surrounding Saltaire, that of political agitation, freedom and liberty. As the previous section on poetry had demonstrated, the Airedale landscape was represented through local literary associations that drew on a tradition of Yorkshire bards. These examples of protests on ShIPLEY Glen demonstrate another layer in local attachments to landscape, that of freedom and the moorland edge as space in which people could unite for shared common cause.

The moorland edge was also a place where politics and leisure intersected (Walton, 2013). Late nineteenth-century outdoor May Day gatherings are an example of how peri-urban ‘beauty spots’ near industrial towns were spaces for politics, landscape appreciation and popular leisure pursuits. In a political context, May Day had come to represent commemoration of the Haymarket Affair in 1886, the demand for the eight-hour working day and the celebration of the international labour movement (Foster, 2020). In May 1895, the Independent Labour Party, Labour Church and the Bradford and District Labour Council organised a mass May Day gathering on ShIPLEY Glen.³³The meeting was ‘largely attended’ and discussed the eight-hour

³³ ‘Labour Demonstration at ShIPLEY Glen’ (1895) *ShIPLEY Times and Express*. May 11. British Newspaper Archive. Available online at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [accessed March 2020]

movement, unemployment and international solidarity, with the speakers appealing to 'join hands with fellow workers on the continent in their noble struggle for a higher, fuller and happier life'. The *Bradford Telegraph* reported that:

Idyllic May weather prevailed as the season has been rather backward, the bright green foliage gives an air of freshness to everything, except for the arial flight, switchback and other modern barbarities, the countryside presented a picture of as great a beauty as to leave little to be desired. The pleasant sunlight rendered outside exercise exceedingly pleasurable, and several hundred people found their way to the glen in the afternoon. The demonstration was carried out on the usual lines and in the crowd that congregated round the platform there was nothing more worthy of note than the large muster of 'Clarion Club' cyclists³⁴

The description of the demonstration reveals a hierarchy of leisure, with the beauty of the scenery providing a freshness to everything save for the 'modern barbarities' of the switchback and aerial flight at the fairground. The amusement rides on Shipley Glen were built by enterprising businessman Sam Wilson in 1895. However, the presence of the fairground came into conflict with the status of the glen as a natural beauty spot, with the *ShIPLEY Times and Express* commenting earlier that:

One can hardly climb up the rocky path to the glen without some feelings of sadness. Permanent trespasses on nature have already been made by the arial flight and the switch back railway, and recently a tramway has been constructed up glen

³⁴ 'Labour Day: Mass Meeting at Shipley Glen' (1895) *The Bradford Daily Telegraph*, May 6. British Newspaper Archive. Available online at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [accessed March 2020]

wood, which looks like an ugly scar amongst the sublime rusticity of the surrounding woodland.³⁵

The 'sublime rusticity' of Shipley Glen, however, was no stranger to crowds of people seeking merriment and leisure. In 1871, the 'saunterer' James Burnley compiled his 'sketches' column from the *Bradford Observer* into the volume *Phases of Bradford Life: A Series of Pen and Ink Sketches*. The book contains an account of an excursion to Shipley Glen on Good Friday, which describes the busy, crowded holiday atmosphere:

Behind us is the brown moorland and above that Hope Hill. A mill chimney peeps from the top, and seems to have come from Bradford by a sub-terranean route and suddenly poked itself up there like a ghost; and a veritable ghost it is many who see it to-day, for it reminds them of the grindstone that awaits them on the morrow...we proceed to the Baildon side of the Glen, which is, if possible, more crowded than the other places we have visited. Stalls and greengrocers' carts abound. What a noise the stall keepers do make. A vicious woman sits on the ground crying "four rings a penny!" A crowd of youths is gathering round her watching the game. Presently someone raises the cry of "bobby's coming!" and the ill looking woman gathers her traps and walks off by a circuitous path...After indulging our eyesight in a hasty glance in another gala field we get in with the return tide and strike for home...blind men and beggars of various descriptions throng the wayside and solicit alms in the most appalling tones. The sky grows grim and grey and dim as we

³⁵ 'Eastertide at Saltaire and Shipley Glen', (1895) *Shipley Times and Express*, April 20. British Newspaper Archive. Available online at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>

pass on and by the time we reach Saltaire the short interregnum of twilight is over, and a host of herald stars are out in the sky³⁶

Burnley's account is significant in that it describes the relationality between life in Bradford and surrounding towns and the landscape at Shipley Glen. Crucially Burnley provides insight into the ways in which different people accessed the landscape. Whilst Burnley's writing described local people and scenes in often deliberately exaggerated ways, his accounts of local life in the mid-nineteenth century provide valuable insight into the spatialisation of leisure culture in and around Saltaire. The road and railway network at Saltaire meant that people could easily be conveyed from the centre of Bradford to Shipley Glen. This ease of transport, combined with the density of people in Saltaire and the neighbouring towns led to Shipley Glen becoming a popular, and as Burnley articulates crowded, destination. The broad open spaces of the moorland were transformed into open air markets, dance halls and gambling dens as well as a spot to enjoy the views and natural beauty of the scene. Crucially, Burnley's account demonstrates how access to the landscape wasn't solely concerned with moral recreation, and that the vast expanse attracted a broad variety of activity linked to industrial leisure culture, some of which went against the grain of paternalistic notions of morality and the 'moral' use of the countryside.

This section has demonstrated how Shipley Glen was a popular site from a constellation of mass activities, from the polite and political to more raucous pleasures. There is an interesting tension in a report of a May Day

³⁶ J Burnley (1871) *Phases of Bradford Life: A Series of Pen and Ink Sketches*, Bradford: T Brear. Google Books. Available Online at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=P7YHAAAQAAJ&hl=en> [accessed March 2020]

demonstration advocating increased leisure time and 'eight hours for what we will' describing the fairground rides as a barbarity, demonstrating how conceptions of leisure were bound up in what Matless (2016) has described as notions of a 'right art of living'. Here we can see how what Waterton (2013) describes as an aesthetic lens of landscape appreciation emerging as a strand of popular leisure culture in Saltaire at the end of the nineteenth century. This way of seeing landscape in terms of aesthetic beauty, personal improvement and quietude rose to become the dominant model of landscape conservation as heritage and is continually reproduced through conservation, wellbeing and rewilding agendas. However, as this section has demonstrated, popular outdoor culture at Shipley Glen was not a homogenous experience and the throngs of people who visited the Glen on holidays had different views on the correct uses of landscape for leisure and culture. Significantly, the mass gatherings on Shipley Glen demonstrate how disputes between scenic landscape conservation and rights to 'public' space are not new, and throughout Saltaire's history the glen has attracted large groups of people to the town for a rich variety of activities connected to wide open space on the moorland edge.

4.4.3 Landscapes of Praise and Prayer

Religious experience is a significant and often overlooked element in the historical geography of Saltaire, however Christianity and non-conformity was an integral part of community and social space in the town. In addition to political demonstrations, Shipley Glen was also a popular site for open air spiritual and religious gatherings, such as Methodist camp meetings. Petts (2011) has explored how religious non-conformity changed the landscape of lead mining districts in the north Pennines following a pattern of progression from outdoor worship and camp meetings to the building of chapels. The tradition of Methodist camp meetings in England is linked with the development of Primitive Methodism (Cooney, 2002). The camp meeting was an important means by which primitive Methodists claimed sacred space outdoors, and supporters of the camp meetings viewed them as a way to champion the involvement of working-class laity. A camp

meeting on Shipley Glen was described by the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1862:

They stir up idle veterans and enlist recruits, and after Methodist fashion wander into the country and hold camp meetings. Shipley Glen, famous throughout the district for the wild beauty of its scenery with Rumbolds Moor stretching in heathery wastes to Ben Rhydding and the Wharf above and winding, wood-clad hamlet dotted Airedale, richest and loveliest of Yorkshire vales...is a favourite place for Sunday gatherings. Hither troops keen witted men from Bradford, Bingley, Keighley and the surrounding towns, all toilers and heretics, and many with wives, sweethearts or children following their train.³⁷

Whilst the homogeneity of the 'toiler's' described at this gathering on Shipley Glen most likely misrepresents the diversity of occupations amongst the crowd (Smith, 1988), camp meetings on Shipley Glen would most likely have attracted Saltaire Methodists. Religious non-conformism was an important part of community formation in Saltaire. As a non-conformist himself, Titus Salt supported other Christian denominations than his own Congregationalists, gifting land in Saltaire to the Wesleyan Methodists in 1868, for the construction of a chapel.³⁸ There was a large and diverse number of practicing Methodists in the Saltaire area, and a chapel for Primitive Methodists was constructed on Saltaire Road with reportedly accommodation for one thousand worshippers, in 1872, with

³⁷ (1862) 'The Religious Heresies of the Working Class', *The Foreign Quarterly Review*. Google Books. Available Online: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=eAlbAAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PA30&hl=en> [accessed March 2020]

Independent and New Connection Methodists also being 'well represented in Shipley' (Speight, 1891: 44).

The moorland edge should be viewed as a space connected to religious community formation at Saltaire and the formation of Christian youth traditions at the village. Cooney argues that after 1860, when primitive Methodists adopted more conventional chapel-based forms of worship, the camp meeting became a practice rooted in nostalgia and revivalism, rather than the dynamic claiming of space that it had been in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. However, the fields and moorlands which bordered Saltaire should still be considered as an important part of religious collective experience, particularly in relation to holiday activities for children. Slatter (2019) has emphasised the importance of the materiality of everyday experience in nineteenth-century methodism with a particular focus on the socio-material "becoming" of religious space. The materiality and beauty of the landscape around Saltaire, alongside the development of chapels, was an important element of how the landscape at Saltaire was enmeshed in social relations at events such as school processions and trips in the Whitsuntide holidays.

The *Shipley and Saltaire Times* provides insight into how local Methodists and other church groups in the area used the green spaces which border Saltaire as part of important celebrations in the church calendar. Much like in the romantic verse and account of the 1895 May Day demonstrations described earlier; the description of the Whitsun Holidays in May 1888 opens with a description of the weather and atmospheric conditions:

Atmospheric conditions have much to do with the enjoyment or non-enjoyment of the Whitsuntide holidays. However, he would be an extraordinary individual who would find fault in the weather this Whitsuntide of 1888...we have had brilliant and enjoyable weather...Whit-Monday opened with warm sun and clear, blue sky. At noon a foreboding shower rather dampened the spirits of anticipating humanity, but it proved a blessing in disguise...it served to lay the dust...leaving behind such sweet

and balmy atmosphere, laden with the scent of budding flowers, that verily the whole people were “filled with gladness”. Shipley, like the weather had put on holiday attire. The streets thronged with young and old... Of course, it is well known that Whit-Monday is in the district considered as especially the Sunday School Children’s Day and they mustered in strong force on Monday last. There were the usual processions through the streets. The Saltaire Road Primitive Methodists were the first to reach the Market Place...the procession was headed by the Saltaire Brass Band, headed by Rev W Pearson (Vicar). The scholars of the Saltaire Wesleyan School sang in Saltaire and the surrounding neighbourhood, and the infirmary was visited and the residences of members of the congregation.³⁹

After their processions ended, some of the children returned to their schools but the majority were served with ‘very substantial necessities’ and played games to ‘their hearts content’ in the surrounding fields. The Saltaire Methodists retreated to a ‘shaded spot’ behind Nab Wood and the Saltaire Congregationalists got ‘the full run of the Albert Road football field’. The congregation of the Saltaire New Church Society ventured further afield into the surrounding countryside and had an ‘enjoyable time’ at Crook Farm, near Shipley Glen.

In addition to the detailed descriptions of the Sunday school activities, the article also remarks upon the general business of the green spaces adjacent to Saltaire:

³⁹ ‘Whitsuntide Holidays’ (1888) *Shipley Times*, May 26. British Newspaper Archive. Available online: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [accessed April 2020]

Saltaire Park came in for its share of attention and indeed was worthy of it. The foliage of the overhanging trees is magnificent, whilst the charmingly-bedded-flowers seen now in beautiful bloom are signs not often presented to the workers of the West Riding.

The description of the Camp meeting on Shipley Glen Whitsuntide celebrations in Saltaire demonstrates how the greenspace which borders Saltaire became part of religious experiences that were intimately connected with the leisure culture of the town. The importance of religious experience is reflected in the built environment of the village with the United Reform Church, Sunday School, Almshouse Chapel and Wesleyan Methodist Chapel occupying central spaces within the town. However, as this chapter has argued, religious experience in Saltaire did not solely take place within chapel buildings. Rather, they also took place on the streets and in the fields and moors surrounding the town. The moorland landscape at Shipley Glen presents a duality between the everyday and the extraordinary, a space which was both a part of everyday life and also a space in which everyday life could be transcended, through religion, poetry and leisure. Indeed, the more mundane green spaces of the field adjacent to the village were transformed by the collective experience of the Whitsuntide holiday, forming important space for leisure and holiday festivities. Leisure also intersected with political activities, as demonstrated by the May Day Labour demonstrations on Shipley Glen, through which popular outdoor leisure practices, such as cycling were assembled into collective organisation around political improvement. The fields and moor, therefore, were not always quiet: they were also noisy with clamour of the crowds, rousing speeches, fairground rides, prayer and the movement of hundreds of bodies as they marched into the countryside.

By broadening out understandings of improvement and the landscape at Saltaire which have hitherto focused on Saltaire as a 'healthy' place, I argue that we can better understand collective usages of landscape at nineteenth century Saltaire. In doing so, we can break away from overly romantic understandings of place which flatten out the agency of individual actors

and groups who used the landscape to create their own distinctive communities. This section has also demonstrated how usage of the landscape for leisure was sometimes contested, and how aesthetic judgements of natural beauty came into conflict with other forms of popular leisure culture. Crucially this section underscores how the moorland edge was assembled by past actors into a variety of pursuits contingent on the flow of people from the towns in their leisure time. Political organisers made use of the 'amphitheatre' like qualities of the moorland and the scenic qualities of the space to rouse up support and common feeling amongst crowds from surrounding towns. Similarly, the Saltaire Methodists accessed the landscape as part of religious community formation in the town in connection to the deep outdoor tradition within religious non-conformism. Finally, the crowds of holiday makers attracted informal (and sometimes illegal) economic activities outdoor as well as commercial entertainments such as the tramway and fairground. All these activities present historical uses of the landscape which can be conceived as part of the processes of social relations within Saltaire and the surrounding areas. As such, this section demonstrates how understandings of the landscape at Saltaire formed a distinctive part of the cultural and social life of the town. However, these understandings of place and space were not fixed, and as this chapter has demonstrated different actors built on previous associations and assembled their own meanings in relation to the landscape and the wider contexts of their lives. This chapter will now turn to critiquing how understandings of the heritage value of landscape at Saltaire do not reflect the varied historical geographies of landscape character and significance outlined in this chapter.

4.5 Landscape Character & 'Moral Geographies' of Heritage

This final section of the chapter will build on my empirical analysis of archival material and critique how the concept of landscape character has been assessed in the Saltaire WHS management documents. Ultimately, heritage understandings of place at Saltaire have popularised the idea that the town was built in a landscape which was healthy, idyllic and intrinsically good. Hoskins (2015) has critiqued axiology of place in which the criteria

used for selecting heritage landscapes for special designation are based on the notion that landscapes have intrinsic qualities. Instead, Hoskins argues that when it comes to designation of national parks and heritage landscapes, value is relational and stems from political and economic conservation agendas. Model industrial villages, by their very nature are extremely axiomatic. They are places which were designed to have greater value (both in social capital through the cultivation of a happy and healthy workforce and economic value through the increase in productivity owing to healthier workers and efficient factory design) than neighbouring non-model settlements. However the value of model industrial sites is often contingent on ‘silences’ which conceal instances of environmental degradation and ill health that disrupt progressive narratives of improvement on display at industrial heritage landscapes (Hoskins, 2016). This current assessment of landscape significance at Saltaire is described in the WHS management documents which has viewed landscape principally in terms of scenic amenity.

In addition to being axiomatic, UNESCO World Heritage Sites are anticipatory in their nature. The designation of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ of a WHS, is subject to that ‘value’ being managed, so that a site can be of benefit to future generations. The creation of a management plan is a key stipulation in UNESCO’s Operational Guidelines (2019). It is expected that each WHS Management Plan will:

- contain the location and site boundary details
- specify how the Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity of each site is to be maintained
- identify attributes
- examine issues affecting its conservation and enjoyment ⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2019) *Guidance: Historic Environment*. Available online:

There is the requirement, therefore that the actors involved in the management of a World Heritage Site categorise the space into areas which are ‘attributes; and areas which present ‘issues’. Analysis of the 2014 Saltaire Management Plan and the 2006 Environmental Capacity Survey demonstrates that landscape and setting have been considered by policy makers very much as an active part of the model environment at Saltaire. These understandings draw on romantic place narratives and framings of the site which were popularized in the late nineteenth century, by which Saltaire had become a popular and established travel destination. Conservation of these ‘attributes’ affects planning decisions made locally, on the basis that the preservation of the landscape is vital to maintain the ‘authenticity’ of the site in future.

Landscape value at Saltaire is presented as historically contingent, as selected areas are framed within the WHS management plan as having a ‘historical relationship’ with the site.

Table 1: Views in Saltaire, World Heritage Management Plan, 2014

Area 1 (critical area)	Agricultural pasture and moorland incorporating Baildon Hill and Baildon Moor
Area 2 (Critical area)	Deciduous woodland and moorland including Shipley Glen, Baildon Bank, Trench Wood, Walker Wood and Midgeley Wood
Area 3 Critical Area	woodland and recreational open space and includes Old Spring Wood, Norman Rae Playing Fields, Northcliffe Woods and Dungeon Woods

<https://www.gov.uk/guidance/conserving-and-enhancing-the-historic-environment#World-Heritage-Sites> [accessed 07/09/2019]

Area 4	Royds Cliff Wood, Cliff Wood and Rosse Wood
Areas 6	Milner field Farm & Estate, Hirst Wood
Area 7	Cottingley Wood Estate and Shipley Golf Course
Area 8	Harden Moor and St Ives Estate
Area 9	Cottingley Moor and Norr Hill.
Area 10	Shipley High Moor

These areas include the Milner Field estate and farm and Shipley Glen. Milner Field and Shipley Glen are Singled out as areas which are significant parts of the area's 'historical character'. The Leeds Liverpool Canal towpath is also a key part in the constellation of 'rural' and green spaces listed in the management plan, with the stretch between the United Reformed Church and Hirst Lock being described as a view which is framed by trees, allotment gardens and grass banking creating a wooded and rural idyllic scene. These attributes are positive elements which should be conserved, whilst 'detractors' in the landscape are listed as threats to the integrity of the landscape at Saltaire. Sites listed in the WHS Management Plan as 'detractors' from views of landscape include 'post-war residential development', Crook Farm Caravan Site and television masts which detract from 'uninterrupted' views of the 'rural' landscape (2014: 115). However, as this chapter has demonstrated, nineteenth-century accounts of the landscape at Saltaire also described 'interruptions' in the landscape in the form of the fairground and attractions on Shipley Glen and mill chimneys in the valley.

Ultimately, viewing landscape in terms of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ scenic amenity demonstrates the distinctive moral geography of heritage at Saltaire, and the broader moral locational discourses embedded in heritage planning (Ogborn & Philo, 1994; Pendlebury, 2013; Qviström, 2013b).

The management plan acknowledges how the setting of Saltaire has changed considerably overtime yet emphasises the significance of a historically bound sense of rurality, constructing a chronology of development in which Saltaire remains spatially orientated around key ‘rural’ sites despite the rapid development of the surrounding towns:

Although later development has encroached upon Saltaire, significant remnants of the rural Aire valley landscape remain, most notably to the north. These remaining rural aspects of the site’s setting convey evidence of the profound influence that the site had upon later model



Figure 2: Shipley Glen, 21st March 2017. Photo taken by Ruth Quinn.

villages and the garden city movement in the United Kingdom and beyond.⁴¹

Within the WHS management plan, archival materials are used to establish the rurality of the landscape by interpreting the historical geography of Saltaire as a continuation of the narrative of planned dispersal into the 'healthy countryside'. The 1852 Ordnance Survey Map of Shipley and the surrounding areas is referenced to demonstrate how, in 1847-48, when the land was surveyed the dominant landscape features were 'woodland, pasture, moorland and scattered farmsteads and quarrying, with built development focussed around Shipley'⁴². Into this historical geography are woven the voices of nineteenth century commentators, notably a quote from Salt's biographer Balgernie (1877) who is quoted describing:

The setting as it is charmingly situated on the banks of the Aire, and in the middle of that valley through which the river flows. Surveying the region from the higher ground at Shipley, the eye takes in an extensive landscape of hill and dale, of wood and water, such as is seldom seen in proximity to a manufacturing town.

The quote from Balgernie, which is one of the few historical sources referenced by the WHS documents, supports an idyllic place narrative at Saltaire in which the countryside was an important factor in the realisation of a healthier, model environment. This chapter has demonstrated how idyllic nineteenth century place narratives emerged out of romantic landscape traditions and imaginative ways of viewing the rural landscapes.

⁴¹ Bradford Metropolitan District Council (2014) *Saltire World Heritage Site Management Plan*. Available online: <https://www.bradford.gov.uk/media/3341/saltire-world-heritage-site-management-plan2014-v2.pdf> [accessed 07/09/2019]

However, sources such as Balgernie's biography of Salt should not be viewed as representative accounts of the fullness of Saltaire's historical geography. Yet the Saltaire management plan (2014) uses 'historic depictions' of the landscape to conclude that the location of Saltaire is evidence of Salt's socially informed approach to housing:

Saltaire's broadest street connects a series of views between key buildings and views from the Site out to its landscape setting. Many featured extensively in historic depictions of the village to illustrate its industrial and philanthropic purpose and dramatic rural location. The setting contributes to the Site's character and sense of place and also enables us to understand some of the Saltaire WHS motivations for why the mill and village were located here. As such it is considered to be an important value.

Conceptions of landscape value at Saltaire continue to reproduce a moral geography of paternalism through which the land 'reflects' the philanthropic purpose of the town. The environmental capacity study, undertaken in 2006 also describes the landscape as part of the 'evidence' of the motivations behind the chosen location of Saltaire. Alongside the obvious economic advantages of situating Saltaire alongside the Leeds Liverpool Canal, a value judgement is made which is rooted in an understanding of the countryside as a better, healthier location:

The setting of the Site is also structured by its fabric and form. The site plays an important role in establishing the character of the local area. In summary, the setting of the Site reflects many of the reasons for its foundation, is directly linked to the reasons for its inscription and provides a distinctive character

for the Site; as such it is an important value in terms of the Site's overall significance.⁴³

Interpreting Saltaire's landscape value as a product of paternalism is problematic as it imposes a gendered and elitist value upon the countryside. The landscape does not reflect the values of Salt, value has been projected onto the landscape through a complex constellation of moral geographies. The idea that landscapes possess special, historically bounded, qualities that make them worthy of protection from the advances of modern society is central to much of the decision making that occurs within heritage practice today. However, there have been recent calls from scholars



Figure 3: Saltaire viewed from the railway bridge at Hirst Wood, with the Leeds Liverpool Canal Towpath in sight, 29th March 2018 photo taken by Ruth Quinn.

⁴³ Atkins Global (2006) *Saltaire World Heritage Site Environmental Capacity Study* (Available online: <https://www.bradford.gov.uk/media/2857/summaryecs.pdf> [accessed 05/06/2018])

working in the cross-disciplinary field of critical heritage studies to revisit concepts of 'heritage' and 'landscape' which have been often grouped together uncritically within academic work, policy documents and popular imaginings of place (Harvey & Waterton, 2015). This has led to a renewed interest in exploring 'peopling' of historic landscapes, as well as alternative discourses, excluded narratives and more-than-representational approaches. This chapter has demonstrated, how the idea of an environmentally deterministic 'healthy' landscape that 'expresses' Salt's paternalism, only represents a very narrow interpretation of landscape significance at Saltaire.

Crouch defines heritage value through relationality, arguing that the official meanings and values attributed to heritage sites are 'merely fragments in a wider and deeper mixture of prompts, memories, other sites, relations and feelings' (2015: 177). Saltaire can be considered as a liminal space, or hinterland between the industrial, the urban and the rural and as such occupies a unique space in broader histories of improvement of both the countryside and the city. Heritage discourses that glorify certain landscapes as being 'unique', create a duality where certain places are worth saving and visiting whilst others are not. The development of the model village at Saltaire is a process that was also disruptive as well as improving, and that 'improvement' was a process that was articulated in different ways by past actors at Saltaire. Viewing the landscape as 'evidence' of Salt's philanthropic design fixes the value of the landscape at Saltaire within the mid to late nineteenth century. However, landscape is not something that is fixed, as this chapter has demonstrated. People's interaction with the landscape is inseparable from community formation at Saltaire and as such the idea of landscape character is processual, emergent and contested. The presence of post-war social housing, caravans and modern infrastructure in the landscape at Saltaire is part of a broader historical trajectory of living in the landscape. As this chapter has demonstrated, the usage of landscape at Saltaire has often been contested in terms of development pressures and the 'right' forms of outdoor recreation. However, all these elements and histories can be viewed as part of the

site's heritage, and indeed the uniqueness of the ways in which peri-urban communities in and around Saltaire have experienced the landscape through leisure, work and life at an 'model' industrial site. This section has argued that it is vital that heritage decision makers critically engage with the complexity of nineteenth-century understandings of place, rather than simply reproducing romantic place narratives without appraising how and why they were constructed, and what silences are contained when a landscape is presented as heritage. Therefore, rather than seeking the idea of health and wellbeing at Saltaire as a fixed and immutable fact located in the mind of Titus Salt, heritage decision makers at Saltaire should instead locate the value of access to open spaces and the historical geographies of landscape as something which is processual, shifting and that exists within the complex web of relations between people and place.

4.6 Conclusion

To conclude, I have criticised fixed historically contingent interpretations of 'the healthy countryside' at Saltaire and argued that the idea of landscape significance should be interpreted through relations between people, space and place. This chapter has moved through nineteenth-century archival fragments and twenty-first-century heritage management documents to examine how understandings of landscape significance have developed at Saltaire and how these understandings have been subsequently re-interpreted as heritage. Through piecing together historical material on the landscape at Saltaire in newspapers and travel guides I have identified conflict between descriptions of quiet, restorative experiences in the landscape, pollution and ill health and the thronging of the crowds at mass gatherings on the moor. Crucially this chapter builds on the critical use of archival 'fragments' in historical geography to unsettle notions of the 'healthy countryside' and fixed understandings of landscape at Saltaire. The relationality between perceptions of rural and urban is what underpins the idea of the healthy, model village at Saltaire. However rather than these two spaces existing as fixed opposites, Saltaire was an environment in which the rural and urban were enmeshed through industrial

processing, transportation, sanitary science and collective outdoor activities.

Heritage value is curated bringing together archives, material traces in the landscape and research to attribute significance to a given landscape (Hoskins, 2012; Waterton, 2018). However, often metrics of heritage value are underpinned by grand narratives or 'AHDs' which underpin conservation and World Heritage designations (Smith, 2006). These pre-given or 'universal' conceptions of value lead to historical narratives of landscape being crafted to fit linear narratives of improvement. This leads to tensions between the imaginative moral geographies of landscape celebrated as heritage and the messy and emergent nature of how landscapes are actually shaped through complex processes over time (Harvey & Waterton, 2015; Hoskins, 2016). At Saltaire the AHD at work within the world heritage designation has constructed a conception of landscape significance which rests on aesthetic considerations and environmentally deterministic notions of the 'healthy countryside' which 'reflects' the philanthropy and 'original' purpose of the village. However, distinctions need to be made between ideas relating to landscape and the complexity of how these ideas emerged within the historical geography of a place. This chapter has challenged the empirical foundations of the idea of the 'healthy countryside' through juxtaposing romantic place narratives with a range of other historical place descriptions. Crucially my analysis has demonstrated how the landscapes surrounding Saltaire became an important space between the rural and the urban, in essence a peri-urban space on the edge of the town and countryside. This landscape was not automatically healthier and existed in tension with the heavy industry in the Aire valley. However, the moorland edge was an important space in relation to industrial community formation at Saltaire. Through this a distinctive concept of landscape character developed in tandem with local associations rooted in the materiality and cultural geographies of the Airedale landscape. This understanding of landscape significance, which has emerged through a complex set of historical social relations, presents a counter narrative to that of the essentialist, scenic understanding of

landscape value at Saltaire. The next chapter will look more closely at understandings of 'rurality' at Saltaire which are predicated on the site's close proximity to agricultural landscapes. Building on the arguments of this chapter, I will explore how the development of Saltaire altered the materiality of the landscape environment and how the concept of rurality at Saltaire continues to be contested in contemporary planning debates at the site.

Chapter Five: Farms, fields and Factory: Assembling the peri-urban fringe landscape at Saltaire.

As the previous chapter has explored, the landscapes surrounding Saltaire have been conceptualised as a green, healthy countryside environment central to the model function of the town. This chapter will explore and challenge the idea of an 'original rural river valley' at Saltaire by exploring the hybridity of the peri-urban landscape in which Saltaire is situated. The dominant modes of heritage landscape characterisation do not articulate complex relationships between the agricultural and moorland landscapes which border Saltaire. As Qviström (2018) has demonstrated, peri-urbanism is seldom celebrated in planning discourses, and has become equated with problems of ascertaining a clear divide between the town and the countryside (Qviström, 2013). Within UK and European planning frameworks, Landscape Character Assessments focus on visual quality and integrity (Edwards, 2018) often lamenting the loss of the 'true countryside' due to incremental development on the rural urban fringe (Qviström, 2017). Dittmer (2014) has argued that most urban narratives are linear in form, usually told through the perspectives of a select group of actors. In doing so, these narratives 'reinforce notions of urbanism as static and anthropocentric and thereby occlude the ongoing becoming of the city...these narratives mask the fragility of current orderings' (Dittmer, 2014: 88). Whilst this thesis is concerned with landscape at a model industrial model village, rather than the spaces of a city, Dittmer's problematisation of urban narratives resonates with my own criticism of linear narratives of rurality and aesthetic underpinnings of landscape significance at Saltaire. Therefore, the task of this chapter is to demonstrate how 'rural' historic narratives of landscape significance at Saltaire have masked the dynamic historical geography of the formation of a peri-urban agricultural spaces in and around the town.

Assemblage thinking has helped me to re-think ways of understanding the landscape around relationality, flux and the process of becoming rather than through a fixed sense of rurality. Cloke (2013) has demonstrated how understandings of rural landscapes in Britain are 'beset' by tendencies to

associate the immediate pasts of landscapes with ‘the organic heart’ of rural life which has become lost or threatened (2013: 227). This interpretation builds on Williams (1975) now seminal analysis of how the English countryside has been represented through successive generations each looking back to a golden, rural past. This nostalgic reading of an original and ‘organic’ rural past has led to persistent nostalgic readings of rural landscapes which frame heterogeneity and change as a ‘threat’ to an essentialist understanding of place (Cloke, 2013). However, this understanding of the ‘original’ ‘English countryside’ which has been cemented through conservative heritage practices, does not correlate with the historical geography of the peri-urban industrial landscapes around Saltaire. Edensor (2011) has demonstrated how the use of assemblage can ‘account for the complex, mutable and entangled processes through which place is continuously transformed and stabilised’ (2011: 1). This chapter builds on Edensor’s use of assemblage thinking to demonstrate how ideas of the ‘rural’ and ‘industrial’ landscape at Saltaire have been transformed and stabilised over time. Crucially, this chapter will focus on agricultural space to problematise fixed notions of rurality and demonstrate how registers of what constitutes ‘rural’ character in Saltaire’s peri-urban hinterlands have shifted over time.

This chapter is divided into four sub-sections. In the first section I will use reports, newspaper excerpts and maps dating from 1850 to 1902 to demonstrate how Saltaire emerged as part of a wider peri-urban landscape materially linked to the processes of industrial development at Saltaire. Secondly, through a series of case studies I will highlight how model farming, fishing, and agricultural shows at Saltaire can be understood as being representative of nineteenth-century understandings of modernisation and ‘improvement’ rather than being remnants of an older, more rural world. As such, my empirical analysis will argue that the contemporary heritage description of a historical ‘original rural river valley’ is misleading. Building on the arguments developed in the previous chapter, I will delineate important distinctions between aesthetic ‘rural historic’ understandings of the landscape value and the more processual historical

geographies of the peri-urban landscape at Saltaire. These distinctions are evident in the historical geography of Milner Field, the elite estate of Titus Salt Jnr constructed in 1873. In the third section I will examine how the development of Milner Field destabilises the idea of 'original rurality' further through observations by nineteenth-century commentators which describe the construction of the estate as an erasure of an older, more rural landscape. However, a different kind of peri-urban agricultural landscape was developed at the site through the construction of Milner Field Farm (c. 1870) which remains operational to this day. Crucially, I will critically analyse how the relationality between the Milner Field estate and leisure culture at Saltaire hinged on permissive access and unstable property relations, a hitherto underexplored element in the historical geography of the site.

Finally, the fourth section of this chapter will analyse contemporary debates over the campaign to save Milner Field Farm from redevelopment as an enterprise centre in 2015. The multiple actors involved in the campaign assembled conflicting historical narratives of scenic landscape amenity under 'threat' from dilapidated farm buildings versus the localised narratives of family stewardship of the land and the importance of agriculture on the peri-urban fringe. This thesis argues that critical understandings of relationality and hybridity can help to resolve these tensions in ways in which the landscape has been interpreted as heritage at Saltaire. This more nuanced understanding, rather than the purely representational model of preserving the built environment and planning controls in the buffer zone, I argue is a more useful way of understanding the heterogeneity of landscape significance at peri-urban industrial model villages.

5.1 Agricultural space and the development of Saltaire

The idea of an 'original' rural landscape at Saltaire is contingent on the conceptualisation of the landscape being somehow fixed, awaiting transformation from agricultural to urban industrial economy. This position relies on an understanding of 'rurality' as something with a fixed form, which is threatened by temporal and scalar shifts in land use to industrial or urban. However, as Belford (2009) has demonstrated, many industrial landscapes

are rural and many landscapes in England considered as 'wild' or 'natural' have been shaped by industry. Whilst this thesis does not wish to do away with the categories of rural and urban, it is evident that at Saltaire, rurality – in the shape of agriculture and open space, has been framed as something fixed and essentialist. However, through using the concept of assemblage to think about landscape at Saltaire, we can view agriculture and the materiality of 'rural' elements in the landscape as heterogenous entities which do not cohere into a fixed or 'organic' state of rurality (Anderson et al., 2012). Instead, we can understand the landscape as a hybrid space, comprising of shifting constellations of 'rural' 'industrial' and 'urban' over time. These theoretical nuances are supported by empirical investigations of agricultural and industrial histories of the West Riding and environs.

Winstanley (1996) has established that small scale farming in the nineteenth century wasn't solely confined to low density areas traditionally thought of as 'the countryside' but that agricultural holdings bordered the urban, densely populated industrial towns and cities in Lancashire and the West Riding. Winstanley's work encourages a consideration of the 'urban industrial' and the 'rural agricultural' not as opposing binaries but as part of a highly networked and reciprocal economy. Throughout the nineteenth century, small farmers in the Pennine regions supplied milk to the more urbanised textile manufacturing towns and cities and 'the milk cart as well as the mill became a prominent feature of the Pennine industrial landscape' (Winstanley, 1996: 10). Hallas (1990) has further demonstrated the interrelatedness of farming and textile industry in the north-Pennine regions. Demand for agricultural goods in Yorkshire grew in an increasingly industrial economy, alongside the 'putting out' of wool from Bradford to be spun in more rural areas of the region in the early nineteenth century. Smith's (2013) unpublished PhD thesis has demonstrated that the dual economy of agriculture and industry in the Pennine districts has been present since the medieval period, necessitated by the need to combine agricultural work with other forms of income (2013: 155). The presence of mining, mineral extraction and textile production has therefore sat

alongside the processes of agriculture in West Yorkshire long before the development of Saltaire in 1853 (Pickles, 1976; Newton, 2016). Crucially the geography of the hilly uplands means that both urban and industrial processes have been bounded by open space of moor and steep land suitable for pasture grazing (Smith, 2013). Mining was carried out extensively on Baildon Moor, with the site containing more than two hundred bell pits with differences in morphology suggesting that this landscape has been mined across four periods (Waters et al., 1996). In the mid nineteenth century coal mining on Baildon moor increased, to meet the needs of local textile mills (West Yorkshire Geology Trust, 2013). Whilst the moorland landscape itself has undergone change due to quarrying and mining, these open spaces have conveyed a shifting sense of rurality in relation to the growing urban towns. At Saltaire, this hybridity between agricultural space and the open moorland has been assembled into the distinctive configurations of rural and agricultural spaces within and around the model industrial town.

Saltaire was constructed in an increasingly peri-urban landscape in which landed estates were being transferred into new industrial ownership. James Caird described the relationship between agriculture and industrialisation in the locality surrounding Bingley and Shipley in his 1852 survey, providing an insight into relationships in the landscape at the cusp of Saltaire's development:

We pass through Bingley and Shipley to Bradford and Leeds. Still environed by small fields of grassland, generally well drained and in good condition. We are now in the coal district of West Yorkshire... Agriculture in the most densely inhabited parts of the west riding is of secondary importance and yet it differs from the cotton districts in that all classes engaged in the woollen districts seem to have a taste for the occupation of the land. The capitalist manufacturer is in many parts of the West Riding purchasing the estates and taking the position of the old gentry of the country, and into management of these they carry the same business and habits and the same

command of capital which gained them success in trade... In the neighbourhood of the manufacturing towns the system of husbandry is chiefly grass for the supply of the towns with milk and butter. Besides the "clothiers" there are small milk farmers who carry out a lucrative business of this kind.⁴⁴

Caird's account provides insight into how small farms and fields co-existed alongside the coalfields and the more densely populated settlements surrounding the urban centres of Bradford and Leeds. Significantly, Caird described changing patterns of land ownership in the region with new capitalist manufacturers purchasing and 'improving' older estates. For example, Caird surveyed the estate of MP for Huddersfield (1837–53) William Roakes Compton-Stansfield (1790–1871) at Esholt Hall and described it as a particularly well managed and improved estate. A portion of Stansfield's estate in Shipley, on the west side of Dixon's Mill Lane (approximately 20 acres) was purchased by Titus Salt in 1850 for the construction of Salt's Mill (Watson, 2011). In his biography of Salt Balgernie (1878), described how Salt acquired land from a number of proprietors in the Shipley district, growing his own landed estate for development purposes over time. Blomley (1998) has demonstrated how the study of landscape 'alerts us to the materiality of property' (1998: 576). Blomley builds on Mitchell's (1993) critical analysis of how the development of the European landscape tradition of gardens, parks and estate landscapes has rendered the working of landscapes by human labour as invisible. As such landscapes, such as those around Saltaire are presented as 'natural' and unworked. However, Caird's and Balgernie's descriptions of the Aire Valley Landscape demonstrate how the materiality of the environment around

⁴⁴ J. Caird (1852) *English Agriculture in 1850-51* London: Longman.

Google Books. Available online:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=KR01AQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA24&hl=en> [accessed 07/09/2019]

Saltaire is a product of shifting property relations over time. The transfer of ownership from Compton Stansfield to Titus Salt represented a shift in how the landscape was assembled, with the extant landscape of Dixon's Mill and the surrounding fields being reworked into the development of Salt's Mill and the model assemblage of Saltaire.

Contemporary understandings of the 'original rural river valley setting' hinges on the open spaces which borders Saltaire. This green fringe environment consists of agricultural, woodland and moorland spaces and separates Saltaire from development to the north side of the village. This landscape has historical links to the primary development phase at Saltaire which have been under explored. Not all of the land which Salt purchased in Baildon, and Shipley was built on or developed, and a number of farms were let and managed by the Salt and later the Roberts family. These farms alongside other small parcels of land resulted in a total of 134.167 acres of land plus 40.970 acres of woodland and 12.951 of parkland which formed an estate, which generated £1065.10.0s, a significant portion of which was let out to tenant farmers.⁴⁵ The Bingley Urban District Council report of the medical officer of health in 1902, reported on how these small farms remained an important part of the peri-urban economy in the locality:

The urban portion of the district is almost entirely dependent on various branches of woollen manufacture which is also the principle employment of the surrounding villages. Farming, chiefly grazing and market gardening are carried out in the rural portion of the district and there are several large quarries...Dairy farming forms an important industry within the district. Considerable attention is now given in most towns to the purity and supply of milk and some of the larger towns have obtained powers from parliament enabling

⁴⁵ Roberts Account Books [manuscript] 1900-1905, Roberts Family Collection, H2-002 Saltaire Collection, Shipley College, Bradford.

them to take action in areas outside their area hence it behoves the council to see that various acts and orders relating to dairies and cowsheds are properly observed in the district. Close attention to this matter will undoubtedly result in benefit to the community both in pocket and in health.⁴⁶

However, Reynolds (1983: 13) has suggested that the design of Saltaire sought to ‘obliterate the old geography, the straggling lane the footpaths and field patterns’. Landscape assessments prepared for Bradford Metropolitan District Council have contested this, demonstrating that the design of Saltaire actually follows the pattern of the old field boundaries surveyed in 1852.⁴⁷ The Landscape Character Survey, along with the official UNESCO listing describes the area which Saltaire was built in the early 1850s as rural. Goodwin-Hawkins (2013) has demonstrated how in ‘rural: urban’ discourse, the idea of rurality remains fixed whilst the ‘urban’ is framed as mobile (2015: 167). Goodwin-Hawkins has challenged notions of ‘rural fixity’ through ethnographic research on upland villages in the south Pennines. Through an examination of the movements of people, buildings and industries Goodwin-Hawkins has described how conceptions of rurality are both mobile and locally situated. However, Goodwin-Hawkin’s analysis does not provide a thorough exegesis of how the relationality between ‘rural’ spaces of moorland and agriculture and ‘urban’ streets, factories and mills have created distinctive historically situated understandings of space and place. At Saltaire, the development of the industrial model village did not ‘obliterate’ the old geography nor was the landscape ever ‘fixed’ in its

⁴⁶ *Report of the medical officer of health: Bingley Urban District Council* (1902), DB40/C4 Bingley WYAS 27/11/18, West Yorkshire Archive, Bradford Record Office.

⁴⁷ Hilary Taylor Associates (2005) *Saltaire World Heritage Sites Designed Open Spaces and Conservation Management Plan*.

rurality. Instead, we can understand the creation of an industrial model village as an attempt to ‘improve’ the pre-existing settlement patterns evident in the Aire valley and provide a scalar solution to the overcrowded conditions of Bradford. Within this context, agricultural spaces were assembled into the dynamic materiality of the peri-urban environment at Saltaire. We can understand agricultural space at Saltaire as fluid and changing, invariably constituting shifting conceptions of both ‘rural’ and ‘urban industrial’ features in the landscape over time.

Given the incremental development of Saltaire and surrounding areas between 1850 and 1900, how can there be an ‘original’ setting with a fixed sense of rurality? Instead of viewing the development of Saltaire from a point of contact with an original non-industrial setting, this section demonstrates how the historical development of Saltaire involved a multiplicity of spaces, materials and processes. Indeed, it is this coming together of heterogenous parts which characterises Saltaire as a development in a peri urban fringe environment. The development of Saltaire followed a wider pattern of industrialization in the adjacent town of Shipley, Prior to the construction of Saltaire, there was a significant concentration of industry in Shipley, with mills, (Ashley Mill, Prospect Mill, Wood End Mill, Wellcroft Mill and Dock Mill) iron foundries, and quarries clustering around the centre of the town. Over the next fifty years



Figure 4: Hirst Farm Saltaire, c. 1910, Saltaire Collection C2b-286d

development accelerated, and houses and schools sprung up alongside Saltaire Road, forming a continuous chain of development between Saltaire and Shipley, this can be clearly seen when comparing the Yorkshire 201 OS map, published in 1852 (figure 5) and the following Yorkshire CCI.11, surveyed in 1889 (figure 6). Comparison of these two demonstrates the broad increase in density of Shipley and Saltaire between 1852 and 1900. The fabric of Saltaire that is listed as heritage today was set by the first phase of monumental development which took place between 1853 and 1876. The first phase of development at the mill in Saltaire took place between 1851 and 1853. The 'New Mill' on the opposite side of the canal was constructed between 1865 and 1868. The houses and the shops in the village were built in four phases. The first phase saw the construction of housing and shops on Victoria Road, and the laying out of mixed housing provision on William Henry Street, George Street, Caroline Street, Albert Road, Fanny Street, Edward Street, Herbert Street and Amelia Street. A second phase of development followed between 1856 and 1858, with the construction of residential housing on Whitlam Street, Mary Street, Helen Street and Ada Street. George Street was also extended to add more housing in this period. The third phase of development expanded the village again between 1861 and 1866, with the construction of housing and corner

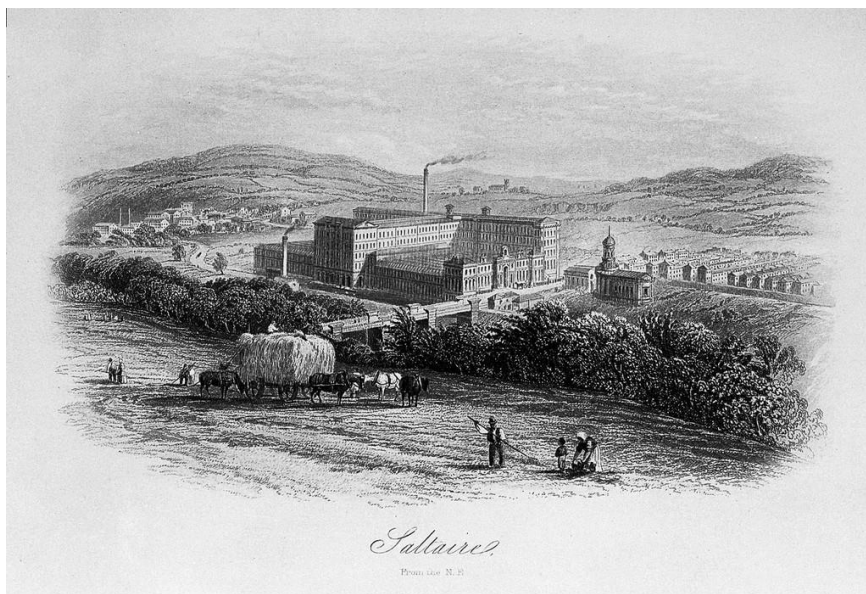


Figure 5: Saltaire from the Northeast of England 1853. Planned with admirable arrangement for ensuring the health and comfort of the workpeople. Wellcome Images

shops on Titus Street, Constance Street and Shirley Street. Finally between 1867 and 1876, further housing and shops were added to Caroline Street and Victoria Road, alongside the Lower School Street, Lockwood Street, Mawson Street, Harold Place and the High Street Gordon Terrace (Jackson et al., 2010).

Edensor's (2011) work on urban materiality has highlighted the interrelationship between nineteenth-century processes of urbanisation and the shaping of the wider Pennine landscapes through stone quarrying (Edensor, 2013). The building of Saltaire necessitated stone in vast quantities, as did the construction of the grand civic buildings, factories and warehouses in nineteenth-century Bradford and the surrounding towns. The stone that Saltaire was constructed from, a distinctive millstone grit, was sourced from twenty quarries in the surrounding neighbourhood. Quarrying was a distinctive feature of the West Yorkshire landscape, and indeed a 'profitable quarry' was worked right in the heart of Saltaire village, opposite the hospital. A constellation of quarries can be traced through the business of Thomas Kendal of Shipley 'Stone Merchant and Quarry Owner', who managed 'noted' quarries located in Saltaire, Wrose Hill (Shipley),

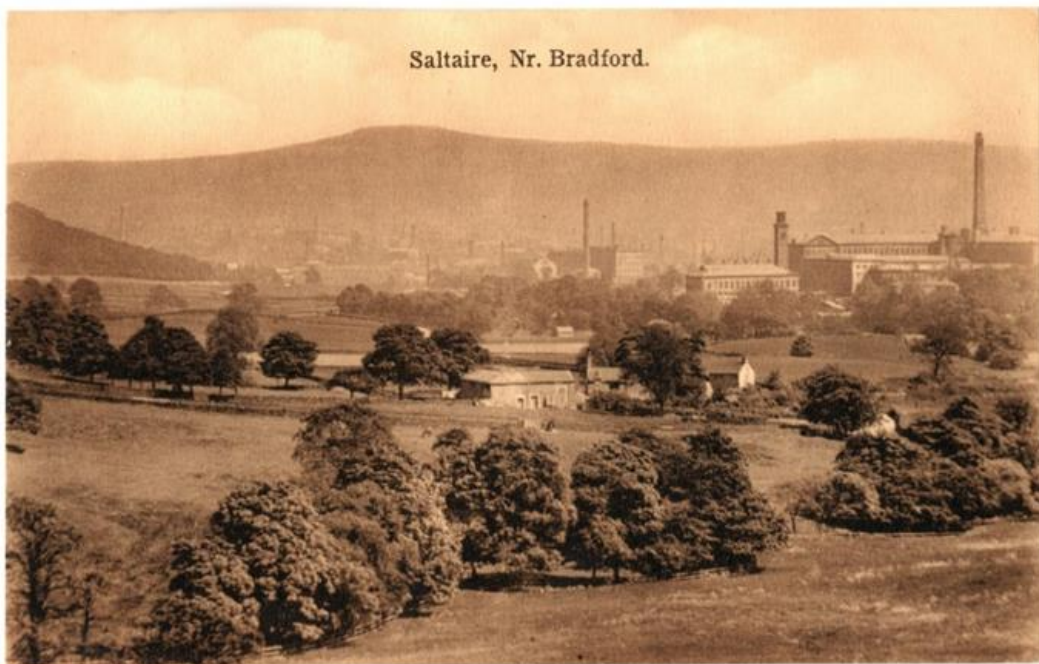


Figure 6: Postcard of view of valley towards Saltaire c1905, Saltaire Collection C2b-286d

Queensbury (Bradford), Bingley and Heaton Park⁴⁸. Description of the construction of the mill emphasise the massiveness and solidity of the stones used to construct the mill. However, beneath the surface the extraction of stone had a destabilising effect. In 1902, the *Shipley Times and Express* reported a serious landslip on the stone quarry situated between Saltaire Road and Bradford Road causing ‘several thousand tons of earth and stone to collapse’. The article states that landslips were a common occurrence at the quarry, which was situated on land that was part of the Saltaire Estate. In some instances, accidents at the quarry could be fatal. Quarrying on the hillside changed the face of the landscape. This change was remarked upon by Burnley in his *Bradford Observer*, column when remarked upon the ‘ugly scar’ of the quarried moorland above Baildon



Figure 7: Ordnance Survey, Yorkshire 201 (includes: Baildon; Bingley; Bradford; Shipley.) Surveyed: 1847 to 1848, Published: 1852. (C) National Library of Scotland (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

⁴⁸ 'Local Patents' (1874) *Bradford Observer*, Oct 17, British Library

Newspapers available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208088400/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=5a788285> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

Green, which ‘defaced’ the landscape.⁴⁹ These fragmentary historical geographies of quarrying at Saltaire demonstrates that in order to build a ‘monument that would last forever’. a great deal of change was wrought in the ‘picturesque’ Aire Valley, through work which was potentially deadly. This further complicates the moral geography of landscape critiqued in the previous chapter. However, by using the idea of assemblage to think about landscape we can better account for the ways in which the landscapes around Saltaire have been shaped by the sites development in ways in which have not always been ‘scenic’ or ‘moral’.

Through understanding the open spaces within and around Saltaire as assemblages, we can foster a critical sense of the materiality of the peri-urban environment and the complex relationality between space at different scales. It is important therefore not only to consider the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire in terms of the green surfaces, vegetation and built structures that sit on top of the fields and moors – but also the mineral

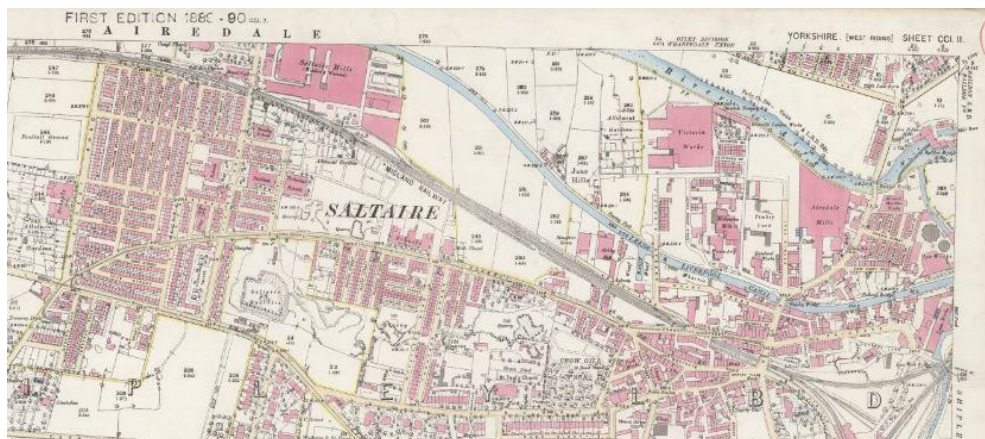


Figure 8: Yorkshire CCI.11 Surveyed 1889 to 1890 Published 1893. (C) National Library of Scotland (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

⁴⁹ 'Local Scenes and Characters' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, May 29.

British Library Newspapers. available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3209555933/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=a7a0623e> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

resources that sit below the surface of the land. Edensor's (2011) work on stone as an element within building assemblages has drawn attention to how buildings and landscapes are 'simultaneously destroyed and altered by numerous agencies and stabilised by repair' (2011: 2). Significantly, assemblage theory posits a way of thinking about relationality that resists the idea of 'reified' scales (Edensor, 2011; Legg, 2011). This chapter argues that the reified scales of urban and rural, don't correlate with the messy juxtaposition of farmland, quarries and building works which characterised the environment at Saltaire during the towns' first fifty years of development. Significantly, through being attentive to the relationality between the monumental stone needed to build Saltaire, and the destabilising effects of quarrying the idea of landscape as something that is fixed or original quickly fades away.

5.2 Assembling greenbelts and buffer zones

Furthermore, by considering the interrelatedness between agricultural space and industrial growth in the landscape environment during the years of primary development at Saltaire, this thesis questions the value of equating farms and fields with the idea of a rurality which has since disappeared. Instead, this chapter reframes the idea of agricultural space at Saltaire as a dynamic feature of an emergent peri-urban landscape, which can be considered as a rudimentary green belt or 'buffer'. Green corridors and proto-green belts form an important strand in new approaches to town planning expressed in the development of nineteenth-century model towns (Livesey, 2016; Skinner, 2017). However, the significance of interfacial greenbelts or buffers have largely been understood in relation to twentieth century planning policies and the curbing of urban sprawl (Chance, 2012; Dockerill & Sturzaker, 2020). These policies, as Qviström (2008) has demonstrated reinforce historically fixed notions of 'rurality' and the 'true' countryside. This mode of landscape assessment is also reflected in the use of the WHS buffer zone and scenic landscape categorisation at Saltaire. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the industrial model village at Saltaire was surrounded by a dynamic peri urban industrial landscape. This landscape, of the upland peri-urban space on the edge of

the town, represents a more informal green zone between Saltaire and the surrounding industrial towns. Rather than existing as a border or a buffer, this thesis has demonstrated how this landscape was a hybrid and interrelated space offering both a sense of seclusion from the town and forming part of a wider peri-urban infrastructure.

As the previous chapter has explored, the question of how to best unite the advantages of the town with those of the countryside was one which dominated ideas surrounding nineteenth century social reform (Ashworth, 1954; Heathorn, 2000; Boughton, 2018). As a solution to the overcrowding of urban environments, Ruskin envisioned 'clean and busy streets within and the open country without' with belts of gardens and orchards surrounding settlements so that 'fresh air, grass and sight' were reachable in a few minutes' walk (Sturzaker & Mell, 2016). Planned dispersal of people and facilities into green spaces near major towns was a common feature of numerous poor relief schemes throughout the nineteenth century. For example, new asylums, such as the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylums at Wakefield (1818) and Menston (1885) were positioned at short distance from the towns to maximise benefits of the landscape amenities of views, and substantial garden plots available on the edge of Wakefield and Leeds (Rutherford, 2003). By the late nineteenth century, hybrid landscapes formed the blueprint for the ideal industrial model village. In the 1884 pamphlet 'Industrial Villages: A Remedy for Crowded Towns and Deserted Fields' (issued by the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages) the Reverend Henry Solly set out a vision for the ideal model settlement:

A belt of land is to be kept round every village, secured in perpetuity for co-operative or cottage farming and allotments, a portion being reserved for cricket grounds, for athletic sports, children's playgrounds, gymnasium and recreation generally. A small plot of ground will be reserved for each cottage. A public hall will be provided for lectures, concerts, entertainments, social and public meetings, with school and classrooms for elementary, technical, and advanced education. Public libraries, art galleries, and museums for local collections, will

be formed where practicable. Social clubs, for men and women, and coffee taverns will be provided, but no public-houses.⁵⁰

Solly was instrumental in setting up the short-lived Society for the Promotion of Industrial Villages. Solly, much like Salt, viewed 'rational amusement and recreation' as an essential step in preserving the wellbeing of working men. However, Solly realized that institutes alone were not enough to address the social problems of his age and instead campaigned to bring about a 'true brotherhood of men' through the development of model industrial villages. Solly has been viewed as an overlooked progenitor of the Garden City Movement and subsequent developments of the late nineteenth century (Woodroffe, 1975). However, there are resemblances between Solly's ideal model village and Saltaire. Woodroffe (1975) suggests that Solly's vision of the ideal industrial village was never fully realized, however – this evaluation does not acknowledge the handful of industrial villages which had already been built by the 1880s. Saltaire, like Solly's model was (and to a lesser extent still is) bordered by agricultural land, whilst not co-operatively managed (a factor which distinguishes Saltaire from later Garden City Models), a significant portion of the neighbouring farms and woodland were owned by Salt and formed a wider estate. The village also contains many of the other amenities described by Solly, including an institute, schools and provision for technical education, allotments, gardens and sporting facilities, which form important elements in the green fringe environment at Saltaire.

⁵⁰ Solly, Henry (1884) *Industrial Villages: A Remedy for Crowded Towns and Deserted Fields*, London: The Society for Improving Industrial Villages. 1884. Available online: <https://jstor.org/stable/60218889>.

Solly's vision for an ideal village was not a lost lament of old rural England. Instead, it was a hybrid landscape of urban institutes juxtaposed with farmland, gardens and recreational green spaces. The geography of Saltaire and the surrounding Airedale landscape reflect this peri-urban ideal. The growth of textile manufacturing in the district also led to the proliferation of mechanics institutes (Hemming, 1977; Wright, 2001) parks (MacGill, 2007) and of course new model industrial villages (Jowitt, 1986). This thesis argues that proximity of farmland, pasture and open moorland was crucial for the development of these model industrial institutions. However, Solly's vision was an ideal – the reality of the industrial village greenbelt had more messy edges which are seldom celebrated when considering the trajectory of the industrial model village at Saltaire. The rural-urban fringe has often been portrayed as being an anonymous landscape, devoid of character and often lacking beauty or aesthetic merit (Gallent & Andersson, 2007). As a consequence of these perceived urban rural binaries – and the undesirability of the spaces between the two, representations of landscape at Saltaire, rarely acknowledge the hybridity of the landscape in which the village exists. The topography of the Aire valley landscape is significant here, with the hilly terrain leading to industrial centres such as Saltaire bordering open spaces of pasture and moorland. This hybrid landscape has created a distinctive and shifting sense of rurality within an industrialised landscape (Pearce, 2002; Tebbutt, 2006; Booth, 2014). This section has demonstrated that the fringes of this landscape have a complex historical geography of rural and industrial usage which pre-dates the development of Saltaire in 1853. As such, assessments of landscape as having an 'original' sense of rurality that has subsequently become threatened by industry create a false dualism. Instead, through a critical, rather than a purely scenic, analysis we can understand how the distinctive landscapes at Saltaire constitute a dynamic peri-urban landscape. Within this context, registers of rurality and landscape amenity have shifted over time in tandem with changes in land use, access and property relations.

5.3 Model agricultural pursuits in Saltaire Village.

After venturing briefly below the fields, this chapter will now return to the surface to consider spatialisation of livestock keeping within Saltaire village. Animals were deeply embedded within the processes of industrial change that created the conditions which led to the development of the industrial model village at Saltaire. As Hribal (2003) has demonstrated, animal bodies and lives were inextricably bound up with industrial labour, providing the power, transport, materials (fleece, hair, manure etc...) and food (milk, eggs, meat) that fuelled human desire for mechanization, industrial expansion and 'improvement'. At Saltaire, the material wealth of the town was generated via the production and sale of cloth made from the fleece of Alpaca native to the Peruvian Andes. However, the acquisition of this fleece was embedded in a complex web of colonial exploitation through which the British Empire extracted the alpaca from their native lands (despite a ban on their export in 1845) and relocated the animals to Australia and Britain in an attempt to integrate them into Western agricultural systems, 'improve' their wool and receive all of the profit from the sale and production of alpaca goods (Cowie, 2017). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to unpack the colonial networks within which Saltaire was deeply embedded. However, the practices of the keeping of pigs, birds, horses and dogs in the village, and their display at exhibitions as 'improved' specimens must be framed within the broader context of agricultural 'improvement' in the nineteenth century, which was a phenomenon on a global scale which displaced indigenous peoples, plants and animals to generate profits and the production of material goods within the UK. In short, the materiality of animals within urban environments within the nineteenth century was more complex than the transition of 'rural' practices to the industrial city. The popularity of pig keeping at Saltaire is representative of these new approaches to the governance of an idealised, sanitary peri-urban environment.

Pig keeping in Victorian Saltaire might at first seem like an activity which ran contrary to the town's function as a sanitary, model environment. The nineteenth-century urban pig was an animal that attracted much derision

and fear in improving circles. In the 1867 publication *The Sewerage Question*, J.C Krepp detailed how urban pigs would live at the back of dwellings surrounded by the 'putrescent garbage' that they created (Sorlin & Ward, 2009). Urban livestock keeping became synonymous with the 'noxious trades' which increasingly presented a threat to social order and health as the urban populations of the nineteenth-century swelled (Philo, 1997: 666). However, the Saltaire Pig Show was established in 1859, and the exhibition of livestock eventually merged with the display of vegetables and flowers and became known as the annual Horticultural, Pig Dog and Pidgeon Show. Philo (1995) has drawn attention to how the bodily presence of 'beastly' livestock became encoded as an affront to morality, and as such livestock were to be separated from the city and distanced from their consumers at market. This process of separation echoes wider patterns of socio-spatial reorganisation in the nineteenth century, through which animal processing were separated and sanitized within urban geographies and re-located to model institutions (Otter, 2006; Philo & McLachlan, 2018). Indeed, Haussmann's designs for Paris included a model abattoir, La Villette, conveniently located by the railway station so that animals could be transported to slaughter without being driven through the city, and the whole process could be contained within one industrialised environment (Smith, 2002). At Saltaire, the practice of pig keeping in the village is a further example of how agricultural space was re-assembled as part of the geography of the model village. Crucially, through the scalar solution of removing livestock from back yards and housing pigs in purpose-built spaces, urban livestock keeping was transformed from 'dirty' to 'respectable'.

The practice of pig keeping at Saltaire was closely regulated in keeping with the sanitary organisation of the village. In the 1858 Travel Guide, *A Month in Yorkshire*, the author, Walter White, described his visit to Saltaire and Shipley. In Shipley, he reported meeting a man, who did not like how the 'new town' at Saltaire was laid out:

(Saltaire) Twas too dear. He lived at Shipla (sic) and paid but four pounds a year for a house with a cellar under it and a garden

behind; and there he kept a pig, which was not permitted at Saltaire.⁵¹

This indicates that Saltaire residents were forbidden from keeping pigs in their own back yards, on sanitary grounds. However, pigs were kept elsewhere in the village as *The Architect* (1870) described:

Saltaire is noted for pig-keeping, and between the river and the canal, a long range of neat pigsties have been erected, close to the allotment gardens.⁵²

This separation of livestock away from the home gave the practice of pig keeping a sense of cleanliness and respectability in the eyes of reformers, transforming the practice from a squalid, dirty practice engendered by poverty to a healthy and respectable past-time. Though, as the excerpt from a *Month in Yorkshire* demonstrates, this separation of animals from the home could be an inconvenience for people used to keeping a pig in their own back yard. Pigs, in this context underwent a transformation from the beastly nuisances of the overcrowded city centre to the pedigree, prize stock of the show:

And the Porcine tribe in their pens on the opposite side (of the show field), where they lazily grunted among their straw, to all appearances content and averse to activity. The entries of pigs were numerous and indeed, the majority of them were bred in

⁵¹ White, W (1861) *A Month in Yorkshire*, London: Chapman and Hall.

Google Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=7bcHAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PR18&num=11&printsec=frontcover> [accessed 28 August 2020]

⁵² (1870) The Saltaire Recreation Ground, *The Architect a Weekly Journal of Art, Civil Engineering and Building*, VI. Google Books. Available at:

https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=TFc_AQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA388&printsec=frontcover [accessed 28 August 2020]

the locality and were the property of residents and their clean skinned and healthy appearance provided sufficiently that a great care had been exercised in raising them into so excellent a condition.⁵³

This excerpt from the *Leeds Times* demonstrates how the 'excellent condition' of pigs raised and exhibited in Saltaire were considered to be a product of the model environment of the village. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, cleanliness and 'healthy' appearances were important functions of the environment at Saltaire. This sense of vitality and health was also extended to assessment of animal bodies within the space of the agricultural show field.

Rearing livestock in the village also was an important part of exhibition and associational culture at Saltaire. Nineteenth-century agricultural societies and shows formed an important element in shaping broader cultures around agriculture, in both rural and urban settings. Ranging in size and scale from social clubs formed around educational interest in farming and agriculture to specialist commercial clubs and political unions. Significantly, Miskell (2012) has demonstrated that agricultural societies were not solely concerned with the countryside. The space of the agricultural show brought farming and the exhibition of produce and stock to the heart of the industrial town. Hosting the prestigious Royal Agricultural Society Annual show became a covetable honour for urban towns outside of the capital and was viewed by the press as a boost to civic pride (Miskell, 2012). As such, model farming and participation in agricultural societies can be viewed as part of a wider and expansive network of moral improvement which, through the activities of actors such as the Salts, sort to re-territorialize and

⁵³ 'Bradford' (1866) *Leeds Times*, Aug 25, British Library Newspapers, Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IG3217533086/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=ca435063> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

reconceptualize agriculture and rurality within a peri-urban industrial context. In addition to the large spectacle of the peripatetic Royal Agricultural Society show, regional societies and clubs also developed their own exhibitions for the dissemination of knowledge and exhibition of prize stock. Indeed, as Miskell has demonstrated in her analysis of the Royal Society Shows and Holland (2015) has shown through her scholarship on Doncaster, connections with the countryside formed an important part of the emerging civic consciousness of the Victorian industrial town. Allotments and horticultural exhibitions will be explored in more detail in the next chapter. However, the Saltaire pig show and provisions for livestock keeping in the village demonstrate how agricultural pursuits were integrated into the 'improved' industrial environment at Saltaire through the cultures of societies and exhibitions that were so prevalent in the village.

The Saltaire Pig show was established as an event in 1859, and the exhibition of livestock eventually merged with the display of vegetables and flowers and became known as the annual Horticultural, Pig, Dog and Pidgeon Show. The show contained a category for 'Labouring Men's Premiums' reserved for working men living within five miles of Saltaire, however the results of the category were not published by the local press every year and there seems to have been a shift from open categories (which attracted competitors from further afield and less entrants from the village) and the labouring men's class in which Saltaire men feature prominently alongside pig keepers from Shipley, Baildon and the neighbouring towns and villages. The reports of these shows in the local press give us an insight into the kind of pigs which Saltaire dwellers were keeping either on their allotments or in small holdings near the village. Mr O Whittaker won the silver cup in 1863 for his 'best pig off any breed under four months.'⁵⁴ Hartley Firth was awarded first prize for his fat pig and H.

⁵⁴ 'Saltaire Horticultural and Pig Show' (1863) *Bradford Observer*, Aug 27. British Library Newspapers. Available at:

Smith collected third prize for his. Finally, David Gott won both 1st and 2nd prize for his large breed gilt under nine months. In 1876, C. Fergusons' pig was deemed to be the best sow, middle breed in the competition, with best fat pig going to W Berry.⁵⁵ The type of animals displayed by Saltaire residents are reflective of the scale of the model village environment, with the categories focusing on small animals which could be kept within the compact domestic and allotment spaces of the town. Furthermore, the show can be seen as a hybrid event, blending the display of livestock and spade produce with companion pets.

One Saltaire family, the Sagars, were extremely active pig exhibitors, winning prizes at the Saltaire show and at the highest level, the Royal Agricultural show. However, exhibitors from Saltaire rarely exhibited further afield than their local show. This suggests that the competition was a highly localized event, and an important part of the civic life of the village. Mr Wright Sagar was a butcher in Saltaire village. The Sagar business provided 'fine Barons of Beef' for a company gala hosted for the Saltaire workforce at Titus Salt's estate, Crow nest⁵⁶ and at the 1859 Fete at Methley Park.⁵⁷ The keeping of livestock in Saltaire represents an important

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208039631/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=9dd2d66b> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

⁵⁵ 'Saltaire Horticultural, Pig, Dog and Pidgeon Society' (1876) *Shipley and Saltaire Times and Airedale Reporter*, August 5. British Newspaper Archive. Available online: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>

⁵⁶'The Saltaire Festival' (1856) *Bradford Observer*, September 25. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3207961677/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=4f4287ef> [accessed 28 Aug 2020]

⁵⁷ 'Saltaire Anniversary Fete at Methley Park' (1859) *Bradford Observer*, Sep 22. British Library Newspapers. Available at:

element in how agricultural space was assembled in Saltaire village in a manner which was bolstered by the peri-urban situation of the village. The fields which border the village (and later the Park which will be explored in detail in the next chapter) provided space in which the spectacle of the local show could happen. Agricultural societies and the sale of 'fine barons of beef' can be seen as a way in which networks were established between villagers in Saltaire and the elite households of the Salt family. The 'Rhetoric of connoisseurship' (Ritvo, 1989), that accompanied the production and display of livestock was often articulated in emotional and moral terms. Animal bodies therefore can be seen in a relational context, with certain characteristics being celebrated as a hallmark of taste, class, vigour and moral sensibility (Ritvo, 1987; Huff, 2002; Morse & Danahay, 2017). Moreover, returning to the wider context of peri-urban agricultural spaces within Saltaire, the agricultural show demonstrates how livestock keeping was embedded in leisure and civic cultures, rather than being purely a means of subsistence.

In the nineteenth-century, spaces such as zoos and mechanics institutes developed out of the context of industrial urbanisation, fostering new scientific and civic cultures (Laurent, 1984; Wirtz, 1997). At Saltaire the keeping and display of animals in the village is an example of how farming was re-materialised on a peri-urban scale within an urban industrial context. This chapter argues that agricultural heritage at Saltaire must be situated in the context of peri-urbanism and development, not as an example of a practice which is temporally located in an 'older more rural' world. The hybridity of peri-urban landscapes is a central part of the model environment at Saltaire, and as such a crucial part of the site's 'character' as a World Heritage Site. As Howell (2013) has characterised, perhaps the most fruitful way to consider the relationality between space and place is to

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208034866/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=19412681> [accessed 28 Aug 2020]

consider 'not what they are, but what they do' (2013: 47). At Saltaire domestic livestock were enmeshed in the model function of the village through being kept in specially bounded spaces and displayed at the show fields and in the case of the Sagar family, in the butcher shop window. The spaces of the show ground and the piggeries were received by nineteenth-century commentators as an important part of the sense of place created at the 'new town' of Saltaire, transforming the practice of livestock keeping into a 'model' pursuit in keeping with the improved industrial environment of the town. Of course, this separation of resident's rights to keep a pig within their own back yard was not universally welcomed. The status of Saltaire's 'model' environment can be challenged through a critical examination of the rights which actors in the village had to access the land.

5.4 The Development of the Model Estate at Milner Field.

Property, as Brown (2007) has demonstrated, is always bound up with issues of materiality and morality. In recent years, historical geographers have addressed the historical processes of how natural 'things' such as wood, become private and how this affects the spatialisation of landscapes (Griffin, 2010; Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015a; McDonagh & Griffin, 2016). The privatisation of space and nature is an important and often neglected element of the historical geography of landscape at Saltaire. The chapter will now turn to consider the development of the landscape of the former elite ex-urban estate of Titus Salt Jnr, located on the periphery of Saltaire. The Milner Field landscape is a private estate, although what remains of the park is now open to the public and is a popular route for walkers. The site occupies a very different trajectory to Saltaire in that it was a relatively short-lived enterprise, and the house and gardens now lie in ruins. However, the model farm built for the estate in the 1870s, has survived and the open pasture and woodland landscape has been drawn upon in heritage discourses as an important rural remnant of Saltaire's past. However, the private status of the landscape opens important questions around how peri-urban space is controlled and used, and who is permitted to access it? As Don Mitchell has articulated, landscape is both a product of social relations and the medium through which social relations are

obscured (2006: 49). These tensions around landscape formation and alienation come into the foreground both when exploring the history of Milner Field as a nineteenth-century elite landscape and within a contemporary heritage context. Crucially, this section will explore how the Milner Field estate also reassembled the materiality of the 'rural' landscapes around Saltaire and the relationships between people living in the village and those who owned surrounding land. Through understanding this landscape as socially produced we can demonstrate how conceptions of rurality at Saltaire have shifted over time, and critically examine the interests served through dominant modes of scenic 'rural' landscape preservation.

The building of the Milner Field estate in 1869 represented a departure from the 'quiet fields surrounding the factory' observed by Kydd in 1857. The existing seventeenth-century manor house was swept away for Salt Jnr's new gothic mansion erected in 1869 complete with sprawling landscaped gardens, tropical hot houses and home farm (Van Den Daele, 2011). The laying out of the Milner Field estate changed the character of the countryside through demolishing a pre-existing vernacular manor house and building a fashionable new exurban estate in a gothic style. Local newspaper reports from the *Bradford Observer* and *Leeds Mercury* around the time of the estate's construction provide an insight into how the development of Milner Field was seen by some commentators as erasing the beauty of nature and 'rural' remnants in the landscape.



Figure 9: Snicket on footpath from Gilstead to Milner Field. Feb 2019. Photo taken by Ruth Quinn

The development of the Milner Field estate was described as part of a 'march of improvement which disfigures nature's handiwork'⁵⁸ contrasting sharply with imagery of 'a rabbit warren, covered in heather and 'fine old sycamore' without a wall in sight' used to describe Gilstead Moor prior to the 1860s.⁵⁹ In an article describing the development of Saltaire Park the *Leeds Mercury* described how the estate parkland at Milner Field had resulted in the creation of new 'snickets' which 'zigzag' down the hillside:

The picturesque old hedges are removed, and these quaint landmarks, which rendered the district so rurally interesting have given way to the march of improvement, or rather of change, and stone walls have taken their place.⁶⁰

The columnist viewed the high-walled snickets as 'a contrivance to keep the people within bounds'. Milner Field was part of a wider pattern of property development in the rural hinterlands of towns (Slater, 1978; Springett & Buckley, 1982). Navickas (2015) has outlined a historical geography of conflicts around footpaths in the first half of the nineteenth century, demonstrating how new pathways were often enclosed and bordered, and not open like the moors (2015: 226). This excerpt from the *Leeds Mercury* demonstrates a continuation of resistance to stone walls and enclosed paths in the

⁵⁹ 'Rambles in Yorkshire' (1872) *Leeds Mercury*, March 28, British Library Newspapers, available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201660184/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=7b11d173> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

⁶⁰ 'A new park for Saltaire' (1869) *Leeds Mercury*, November 2, British Library Newspapers. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201645761/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=d87c717b> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

landscape and demonstrates how ‘access’ to the landscape was curtailed through the materiality of Milner Field. In the closing comments, the author expresses a desire that ‘an avenue of trees’ be planted in place of stone walls marking the paths across the landscapes. These trees would radiate from Saltaire onward to ‘form a splendid avenue, as a forest of trees would flourish well in Airedale’⁶¹

These accounts of the development of the estate landscape at Milner Field are rich with meaning and yield a valuable insight into how materiality of boundaries and plantations were considered in relation to rurality and industrialisation. However, the materiality of ‘picturesque old hedges’ have had similarly alienating effects. McDonagh (2019) has demonstrated how hedges, fences and boundaries were contested features in the sixteenth century English landscape – with the planting of new hedges being received by some rural communities as a threat to communal agricultural life. Blomley (2007) has described hedgerows as ‘a kind of ecological barbed wire’ yet one which overtime became celebrated as a distinctive feature of the ancient English landscape (2007: 2). It is this sense of the loss of an idealised ancient English landscape that is mourned in descriptions of the loss of the hedgerows at Milner Field. Within the context of a mid-nineteenth century peri-urban landscape the organic hedgerows have, in this instance, come to stabilise rurality and stability, alongside avenues of trees which have a rich symbolic history of benevolence and patrician care of the landscape (McDonagh & Daniels, 2012; Piana & Watkins, 2020). This episode demonstrates how conceptions of ‘rurality’ are destabilised and re-stabilised through changes in the materiality and ownership of the landscape.

⁶¹ 'A new park for Saltaire' (1869) *Leeds Mercury*, November 2, British Library Newspapers.

Alongside the loss of nature, the development of the Milner Field estate can be situated within the context of the loss of the historic built environment, as it was understood through the lens of the nineteenth century historical imagination. In an article in the *Leeds Mercury*, the columnist remarked on the loss of an old vernacular building, Stubbing House, which had also been demolished and the old stones used to build a new property for an 'enterprising butcher' whose 'ham and egg' teas do not add to the picturesqueness of the 'ancient domicile'.⁶² The column concluded that demolition of old landmarks where 'many happy days have been spent in the past' was an unfortunate by-product of 'the greater march of improvement in the pushing and ever-expanding textile district'. The 'rural remnants' of the past were transformed not only through the process of quarrying out stone to build Saltaire, but also through the development of elite villa homes in the mid to late nineteenth century. These villa estates now look mature, with tree plantations and fields conveying a sense of 'the rural past' in a densely urbanised area. However, these newspaper excerpts demonstrate how Milner Field and contemporaneous villa developments altered the materiality of 'old landmarks. There was a rich appetite for antiquarianism in nineteenth century Bradford (Morrell, 1985; Dellheim, 1986). Handbooks such as Speight's *Airedale* (1891) describe ancient features in the landscape such as standing stones, cup and ring marks and old vernacular cottages as remnants of the past which would now be classified as heritage. As Harvey (2001) has cautioned, heritage should not be viewed as an exclusively nineteenth-century 'invention'. As fragmentary descriptions of the Milner Field landscape demonstrate, past actors at Saltaire interpreted the past through a historically contingent sense of rurality, which was being transformed by property development in and around Saltaire. This shifting materiality challenges the idea of an 'original rurality' and demonstrates how, to some nineteenth-century

⁶² 'Rambles in Yorkshire' (1872) *Leeds Mercury*, March 28, British Library Newspapers.

commentators the development of the landscapes around Saltaire presented a threat to the 'picturesque' heritage of the region.

In addition to building fashionable new estates, the Salts also exerted their power on the landscape by building new model farms. Titus Salt Jnr and Edward Salt had model farms built on their estates at Milner Field and Ferniehirst, whilst Titus Salt experimented in farming at his estate near Lightcliffe in Halifax. The model farm is a feature of the British countryside that has been the subject of considerable scholarship on nineteenth century landscapes and improvement. There have been debates on the impact that the model farm had on nineteenth century agriculture. Stuart McDonald (1891: 214) is particularly scathing on this, arguing that 'most model farms were essentially a fashion and exhibited the characteristics of a fashion in that they were expensive, trivial and ultimately, ephemeral'. However, Wade-Martins (2002), interprets the popularity of Victorian model farms as an important signifier of the 'philosophy of improvement'. Wade-Martins draws parallels between the desire for an ordered and improved countryside and the unease caused by industrialization, suggesting that the trend of model farm management amongst the landed elite was in part motivated by a desire to preserve an ordered countryside in a rapidly changing landscape. However, as this chapter has demonstrated so far, the development of the estate landscapes on the periphery of Saltaire represented a distinctive re-ordering of space.

It was not just royalty and the established landed elite who displayed an appetite for model farms and practicing agricultural science, model farms were also a feature of emergent industrial and peri-urban landscapes. William Strutt of Belper purchased land on the banks of the river Derwent and constructed the model farms Moscow Farm, Wyver Farm and Dalley Farm to ensure a supply of fresh food and milk for factory workers at Cromford and the surrounding areas. William Strutt's farms also included structural elements that were also employed in his mills, such as stone floors and iron framing to fire-proof structures (Wade-Martins, 2002). Small hobby farms were constructed on suburban as well as rural estates and the peri-urban landscapes which surrounded England's industrial cities

became a popular choice of residence for industrialists who wished to move further away from the suburbs of the city yet remain close to their urban business interests. Improvements in transport made the rural urban fringe an increasingly popular space for elite homes as it offered seclusion from the grime of the city at a commutable distance from the factory office. The model farm represents an important and often overlooked element in the relationship between the industrial model village and sub-urbanisation. Richard and George Cadbury (who established the Cadbury Chocolate factory and model village at Bourneville near Birmingham, UK) both moved from the fashionable suburb of Edgbaston in favour of building more rural estates at Moseley and Northfield (Perrie, 2013).

Perry's research underscores how farming and rural pursuits were increasingly popular amongst Birmingham's suburban elite, families who increasingly sought to adopt countryfied leisure pursuits on small estates on the urban/suburban periphery, allowing for a model lifestyle that bridged both town and country. Indeed, these 'countryfied lifestyles' were what made the urban-rural fringe an acceptable and fashionable place for upper middle-class development (Slater, 1978). At Saltaire the development of Milner Field and Ferniehirst can be in tandem with the development of Saltaire. The construction of the estates altered the materiality of the landscape, through laying out new fashionable gardens and buildings, taking advantage of the peri-urban situation around Saltaire. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, access to the landscapes surrounding Saltaire was an important part of the formation of industrial leisure culture and community. However, access to these landscapes for rambling, foraging and fishing was often permissive, and subject to the ways in which property owners like the Salts managed their estates. The example of the high walls of the 'snickets' running through the Milner Field estate is an example of how the materiality of landscapes are manipulated to delineate ownership and control. As such it is necessary to critically evaluate the spatialisation of property ownership at Saltaire. Who had access to 'countryfied' leisure pursuits and recreation, and who was excluded through the re-assembling of the landscape at Saltaire?

5.5 Piscatorial Pursuits at Milner Field

The relationships between access, amenity and hybridity at Milner Field are evident in Salt Jnrs' somewhat unusual experiments in fish propagation. On 9th of May 1870, *The London Evening Standard Newspaper* published a small piece on the 'Propagation of fish in the Aire'. The article reported news of Titus Salt Jnr's interest in trout hatching and the subsequent release of 15,000 Malham Tarn trout into the River Aire, Milner Field Beck and the lake at Crow Nest Estate. According to a report published in *The Bradford Observer*, the trout hatchery itself was contained within a specially designed room within Salt's Mill.⁶³ According to this report, Salt Jnr had installed a system of earthenware troughs filled with gravel and irrigated by a stream of pure water. Into this system 24,000 trout eggs from Malham Tarn and 56,000 eggs from the Glen Beck at Shipley Glen were deposited. After a prolonged period of waiting, brought about by the cold weather, Salt Jnr's trout hatchery yielded success and produced life in the form of 'strange little infant fish'. The presence of the hatchery within the factory complex at Saltaire adds a new layer to the productive environment at the mill, and the site's location on the banks of the river Aire. The fish, once released into the river were anticipated to improve the 'pools of the Aire' and become 'future monarchs of the stream' weighing between 6 and 10lb. It is interesting to note that the description of the trout as 'monarch of the stream' mirrors the descriptor 'Baron of Beef' used to describe the beef sold to Titus Salt Snr by the Sagar family.

As the previous chapter has demonstrated, river pollution was an acute concern to the people living in the towns and cities which border the river Aire. During the 1870s, on a national scale, pollution was considered to be

⁶³ 'Fish culture in the Aire' (1870) *Bradford Observer*, March 29. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208083767/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=54394a61> [accessed 28 Aug 2020]

more of 'public health than piscatorial problem' (Bartrip, 1985). However, concerns over the conditions of rivers for leisure fishing and concerns on public health intersected. Yet, according to the *Bradford Observer*, the 'high and thoughtful spirit' of the rules at Saltaire, in place of destruction existed conservation' and mitigated against the worst excesses of pollution along the Aire.⁶⁴ Salt Jnr's experiments at Milner Field therefore can be seen as a further example of the Salt's acting as patricians in the landscape, extending care and stewardship to their estates. Of course, this narrative of benevolence is complicated somewhat by the relationality between river pollution and the washing and dyeing carried out in Salts Mill, as explored in the previous chapter. However, considering the piscatorial experiments of Salt Jnr as a form of environmental conservation and stewardship highlights landscape preservation movements which grew out of environmental consciousness within industrial towns. Significantly, in this episode, the river landscape is presented as an important amenity to the people living in the industrial centres of Saltaire and Shipley. A footpath was carved along the banks of the Aire, which was praised by the *Bradford Observer*, as a service to those town dwellers who might 'never share the anglers' sport yet shared the benefits of improved walks close in their locality.

In addition to improving the environment, angling in Saltaire was also viewed as improving activity for those who practiced it. Angling was an extremely popular past time in the second half of the nineteenth century. Fishing and membership of Angling Societies, as opposed to intensive commercial fishing, was viewed as a "healthy and innocent pastime" favoured by "kindly gentlemen" which offered mental and corporeal sustenance (Bartrip, 1985: 78). Bartrip's summary of the improving character of angling as a pastime correlates with description of the Saltaire and Shipley Angling Club in the 1870s. The respectability of angling in

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Saltaire was observed by Sutcliffe Rhodes (whose correspondence about Anthrax was analysed in the previous chapter). In a letter to the *Bradford Observer* entitled 'Piscatorial Observations' Rhodes described:

The moral advancement of the 'humble working man' who, after a hard day at work is seen at the train station, with fishing rod and creel awaiting the train to transport him to 'somewhere more pure, where perhaps some gentle flowing river curves its tranquil course along the base of verdure hills and towering woodlands ringing with the melody of the feathered songsters.⁶⁵

Titus Salt Jnr was an active patron, and president of The Saltaire Angling Society which was formed in 1867. Fishing, therefore like livestock exhibition was an activity embedded in the moral geography of Saltaire. The popularity of fishing and pig keeping demonstrates the relationality between outdoor environments, human and animal relationships and the formation of ideas around landscape and improvement within the context of a model industrial environment at Saltaire.

Significantly, fishing was an activity which blurred borders between private and common land. To be able to access the best locations for a good catch, anglers would often have to cross private land either without permission, as poachers, or with permission and the support of a patron, such as Titus Salt Jnr, through the membership of an Angling Society. Mr William Ferrand (of Bingley) granted permission to the Bingley Angling Society to fish within his estate along the stretch of the Aire from Ireland Bridge in Bingley to the Sandbeds at Keighley, he also donated money and equipment to the

⁶⁵ 'Piscatorial Observations' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, Feb 27. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3210268865/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=3b0dd950> [accessed 28 Aug 2020].

Saltaire Angling Society. Titus Salt Jnr granted permission to fish on land on the Salt Estate. According to the *Bradford Observer*, the Saltaire Angling Society had a good relationship with local landowners and farmers:

Over whose [Salt and Ferrand] lands they must pass to practice their gentle craft. Permission to access these lands, the Observer argues, meant that men would not do damage, and could not – for “men who can legitimately enter within the charmed circle of the game and trespass laws naturally become preservers. They come to know what they and they fellows would lose if wild bird and beast were harried from the land and if the rivers were depopulated by the poacher’s net.”⁶⁶

The *Bradford Observer’s* columnist both applauded the good conduct and example set by the Saltaire Angling Society and viewed the club as a solution to wider problems concerning access and ownership of the land which borders Saltaire. Recognizing the right of property ‘in the feral nature of the flood and the field’ the article stressed a need also to balance these rights with an ‘ineradicable instinct for sport’⁶⁷ which resulted in the crime of poaching. So far, this thesis has focused on how access to the landscape around Saltaire formed an important part of the model environment of the village. However, access to the landscapes which surrounded Saltaire was permissive. Significantly rights to the landscape to fish or catch food were curtailed. Poaching in the nineteenth century was not an exclusively rural crime, but one which featured prominently in the industrial hinterlands of the midlands and northern England. In Statistics gathered by Winstanley and Osborn on the number of poaching offences documented between 1865 - 1869, the number of offences recorded in the West Riding is the highest at 3698 prosecutions (Osborn & Winstanley, 2006). The

⁶⁶ ‘Fish Culture in the Aire’, *The Bradford Observer*, 29 March 1870, 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

comparison between the 'gentle craft' of fishing and the 'depopulation by poachers net' demonstrates how different actors were included and excluded through the management of the estates on Saltaire's fringe. Access to fish depended on patronage and the membership of an angling society, to access the land outside of these bounds could result in prosecution.

On August 21st, 1880, the *ShIPLEY and SALTAIRE Times* reported on the charging of two young men from Baildon Green, William Bentley and Albert Stead, for the crime of poaching.⁶⁸ Bentley and Stead had been caught trespassing in Shipley Glen Wood, by William Wood of Saltaire. Wood worked as an assistant watcher on the estate of Mr Maud and spotted the two young men and their dog 'on each side of a rock' as though looking for rabbits. The men fled but were later tracked down and charged with a fine of five shillings, or seven days imprisonment. In contrast to poachers in predominantly agricultural communities, poachers in industrial areas were not typically employed on the land. Instead, it was those who worked in industrial occupations such as mining and textile manufacturing who ventured into the field to seek their game. Winstanley and Osborn have argued that there was a correlation between depression in the woollen textile industries in the late 1870s, the high costs of meat and the poaching of rabbits – both for home consumption and for sale at the market. What Bentley and Stead's motives went unreported; however, the episode demonstrates that rights and access to the landscape surrounding Saltaire were controlled and at times contested. Whilst poaching was by no means exclusively a crime of the nineteenth century this clash of preservation and access provides insight into the social relations formed around landscape

⁶⁸ 'A Sunday Morning's Poachers Experience at Shipley Glen Wood' (1880) *The Shipley and Saltaire Times*, 21 August. British Newspaper Archive. Available at: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk [accessed 28 August 2020].

in a peri-urban context at Saltaire (Eliason, 2012). The opening up of the footpath and access granted to the Saltaire Angling Society meant that the landscape was accessible for leisure and recreation. However, this access was still strictly limited to organised fishing and structured use of footpaths for walking. In their work on the 'moral ecologies' of rural England Griffin and Robertson (2016) have critically examined how 'official' sanctioned conservation schemes have worked against the interests of local people to obtain subsistence from the land in customary ways. As such, it is necessary to critically examine how attempts by Salt Jnr to 'improve' the river Aire at Saltaire exercised a moral judgement that trout farming and angling were 'good' for the landscape, whilst poaching was not. These tensions around preservation and use reveal how conceptions of landscape conservation can serve capital and class interests, and how the symbolism of rurality can mask competing power struggles around the rights to landscape amenities.

Ultimately the sting of unstable property relations came for the Salts too, leading to the demise of their estates and agricultural experiments at Saltaire. The firm at Saltaire had suffered a string of failed investments and Titus Jnr died of a heart attack in 1887 the Milner Field Farm was let, and stock sold. An advert placed in the *Leeds Mercury* on Saturday 24th January 1880 detailed the particulars of the sale:

Home Farm Milner Field, one mile from Saltaire Station. Sale of seven Milch Cows (in calf and lately calved) two cart brood Mares (both stinted to "Young Tom") Cart Horse, six Shropshire Ewes (in lamb to a pure bred Shropshire ram) four Shropshire Ewe lambs, two Shropshire rams, 90 half bred ewes and shearlings Shropshire ram), nine store pigs, one sow, about 15 tons of hay, and a few tons of turnips and mangels, a large quantity of farming implements, which have only been used a short time and are by the best makers: portable steam engine grinding mill. T DODDS and SON are instructed by Titus Salt

Esq (who has let the Home Farm) to sell by auction on Friday February sixth, the above-named stock.⁶⁹

Through balancing permissive access to Milner Field, with the enclosure and privatisation of space, as demonstrated with the walls erected around the Milner Field Estate, the Salt family established a new series of relations in the landscape. As outlined at the start of this section the construction of house and grounds at Milner Field further enclosed the landscape around Saltaire through the creation of high walled snickets and the disappearance of the hedgerows. These relations did not seek to recreate an agricultural or pastoral past, but instead created a distinctive peri-urban model village and estate environment. However, this control of the land proved to be inherently unstable, and the material wealth gained via the development of Saltaire was vulnerable to collapse. Fixed notions of rurality and a 'pre-industrial' temporality of the model farmsteads and pasture which border Saltaire fail to recognise how these landscapes are linked to the development of a fragile peri-urban ideal at Saltaire. Furthermore, grand narratives of benevolent Victorian capitalism obscure how the survival of the 'rural remnants' of agricultural land management at Saltaire rests not solely with the trajectory of the Salts as landowners but with the continued use and management of land by tenant farmers and local people. The final section of this chapter will now turn to consider the contemporary context of clashes between preservation and use at Milner Field.

5.6 Contested Ground: Agriculture Heritage(s) at Saltaire.

As an assemblage Saltaire has been translated through a multitude of material representations or 'inscriptions' (McFarlane & Anderson, 2011). The World Heritage Inscription of Saltaire and the Authorized Heritage

⁶⁹ 'Advertisements & Notices' (1888) *Leeds Mercury*, January 24. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BC3201844609/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=06dd1373> [accessed 28 Aug 2020]

Discourse that this document draws on is one such inscription. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, this inscription which seeks to conserve Saltaire in a manner which focuses on the scenic (landscape views) and the representational (buildings, period architecture, 'monuments' worthy of listing) exists in tension with the processual and changing nature of Saltaire as a peri-urban assemblage. This tension results in clashes between preservation and use. Pendlebury et al. (2016) have coined the idea of the 'conservation planning assemblage' to critically explore the processes embedded within management of historic environments. When applied to the specificities of conservation planning in the UK, Pendlebury argues that distinct practices and values have emerged as part of a moralistic framework which has been applied to the management of heritage. However, by understanding conservation planning as an heterogeneous assemblage we can see that heritage management is not a static entity but one that shifts and evolves over time due to internal and external influences.

Within the conservation planning assemblage at Saltaire, 'nature' and the 'countryside' are presented as part of the model environment of the WHS, a landscape which provides stability and 'authenticity' to the heritage site. The WHS nomination describes how the 'original rural river valley setting' has largely disappeared, and as such the remnants of this landscape, classified as 'the buffer zone' are an important part of the historic environment (UNESCO, 2001). Narratives of endangerments are common in relation to the historic environment and the protection of World Heritage Sites (Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2020). However, there is an inherent complexity in the management of urban world heritage sites which encompass fluid and changing mixed use areas within a city or town (Pendlebury et al., 2009). Using the case study of proposed development at Milner Field Farm in 2015, I will explore how models of heritage preservation based on preserving scenic views reinforce fixed notions of rurality, whilst the approach taken by actors from the local community acknowledges how the landscape has been shaped by people over time.

Massey's (2005) work has contested the idea of space as being 'settled or pre-given' and instead draws attention to the inherent entanglement and

hybridity of space and frames dwelling as a collection of 'stories so far' rather than something with a fixed 'natural' essence (2005: 20). Thinking in such a way presents a challenge when considering a heritage site, as for a place to be given heritage status a value judgement has been awarded to a place on account of a sense of historical distinctiveness, which separates it from 'non' heritage sites. However, there are fundamental tensions between the desire to preserve the historic environment and a 'sense of the past' at urban world heritage sites, whilst also recognising that such sites are the results of development, and that urban environments are inherently fluid and changing (Pendlebury et al., 2009). At Saltaire, the development and success of the town is deeply embedded in the 'disappearance' of the rural river valley setting, and in the potentialities of 'endangerment' in this landscape. In their analysis of the three UK world heritage cities of Bath, Liverpool and Edinburgh – Pendlebury et al. (2009) have established that in each city, the landscape and topography of each site are listed as being important, and in each example development beyond the historic core of the WHS is considered a potential threat to the cultural value of the sites. There is a clear sense of World Heritage value of urban sites extending beyond the brick-and-mortar bounds of listed buildings and sites.

However, how to best preserve the wider landscapes around urban world heritage sites remains a complex issue. Cycles of development and re-development around Saltaire are closely related to the success of the village, however, understandings of 'the countryside' sits uneasily within this trajectory, with the competing demands of scenic preservation and the advent of new urban development continuing to spark debate in Saltaire to this day. Watson (2012) has coined the term the 'rural historic' to describe the way in which the English countryside has been represented as being a product of a 'bucolic past', which is opposed to and indeed, under threat from the urban industrial. Watson goes on to discuss how the concept of the 'historic' relates to the built environment, with certain buildings and archaeological remains being selected as "knowledge objects" on account of how certain buildings represent dominant ideas of "Englishness" popularized by authorized heritage discourses in tourist and travel media.

Watson illustrates his point with the example of parish churches, used to represent tradition, rurality and Englishness in local authority tourism publications. Even in more urban areas, the signifier of the parish church is often used to draw connection to a town's ancient rural past. Within the Saltaire WHS documentation the rural landscape is described as a buffer, a landscape which distinguishes the heritage site from surrounding developments, rather than a space of interaction and hybridity between town and country. As such, narratives of place within the rural buffer zone emphasise the rural historic value of the landscapes and picturesque buildings (such as old vernacular farmhouses and grand Victorian villas) which dot the hillsides surrounding the town.

The notion of the 'rural historic' with a fixed 'natural essence' is clearly expressed by Historic England's assessment and Grade two listing of Ferniehirst Farm in 2016. Ferniehirst was the first Salt family estate to be built near the mill and village at Saltaire. The lack of archival material relating to Ferniehirst when compared to Milner Field makes it difficult to construct a historical geography of the estate, however the small amount of material documenting the existence of Ferniehirst provides a brief sketch. The Ferniehirst estate comprised of a main house (now demolished), the home farm, stables and carriage houses, outbuildings, servants' cottages and estate lodge. Ferniehirst was designed to be a small, efficient agricultural holding that could supply the estate with meat and dairy products (Historic England, 2016). Edward Salt was a keen gardener and his estate contained large glasshouses and was bordered by extensive gardens – a space which will be explored in the next chapter. Compared to Milner Field farm, there is relatively little archival material relating to farming at Ferniehirst, as gardening rather than agriculture seemed to have been Edward Salt's keenest interest. Historic England made the judgement that Ferniehirst represents a 'good example of a small-scale model farm', with a strong level of architectural and decorative detailing and original features (2016). The 'historic' interest of the site detailed in the text of the farm's official listing states that the site is an important physical link to the domestic life of the Salt family which "compliments" the World Heritage Site at

Saltaire. Significantly, the listing concludes that the presence of an intact group of farm buildings in what is now an urbanised area illustrates the areas “pre urban” past (Historic England, 2016). However, this chapter has challenged the idea that a model farmstead built circa 1860–1870 can be characterised as a landscape feature which is illustrative of the areas ‘pre-urban past’. The peri-urban quality of Milner Field and Ferniehirst, and their design as hobby farms sets them both apart from other farmsteads in the area, such the nearby Trench Farmhouse, dated 1687 which, in terms of date of construction, could be more accurately described as being illustrative of a pre-urban landscape (Historic England, 1966). The listing of Ferniehirst demonstrates that it is ‘intactness’ of the farm buildings combined with decorative details that have been considered to provide a ‘good’ example of a model farm, and a linkage to a more rural past in a visual sense.

In contrast to Ferniehirst, Milner Field farm was deemed unsuitable for heritage listing due to the alterations to buildings and yards which have taken place over one hundred and fifty years of farming. English Heritage’s praise for Ferniehurst contrasts sharply with the assessment made when Milner Field farm was considered for listing in 2016:

Milner Field Farm does not possess an innovative or unusual design and has a standard U-shaped plan that is representational rather than exceptional. In addition, it does not display any evidence of a link to the technological development of farming techniques or mechanization that might provide special interest within a national context...Whilst Milner Field Farm’s link to Titus Salt Jr is of historic interest, the link is not readily apparent in the physical fabric of the buildings, for example in carved initials or symbols. The buildings have also changed considerably since his ownership, thus compromising the tangibility of the connection further.... every single building on the farm, except the dairy, has been altered, with the loss of the majority of the original roof coverings being a significant alteration. The functions of the main farm buildings have

changed since Titus Jnr's time, and they have been altered and modernised, with walls knocked through, openings blocked up, new openings inserted and later features inserted such as concrete cattle platforms, mid C20th stalls and modern dairy equipment which has compromised the buildings historic character and architectural integrity, and meant that evidence of the original functionality and use, and thus the building's legibility, has largely been lost.⁷⁰

The statement 'representational rather than exceptional' demonstrates how heritage planning can exclude the quotidian and localised understandings of heritage in favour of the 'exceptional' spaces which can be used to tell 'grand narratives' of innovation and progress. The application to Historic England to obtain listed status for Milner Field was an attempt to better secure a future for the farm as a working dairy and agricultural site. However, as this next section will demonstrate, the official conservation



Figure 10: Yard at Milner Film Farm/Primrose Dairy, Bingley (Bradford UK) photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, 2018

⁷⁰ Historic England (2016) *Consultation Responses*, available at: <https://planning.bradford.gov.uk/onlineapplications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=NWB2DTDHLT000>

[accessed 02/03/2020].

planning assemblage operates to protect and preserve buildings and sites which are deemed to be of special significance and not, in this instance, peri-urban agricultural land usage and stewardship. The assessment of Milner Field by Historic England is purely concerned with the ‘ocular perspectives’ (Hoskins, 2016) of how the farm buildings look and how they have been altered over time. There is no mention of the people who live and work there today, or of the non-human, the herd of cows who shelter in the barns and outbuildings, the pigeons in the loft, the trees, hedges and pasture in the fields and the dogs and cats at the farmhouse. This chapter has demonstrated that the presence of animals was an important part of the model environment at Saltaire, and in many respects it seems odd to assess a dairy farm without mention of the cows. Indeed, the only reference to another person is to Titus Salt Jnr, whose presence is considered to not be readily apparent in the buildings. After 1880, the farm was let as a tenanted farm to George Cattle (between 1881–1894), Frederick Allan (1894-1898), William Walsh (1899-1901) and finally the Downs Family from 1902–to present day. However, there is no mention of the stewardship of the farm by anyone other than Salt Jnr in the assessment.



Figure 11: Farmhouse at Milner Field. Photographed by Ruth Quinn, 2018

In 2015, the current landowner of the Milner Field Estate, Kingsbridge Directors Pension Scheme, in conjunction with the University of Bradford put in an application to demolish the agricultural buildings on the site and convert the farmhouse and grounds into an ‘innovation centre’ for scientific research. The plans drawn up by the applicant (KDPS) echoed the assessment made by Historic England and argued that agriculture did not provide a sustainable future for the site. The proposed development was presented as means to secure a ‘long term future’ for the historical site by ‘maintaining heritage assets’ and ‘maintaining or enhancing’ the quality of the environment. The design and access statement describes the pre-existing agricultural buildings, bar the farmhouse itself as ‘old, in disrepair and an eye sore’. The new buildings, however which would replace the existing agricultural outbuildings would be ‘of a high design quality with careful consideration to colours, materials and landscaping’. It was argued that the sensitive design of the buildings would not detract from the views across the valley from Saltaire. Furthermore, the applicant also proposed to further enhance the heritage value of the site by clearing vegetation



Figure 12: Barn at Milner Field, photographed by Ruth Quinn, 2018

growth in the estate's woodland to expose the original layout of the Milner Field House and formal gardens.⁷¹

Heritage has been used as a vehicle by campaign groups to reconstruct the past in the present and therefore deploy multiple histories which can be selectively deployed by groups to meet their aims (Crouch & Parker, 2003). The proposed change in land use at Milner Field Farm was met with considerable resistance from the local community. A wide cross section of actors and groups became involved in the campaign to save the farm led by the farm's current tenant David Downs. The proposal was opposed on environmental, moral and heritage grounds and an alternative landscape plan for the farm was presented to counteract the proposed development. The campaign to save the farm deployed multiple histories, that of the Saltaire Estate and the personal history of the Downs family and agricultural stewardship in the Aire Valley as a 'traditional' and important industry. On 2nd of February 2016 Green Party politician Natalie Bennett visited the farm to meet the Milner Field Action Group and stated that 'the plans would destroy a successful small business' and that (preventing development on the farm) was part of a much broader issue of protecting the 'green belt, protecting the green spaces that are the lungs of so many communities.'⁷²

⁷¹ Halliday Clark Architects LTD (2017), *Supporting Information, Landscape Management and Design Plans*: Available online: <https://planning.bradford.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=NWB2DTDHLT000> [accessed 20/03/2020]

⁷² Tate, C. (2016) Green Party leader enters debate about controversial innovation centre plan for farm in Gilstead, Bingley. *The Telegraph & Argus*. 22nd February. Available online: <https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/14246118.green-party->

The campaign to save the farm assembled an alternative narrative of heritage through which the site's significance was viewed through the lens of tenant families, not just the landowner and through relationships with the local community. Localism formed a core narrative, reframing heritage from the monumental processes of industrial change to the local success of a 'Victorian' farm which continues to serve communities today. Bennett described this heritage by explaining that 'the Victorians made this model farm which was needed to supply local food and it is still a very successful business.' The Victorians who created the model farm at Milner Field were the Salt family, who initially had the farm built as part of their private estate. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, Milner Field Farm was only an estate farm for eight years between 1872 and 1880, and since then the farm has been managed as a tenant farm with the Downs family managing the site from 1902 to present day. Indeed, the moral case for the saving of the farm was centred in the potential loss of livelihood and home for the Down's family. In an interview with the farming magazine *Stackyard* (2015), David Downs described how conflict with his landlord had first arisen when applying to formally takeover the lease of the farm from his father:

We had little contact with our landlords. We paid our rent and they left us to farm. It was only when the formal process of myself taking over the tenancy began that relations with the landlords intensified.

This move by the landlord was viewed by Down's as an act of dispossession and a robbing of his families' farming legacy:

Two applications submitted by The Trustees of the KDPS (Kingsbridge Directors Pension Scheme), and the University of Bradford are just the latest tactic by a wealthy landlord to

[leader-enters-debate-about-controversial-innovation-centre-plan-for-farm-in-gilstead-bingley/](#) [accessed 02/11/2019].

dispossess a farming family who have milked cows near the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Saltaire for over a hundred years.⁷³

The proximity of the World Heritage Site was reframed through a relational way of understanding heritage significance. Downs described the link to the World Heritage Site at Saltaire and the Farm through the process of providing local dairy products, rather than being purely part of pleasant views from the village:

We have successfully supplied local residents and businesses with 'low food mile' quality dairy products since 1902 and my grandfather, the late Harry Downs, could recall deliveries to the mansion itself before its demolition.⁷⁴

In this description, value is articulated through not only the role that the farm played delivering milk to the Milner Field mansion, but how the presence of a dairy farm on the edge of Saltaire can be viewed as a part of wider local economy, with a strong localised food heritage. The connectivity of the processes of milk delivery alongside the farming landscape were represented by the campaign group as an important part of local heritage, tradition and continuity with the past. In contrasting the proposals put forward by the developers to 'improve' the landscape and the campaign to save the farm from development, we can see how different narratives of endangerment are used:

⁷³ Stackyard: Agriculture on the Web (2015) 'Farmer Mounts Battle in a Bid to Save Livelihood'. 21 December. Available online: http://www.stackyard.com/news/2015/12/business/07_downs_milnerfield.html [accessed 11/11/2017]

⁷⁴ Stackyard: Agriculture on the Web (2015) 'Farmer Mounts Battle in a Bid to Save Livelihood'. 21 December.

Should the applications go through, these unique farm buildings would be demolished – only the farmhouse would remain for potential business use as part of the development - while 76 acres of green belt pasture would be lost to experimental and innovation use in conjunction with the centre. It could signal an end to a viable and vibrant family-run farming legacy and dynasty that has stewarded this land for well over a century, employs local people and supplies local businesses and residents. It will also devastate both the setting and essence of a UNESCO World Heritage Site and decimate the green belt - the last parcel of undeveloped land which separates the sprawl that extends from Kildwick down the Aire Valley to Bingley from the massive urban conurbations of Shipley, Bradford and Leeds...What value do we really put on our dairy industry, our local suppliers and the local community?⁷⁵

This conflict in opinion on the value and significance of Milner Field Farm poses wider questions which are of vital importance to historical geographers concerned with the intersections between history, heritage and land usage. This thesis argues that the developer's approach to viewing the landscape can be compared to the improving ethos which underpinned the development of Saltaire and contemporaneous model industrial developments and improved estates. As this thesis has explored so far, the nineteenth century ethos of improvement swept away the old and developed new model environments, often with a moralistic zeal. Sevilla-Buitrago (2015b) has characterised how 'since the mid-nineteenth century urban reform and modern planning have strived to repress and discipline the people's creativeness and capacity to re-common the industrial city in order to make a living' (2015: 1012). Whilst the farm does

⁷⁵ Stackyard: Agriculture on the Web (2015) 'Farmer Mounts Battle in a Bid to Save Livelihood' 21 December.

not present an example of 're-commoning' per say, the history of the site does demonstrate the tension between scenic landscape preservation, notions of rurality and dispossession. Indeed, Sevilla-Buitrago (2012) has also demonstrated how the creation of a 'more natural than nature' rurality via enclosure and improvement of estates led to the remodelling of the countryside in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by wealthy urban actors (2012: 251). This is also evident at Milner Field in the creation of an elite estate for Titus Salt Junior at Milner Field, with carefully landscape gardens created by garden designer Robert Marnock designed to provide scenic views and obscure sight of the factory below.

Furthermore, as Blomley (1998) has demonstrated, the historical geographies of property relations 'are constituted by and are constitutive of certain ideologies of the social world' (1998: 582). It is particularly telling that the developers propose a partial restoration of the estate woodland and gardens, a scaling back to the 'more natural than nature' environment of the estate landscape, which is framed as being an improvement on the 'messiness' of the 'overgrown' woodland and agricultural processes and functional buildings at the farm. As Pendlebury has demonstrated, viewing conservation planning through the lens of assemblage demonstrates that heritage is not just a self-referential discourse, but one that is entangled with a range of interests, such as town planning. This thesis adds more depth to Pendlebury's notion of the conservation planning assemblage by highlighting the relationships between conservation management and the 'improving' uses of agricultural space at Saltaire. As such the approaches taken by historic England in assessing Ferniehirst and Milner Field not only characterise the relationality of the farms purely as they are, but as they are imagined to be. However, through using the idea of assemblage, we can understand how social entities and material environments which co-constitute the moral environment are not fixed. The case study of Milner Field Farm demonstrates how, in the absence of traditional conservation management a place changes in a way which is often presented as anathema to the idea of the planned historic environment.

5.7 Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated the landscapes which surround Saltaire constitute a dynamic peri-urban fringe environment, which has been assembled into a multitude of narratives, practices and material processes which have altered the fabric of 'rural' and agricultural space in the locality over time. At its core, this thesis is about relationality and the connections between places within Saltaire and the surrounding area. The historical geography which I have pieced together through examining the fragmentary archival material relating to these landscapes aims to destabilize the idea that the rurality of these places is somehow separate from the processes of urbanization and industrialization. The industrial model village at Saltaire can be understood as a type of assemblage which brings together urban development, industry, and agricultural land management and outdoor leisure/rural pursuits – practices that are often framed as binary opposites. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, Saltaire's location in a peri-urban fringe environment represents a coming together of these different parts. Rather than representing a unity or an 'organic whole' (McFarlane & Anderson, 2011) Saltaire is comprised of a multiplicity of elements situated between the rural and urban, the functions of which have developed, shifted and changed over time.

In this chapter my empirical analysis has demonstrated how landscape significance at Saltaire is more than just scenic – the land was also a key material resource. The extractive processes of quarrying took place alongside agriculture, creating a highly networked peri-urban space central to sustaining the model environment at Saltaire. The historical development of the Milner Field estates opens an opportunity to consider a critical history of improvement at Saltaire not as an 'rural remnant' but as an example of how old hedgerows were swept away in favour of stone walls that established new property relations in the landscape. As this chapter has demonstrated this change did not go unnoticed by nineteenth-century commentators in Saltaire and its neighbouring towns, who were quick to comment on the loss of the countryside as it was in their earlier memories. This chapter has challenged fixed notions of rurality at Saltaire through

using the idea of assemblage/s to demonstrate how the materiality of 'rural' elements in the landscape are not fixed but are de-stabilised and re-stabilised over time. The practice of agricultural shows and livestock keeping are demonstrative of this shift, as the development of the urban industrial village at Saltaire re-assembled 'the fields and the boundaries of agricultural space to create a new 'sanitary' model for livestock keeping within a peri-urban environment. The popularity of livestock keeping in Saltaire also represented something more than economy and subsistence. Through the space of the show ground the exhibiting of pigs became part of the emerging civic function of the town, and a further means of demonstrating the 'improvements' of the model environment. This provides an example of how 'productive' land-based activities were incorporated into industrial leisure culture at Saltaire.

Significantly, this chapter has demonstrated how private property relations underpin the historical and contemporary geographies of landscape significance at Saltaire. Fixed notions of rurality present an essentialist depiction of scenic landscapes as organic or unchanged. This "ocular perspective" when applied to industrial heritage sites is problematic, owing to the tendency for heritage narratives to depoliticise scenic landscapes, framing them as picturesque rather than spaces that are contested or problematic (Hoskins, 2017). Rather than viewing green space as a scenic buffer, we can understand the historical geography of the landscape at Saltaire through property relations, and through the relationship between preservation and use. As the activities of the Saltaire Angling Society and Titus Salt Jnr in the 1870s demonstrate, permissive access formed part of elite landscape management practices and attempts to safeguard the materiality of the landscape from industrial pollutants. However, this process of landscape preservation invoked patrician and moralistic understandings of access and amenity to permit some uses and condemn others. Scenic understandings of landscape are in part a product of patrician and capitalist orderings of space (Mitchell, 2001). Seeing landscapes as 'natural' or inherently good obscures the complex ways in which places are shaped. As such rather than viewing landscape

significance through views and scenic amenity my historical geographical analysis has critically explored how the landscape at Saltaire has been shaped and contested over time as a result of property relations. This analysis challenges some of the core criteria upon which the world heritage designation rests and calls into question some of the historical understandings which have underpinned decision making at the site.

The chapter has demonstrated how fixed understandings of the 'originality' of the 'rural' landscape expressed in the site's WHS are a poor metric for assessing the heritage of what is an industrial landscape at Saltaire. These historical understandings of landscape matter as they influence contemporary decision making as demonstrated by proposals for more 'appropriate' structures to replace the 'messy' outbuildings in the landscape at Milner Field. Yet, these 'messy' landscapes have emerged through over two-hundred years of farming at Milner Field. This episode demonstrates the need to critically re-evaluate historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire, and within the context of UK heritage designation systems more broadly. If understandings of landscape value and significance continue to be fixed in understandings of scenic rurality and monumentalism, we risk erasing from view the complex histories of how places have been shaped. Furthermore, essentialist and scenic understandings of landscape history can result in acts of dispossession where people are stripped of their right to landscape and denied space to articulate locally situated heritage knowledge and meanings. This thesis demonstrates that critical historical geographic analysis must underpin contemporary landscape assessments and decision making at Saltaire. Through a focus on relationality, hybridity and multiplicity we can understand how landscapes are not fixed but can be more productively considered as 'stories so far' (Massey, 2006). Within this context heritage does not represent something that is essentialist or fixed but an element within on-going conversations about space, place, past, present and future. This reflexivity and openness can allow for a landscape history which is critical, polyvocal and upon which the project of heritage designation at Saltaire can be recentred on multiplicity and process, rather than fixed 'universal' value. The next chapter of this thesis

will now turn to consider the importance of gardens and designed landscapes at Saltaire.

Chapter Six: The city by the daisy chequered fields: Plants, gardens and designed landscapes.

The previous chapters have argued that the landscapes surrounding Saltaire should not be considered as separate spheres of 'rural' and 'urban' but rather as parts of a dynamic peri-urban assemblage. The concept of assemblage(s) provides a useful tool for thinking of both landscapes and heritage practices not as fixed, but as emergent entities shaped through a coming together of parts. This chapter will now turn to consider how gardens, allotments and designed landscapes at Saltaire were developed across a variety of scales in relationship with the peri-urban landscape environment at Saltaire. Gardens, as distinctive bounded spaces have emerged through broader processes of urbanization, and gardens can be understood as spaces in which a range of practices, territories and materials are brought together to create distinctive meanings (Livesey, 2011). The garden spaces in and around Saltaire are numerous and scaled. From the smallest space of the household window box to the vast estate gardens overlooking the town, each growing space can be viewed as an important layer of the landscape in and around Saltaire. This chapter will critically explore how allotments, gardens and parks form an integral part of landscape both within Saltaire and in the surrounding environs. Through examining descriptive accounts of Saltaire village this chapter will consider the relationship between how these spaces were imagined and how designed green landscapes were actualised at Saltaire, forming an important nexus between the village and the surrounding woods and moors.

This chapter is divided into six sections. In the first section, building on arguments made by Gaskell (1979) and Schumann (2003), I will critique narratives of linear progression from factory town to garden city and suburbanisation. In the second section, my empirical analysis will demonstrate how the compact gardens within the high-density terrace streets at Saltaire represent a distinctive mid-Victorian vision of how high density urban industrial space could be improved. Thirdly, I will examine how growing spaces in Saltaire can be understood as sites of interaction that were linked through allotments horticultural societies and through the

space of the horticultural show. I will argue that these connections are an important part of understanding the development of the model environment at Saltaire, in which gardens, flowers and fresh food formed part of paternalist attempts to foster the 'good life' in an urban industrial environment. In the fourth section I will move to examine the elite garden landscapes which border Saltaire, and how these environments formed a nexus between elite landscapes around the village and residents in Saltaire. In the fifth section I will demonstrate how the designed landscape at Saltaire Park and open space in the village was used for distinctively peri-urban leisure pursuits that formed an important part of the distinctive model village environment at Saltaire. Finally, I will demonstrate how mid-nineteenth-century ideals about environment and health are reproduced in heritage practices at Saltaire which continue to assemble ideal and preferred futures based on the idea that access to gardens and 'nature' are central to the future of the village. This section will demonstrate how the development of garden and park landscapes at Saltaire have been shaped by the processes of domestic and leisure culture in the village. This localised pattern of land use in small gardens, allotments and parks conveys the hybridity of the peri-urban landscape at Saltaire and in the surrounding Aire valley landscape, which continues to present gardens as model spaces through localised heritage initiatives at Saltaire.

6.1 Saltaire and the Garden City Ideal: prototype or parallel?

The garden city ideal is engrained in popular narratives about Saltaire which mythologise the village as a model, healthy environment where Titus Salt wanted residents to "grow food for themselves on allotments"⁷⁶The Garden

⁷⁶ Newton, G. (2019) Saltaire: how an Industrial Village became one of Yorkshire's most desirable places to live, *Yorkshire Post*, 6 July. Available online: <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/heritage-and-retro/heritage/saltaire-how-industrial-village-became-one-yorkshires-most-desirable-places-live-1753277> [accessed 07/07/2019].

City Movement was sparked by Ebenezer Howard's publication *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform* (1898) which imagined the development of new self-contained 'garden cities' set in green belts of land as an alternative model of urban development to the overcrowded industrial city in the early twentieth-century (Purdom, 1913; Buder, 1990; Sutcliffe, 1990; Meacham, 1999; Livesey, 2011). Howard's vision led to the development of two new towns, Letchworth Garden City (1903) and Welwyn Garden City (1920), and greatly influenced the development of further low-density suburban environments and New Towns (Ward, 2016). The UNESCO statement of Outstanding Universal Value for Saltaire states that the 'town planning and social welfare ideas manifested in Saltaire were influential in the nineteenth-century garden city movement in the United Kingdom and ultimately internationally' (UNESCO, 2001). The Management Plan for Saltaire elaborates on this statement further, explaining that Saltaire was planned as an urban environment within a broader rural environment and as such can be understood as a precursor to the Garden City Movement (Saltaire World Heritage Site Management Plan, 2014).

However, there has been debate amongst planning historians on whether Saltaire can be considered as a garden city prototype at all. Schumann (2003) concluded that Saltaire cannot be considered as a true precursor of the Garden City as it was not designed to offer consistent and concise solutions for an equilibrium between town and countryside. If the ideal of the Garden City was solely about moving people and industries outside of city centres, then Saltaire could accurately be characterised as developing an earlier version of the model of peri-urban development reproduced by the twentieth-century Garden City movement. However, a fundamental aspect of the Garden City was low density design as a means by which the best features of the town and countryside could be combined (Batchelor, 1969). The Garden City spatial form was reproduced in a multitude of residential developments, leading to the development of twentieth-century housing ideals and low-density estates, that sought to move away from the high-density layout of long rows of terraced streets (Bauman, 1984; Moran, 2004; Miller, 2015). The spatial focus of the garden city was on single family

dwellings, with spacious private gardens that were set within a wide network of green landscaped spaces within the town itself (Livesey, 2016). Purdom (1913) described his experiences of walking around Letchworth as like being in a wide expansive private garden, questioning the need for public parks if towns could be designed in open space that flowed between private garden, parkways, allotments, market gardens and playgrounds right into a cohesive agricultural belt. This ideal contrasts sharply with Saltaire, which is a high density, planned model town with long rows of terraced housing typical of the kind found in urban industrial towns and cities (with the notable omission of back-to-back housing).

Saltaire was developed as an attempt to solve problems associated with sanitary conditions in Bradford through developing an industrial town on a microscale, rather than as a model for a post-urban society. At Saltaire, gardening and exercise in parks and gardens provided rational and moral recreation rather than being part of the essence of a new way of life that struck a balance between the urban and the rural world (March, 2004). This distinguishes Saltaire both from Howard's vision for industrial society and from truly 'alternative' communities, such as the Chartist land colonies and Owenite settlements which sought to break away from urban industrial society (Hardy, 1979). Saltaire, was viewed by the American periodical *Harper's Magazine* (1872: 835) as a celebration of industrial society – a substantial 'fact' rather than product of Utopian dreaming:

A monument which will long outlast the fame of many a name now more far often on the lips of men, it was the realization of a great idea, the reduction of the vagaries of the Utopian dreamer to a substantial fact...Sir Titus has taught the English capitalist to what noble duties it is possible to devote

himself...certainly no dreamer of arcadia could have fancied a picture more inspiring.⁷⁷

If Saltaire is not a precursor to the garden city or garden suburb what does this mean for the significance of the garden as a landscape within Saltaire? Instead of a socialist utopia, or a radical agrarian model for society, Saltaire was designed as an ideal industrial community, which drew on an environmental planning ethos which advocated that 'nature', through parks, gardens, allotments and landscaping, could be integrated within high density urban cores to create healthy and beautiful environments (Daniels, 2009). Rather than being designed as a retreat from the industrial city, the design of allotments, parks and garden space at Saltaire reflected a mid-Victorian vision for a healthy, harmonious peri-urban industrial townscape.

In some important respects, the layout of Saltaire has more in common with the eighteenth-century industrial housing projects at Belper, Derbyshire (c. 1788) and Styal, Cheshire (1806-1822) than it does with the garden city suburb. At Belper, described by UNESCO as 'the World's First Cotton town', (UNESCO, 2001) mill owner Jedediah Strutt financed the extensive development of workers' housing. The housing at Belper is mixed (with some back-to-back accommodation). However, a significant proportion of the housing is through terraces with 'the long row' (1792 -1797) and 'the short row' (1788) comprising of through terraces with gardens, in addition to nearby allotment plots (Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site, 2014). At Styal, Samuel Gregg provided good quality terraced housing, with garden plots in front, in addition to an apprentice house for children which also contained a large vegetable garden to support their diet (National Trust, 2014). There are also close parallels between Saltaire and New

⁷⁷ (1871) 'Saltaire and its Founder' *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December, 1871. Google Books. Available online: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=E0tOAQAAMAAJ&hl=en> [accessed 02/11/2019].

Lanark (1785) in terms of landscape setting. Whilst the housing at New Lanark was largely divided into tenements, the streets follow a grid pattern like at Saltaire and the town was provided with allotments and picturesque walks (UNESCO, 2001). The idea of the 'model factory town' as expressed in these eighteenth-century settlements reached its maturity at Saltaire where the factory town was fused with nascent ideas around sanitary planning and urban reform based around the industrial city. As discussed in chapter four, the development of Saltaire was influenced by the broader context of mid-nineteenth century social science and spatial rationalisation. The result being that Saltaire was created as a compact, but comprehensive factory town which shares many features with earlier factory villages and more urban schemes built by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company in London (Dennis, 1989; Morris, 2018). Significantly, there is a correlation between early nineteenth century factory towns and later mid-Victorian improved housing schemes in the provision of small gardens, squares and allotments amongst high density terraced streets. Indeed as Burchardt (2002) has demonstrated, Victorian allotments became efficient and highly productive spaces connected to broader patterns of urbanisation.

Terraced housing built in the mid to late-nineteenth century is now representative of a large percentage of housing in Britain. The terrace forms an important part of landscape and townscape heritage, particularly in former textile manufacturing hubs in Lancashire and Yorkshire, (Moran, 2004; Newman & Newman, 2008). However, the Garden City ideal was preceded by a moral panic on 'urban degeneracy' produced by crowded factories and tightly spaced rows of streets (Luckin, 2006). Terraced streets and industrial townscapes have subsequently become the subject of 'grim up north' stereotypes and viewed as places devoid of greenspace and natural beauty. Saltaire, however, was built when the through terrace set upon a wide street was emerging as a solution to cramped, ill ventilated courts (Hebbert, 1999).

Through terraces differed to back-to-backs as housing as they allowed for air flow throughout the rooms via front and rear facing windows and spacing

between rows. In addition to ventilation, the through terrace provided a small backyard and sometimes a front garden which provided a screen from the main thoroughfare of the street and a place to grow flowers (Ravetz, 2001). The development of Saltaire preceded housing standards in the 1875 Public Health Act and the publication of model by-laws for housing which outlined building control measures and led to the emergence of the by-law terrace as a distinctive housing type (Cherry, 1988). As such, rather than being a prototype for the garden city, Saltaire can be viewed as a catalyst for terraced residential streets with small gardens and nearby urban parks as a blueprint for towns (Jones, 2018). Indeed, James Hole praised the construction of residential housing in Saltaire in his influential essay 'Homes for the Working Class and Suggestions' (1866:68). On Saltaire, Hole remarked that:

Comfort and utility, healthfulness and convenience have been the primary consideration. The Houses are properly ventilated. We find none of the squalor and filth which seem so prevalent among the dwellings of operatives elsewhere. The streets and pavements are moderately wide, and the pavements clean and tidy.⁷⁸

Saltaire terraces as a model housing type were also viewed favourably in a later report on 'Back-to-Back Housing' read before the Bradford Medico-Chirurgical Society on May 7th 1893.⁷⁹ The Report concluded that the

⁷⁸ Hole, J, (1866) *Homes for the Working Classes: With Suggestions for their Improvement*, London: Longmans. Google Books. Available online: https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=bffWQ4k_Q4kC&pg=GBS.PR16&printsec=frontcover [accessed 05/11/2019].

⁷⁹ Jones, H (1892) Back-to-Back Housing, *Public Health: The Journal of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health*, 5. Google Books. Available online:

through terraces of Saltaire provided more favourable living conditions than back-to-back housing in Shipley owing principally to the ventilation they offered (Jones, 2018). Each house in Saltaire was constructed with an individual back yard and a separate privy, ash pit and coal places. The larger houses in the village also had small plots of ground for the cultivation of shrubs and flowers.⁸⁰ Importantly, the inclusion of gardens, landscaping and the town's peri-urban setting at Saltaire 'greened' the industrial streetscapes and factory. The landscapes of northern industrial townscapes are an under-explored area in the historical geography of the industrial model village, particularly at more urban sites like Saltaire. Unlike later suburban models based on a separation between home and work (Doling & Arundel, 2020), Saltaire was designed around factory labour living in close proximity to Salt's Mill. As such the scale of Saltaire is markedly different to the garden city, and green spaces in the village are small, largely communal and dominated by the built environment. Therefore, gardens and parks at Saltaire were enmeshed in the industrial environment, and like the farms explored in the previous chapters, garden spaces at Saltaire have developed as part of a wider peri-urban industrial assemblage.

6.2 1853 Saltaire: an ideal urban landscape as it was imagined to be.

The completion of Salt's Mill and outline of Saltaire village in 1853 attracted considerable press coverage. Open streets and small garden spaces were central to the vision of what was hoped would be achieved at Saltaire. When reporting on the completion of the first Mills and Warehouses at Saltaire, *The Morning Post* proclaimed that Salt had:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=u3cCAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PA348&printsec=frontcover> [accessed:20/11/2019].

Pulled down his barns and built better...other towns have grown to what they are...here is a piece of moor side chosen and carved out where all the most perfect appliances of art and science are to be brought into operation to found, in the right way, the nucleus of a future city...there are to be no courts and alleys, no undrained yards, but open streets and cottage gardens, and squares and sewers. ⁸¹

The Leeds Intelligencer echoed this vision of a town replete with “wide streets spacious squares and grounds for recreation”⁸² (1853:6). Flowers and garden plants form a significant part of the materiality of emergent domestic space within Saltaire Village. *The Century Illustrated Magazine*⁸³ reported the pleasant streets with ‘flower gardens in front, (of the houses) there are also many allotment grounds where the tenants may cultivate garden vegetables’ (Barnard 1876: 354). These garden spaces are enmeshed within a wider townscape designed to offer a model domestic environment, as described by Holroyd (1873: 73):

⁸¹ 'Opening of a colossal manufactury in Yorkshire' (1853) *Morning Post*, 23 September. British Library Newspapers available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3210428028/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=917d9bd7> [accessed 28 August 2020]

⁸² 'Mr. Salt's Factory at Saltaire' (1853) *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 September. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3216035092/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=6d78bfd7> [accessed 28 August 2020].

⁸³ Barnard, C. (1876) 'The English Workingman's Home' Scribner's Monthly Illustrated Magazine for the People. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=iugGAQAIAAJ&pg=GBS.PP6&printsec=frontcover> [accessed 28 August 2020]

The houses are fitted up with all of the modern appliances of comfort...And all have back yards well flagged and walled in some of them have small plots of ground for a garden in front of them and in summer present a cheerful and rural appearance with their borders of plants and flowers.

Of course, these accounts do not reflect the full complexity of life in nineteenth century Saltaire. However, these reports constructed a powerful geographic imagery of how working-class housing in an industrial town could be healthy and beautiful. For example, a report on a visit to Saltaire published in *Harper's Magazine*⁸⁴ described Saltaire as an ideal industrial environment replete with:

Neat cottages, with little plots of grass in front and gardens behind, surrounded by neat iron railings...the area on which the cottages stand is about twenty six acres from which the size of the little town may be conjectured...it rises on a gentle slope on the right banks of the Aire, the factory and warehouses being on the left bank and connected to the village with a neat, substantial bridge, the streets are well paved, the pavements broad; rows of trees are set out along the streets, and on every side one see's well- kept lawns, flower beds and carefully nurtured fruit trees and hedges. Once in a while you come upon a pretty square, the cottages ranging on the three sides of the quadrangle, with an airy open space in front, where the children may play and where their days work done, the "hands" may meet and gossip...The 'carefully nurtured fruit trees and hedges' provide an appropriate place for the village children to

⁸⁴ Towle, G.M. (1872) 'Saltaire and its Founder' (1872) *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. *Google Books*. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=E0tOAQAAMAAJ&num=11&printsec=frontcover> [accessed 28 August 2020].

play, and where factory workers – “the hands’ may meet and gossip in the ‘airy open streets.

These descriptions are indicative of how Saltaire can be considered as a model for the peri-urban townscape of terraced streets with small garden spaces close by to industrial workplaces. The construction of Saltaire preceded the 1875 Public Health act and the publication of model by-laws for the construction of working-class terrace housing (Cherry, 1988). Architecturally, the legacy of this housing type is evident in the high volume of terrace housing in Britain (Gaskell, 1980). However, given the transient and shifting nature of small garden spaces such as yards, front plots and window boxes it is difficult to assess how green space played an important part in developing ideal standards for nineteenth-century mass housing. However, the descriptions of streets in Saltaire demonstrate how ‘open airy streets’ surrounded by ‘carefully nurtured fruit trees and hedges’ were considered to be an appropriate place for sociability and play. These accounts contrast sharply with the accounts of ‘dark streets and rookeries’ published by statisticians and active reformers involved with housing reform initiatives (Hickman, 2013). As such the historical geography of small gardens spaces at Saltaire is demonstrative of the moral significance of compact greenspaces in the creation of new industrial towns in the mid-nineteenth century. The materiality of the nineteenth-century terraced street remains an important part of the character of industrial towns in Britain, particularly in the materiality of the northern textile towns across the Pennines (Spracklen, 2016). However, within heritage descriptions at Saltaire, the significance of the development in relation to the industrial domestic landscape is not fully articulated, owing to the assembling of narrative of significance relating to the twentieth-century garden city, rather than the nineteenth-century factory town.

By viewing gardens as part of the assemblage of model terraced streets which typified housing reform in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, we can better understand the importance of scale in the industrial landscape at Saltaire. The houses and gardens at Saltaire are small compared to later twentieth century housing. As Ravetz (2003) has demonstrated, nineteenth

century industrial housing in factory districts represented a shift to housing becoming more of a dormitory for people who spent long hours outside of the home at work. In this context, the aim of nineteenth-century housing reformers was to encourage domesticity and cleanliness within industrial districts, through micro gardens spaces both inside and outside of houses. Nineteenth-century domestic manuals encouraged the strategic placement of indoor gardens in Wardian cases not only to make use of natural light but to act as a green lens on the urban environment outside, improving the view through the addition of plants (Wells, 2018). This use of plants demonstrates how gardening practices developed in relationship with the industrial environment, to maximise small spaces in the home. Womack (2018) has demonstrated how houseplants in domestic spaces were viewed as signifiers for cleanliness and morality and aspirations of upward social mobility within an urban context. Indeed, Womack draws a direct line between window gardening manuals and the wider campaign for sanitary improvement through the example of Rev. S. Hadden Parkes' manual *Window Gardens for the People, and Clean and Tidy Rooms* (1863). In this, he argued that by learning how to cultivate flowers, the 'deserving poor' would also learn the importance of light, fresh air, and routine to human happiness⁸⁵.

The cultivation of the pleasant displays of window gardening in the village was remarked upon by James Burnley⁸⁶ (1875: 202) in his visit to Saltaire.

⁸⁵ S. Hadden Parks, (1864) *Window Gardens for the People: And Clean and Tidy Rooms*, London: S.W Partridge. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=6Vtb33xbgGQC&pg=GBS.PA10&hl=en> [accessed 03/09/2020]

⁸⁶ J. Burnley (1875) *West Riding Sketches*, Hodder and Staunton: London. Google Books. Available at:

The cottage windows are a study in themselves, for the endless variety of adornment they exhibit. Ferneries, aquaria, simple bouquets of flowers...and rich displays of indoor flowers meet the eye at these windows.

The cultivation of flowers in gardens and on windowsills formed part of a wider assemblage in which 'nature' was rematerialized in an urban domestic environment as a means promoting a healthy household. The description by Burnley of window gardening in Saltaire, is an example of how small-scale gardening was taken up in the space of the improved model factory workers home, in which the delights of the botanical garden were available on a windowsill. As chapter one of this thesis has argued Saltaire was designed as an ideal environment for health and wellbeing. The close proximity to open fields and moorland, and the associated healthy properties of this space was brought into village homes through ventilation of the terrace houses. By the mid-nineteenth century flowers had become associated with rich social meanings relating to domesticity, purity and character and the cultivation of flowers was an activity encouraged by middle class reformers seeking to improve and regulate working class homes (Lawrence, 2020). In the creation of model industrial communities like Saltaire, where housing was designed to promote improved sanitary ideals, flower cultivation and gardening functioned as indicators of the village's model status and healthy environment. The laying out of wider streets was a central part of the model environment at Saltaire, and as this section has demonstrated, these streets were 'greened' both inside and out and received by visitors as an example of an ideal industrial landscape, where domesticity and factory work could exist side by side. The streets and small houses at Saltaire are also interspersed by larger stretches of

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=vTICAAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PA8&hl=en> [accessed 03/09/2020].

communal green spaces which also form an important part of the moral geography of the town.

In addition to small garden plots outside of workers homes, Saltaire also contains a large garden square outside of the almshouses, built in 1868 to provide sheltered accommodation for the elderly. The almshouses were laid out in a quadrangular central garden, named Alexandria Square, which was planted with trees and shrubs. The almshouse complex in Saltaire represents a coming together of three distinctive landscape traditions, the improved urban townscape, the therapeutic landscape and nineteenth century model housing ideals. In his survey of the development of garden squares in London, (Lawrence, 2020) stresses the significant role that the development of residential garden square had in fostering the idea of the suburb in the elite early nineteenth century in the form of Regents Park (1820) and in the development of townscape planning as an urban ideal, in which garden squares and terrace streets were laid out in an orderly fashion to create ideal housing developments, often at the edge of the city. The garden square also played a significant element in the design of institutional architecture and the creation of therapeutic landscapes within hospital and asylum settings (Hickman, 2013). The almshouse garden at Saltaire can be seen as a fusion of these two ideals, the improved residential townscape environment and the institutional therapeutic landscape.

At Saltaire, Alexandria Square sets the almshouses apart from the other buildings in the village in a way which is consistent with nascent mid-Victorian town planning ideals and moulds a distinctly medical-moral institutional space within the wider fabric of the village. In his biography of

Salt⁸⁷, Balergnie commented on the prominent positioning and beauty of the almshouses in Saltaire which: 'attracted the notice of every visitor, having the appearance of Italian Villas with walks and flower gardens in front and creeping plants by the windows' Indeed, the prominent positioning of the almshouses, at the top of the main thoroughfare was described in an article published in the journal of the British Archaeological Association⁸⁸ as a spatial manifestation of Salt's philanthropy:

Philanthropy – love of mankind was the guiding star of the life of Sir Titus Salt. The observer will therefore find a large number of almshouses built in a prominent position in the town. They form a grand quadrangle through the midst runs the main street, the centre being very prettily laid out with gardens and grounds.

⁸⁷ Balgernine R, (1877) *Sir Titus Salt Baronet, His Life and Lessons*, London: Hodder & Staunton. Google Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=9kMBAAAAQAAJ&hl=en>

[accessed 09/09/2020]

⁸⁸ Biographical Memoirs (1877) *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. Available online:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=vigUAAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PR18&hl=en> [accessed 05/09/2020]

The American Quaker publication *The Friend's Intelligencer*⁸⁹, published a column from the *Christian Register* on Saltaire which further praised the almshouses and their position in the village:

We never dreamed that it would be other than a dreadful thing to be a pauper, until our visit to this excellent place. Up and down on either side of the very best street, fronted by green parterres and flowerbeds, resembling beautiful little Italian villas, and altogether the most picturesque feature of the whole place, run the forty-five almshouses...they are models of beauty, comfort, neatness and a striking protest to those huge dens into which the world generally crams those who cannot care for themselves.

The Saltaire almshouses can be situated in a wider historical geography of the spatialization of philanthropy in nineteenth-century Bradford and its environs. As the article from the *Friend's Intelligencer* demonstrates that the location almshouses on the 'very best' street was received as an example of philanthropy. The openness of the garden square and the individuality of the villa like almshouses is presented in sharp contrast to other institution's which 'cram those who cannot care for themselves'. The creation of a garden in the form of Alexandria created creating a hybrid landscape which functioned as a space for institutional care that blended in with the rest of the planned model townscape at Saltaire. Alexandria Square, like the flower beds outside the workers houses and the allotments at the edges of the village were incorporated into the urban fabric of Saltaire as a part of a sanitary environment designed along mid-nineteenth century ideals about morality and health. Philanthropy, as manifested in improving ideals relating to the mid-nineteenth century industrial town generated a

⁸⁹ Saltaire (1874) *Friends Intelligencer*, 30. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=qUNKAAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PA16&hl=en> [accessed 04/09/2020].

distinctive approach to the governance of people and space which is embedded into layout of Saltaire. this context, peripheral garden spaces at Saltaire formed important edges to the village, which distinguished the town from the growing Shipley conurbation and created seclusion within an industrial landscape.

However, it important to stress that almshouse accommodation was not given freely, and to be considered for poor relief and accommodation from Salt applicants had to prove themselves to be ‘a person of good character, destitute of property or other means sufficient for his or her support, and incapacitated for labour by reason of age, disease, or infirmity so as to be unable to earn his or her own living’. To be in receipt of a comfortable retirement in the almshouses, residents had to prove themselves moral, and commit to ‘improve in condition’ themselves and their environment.⁹⁰ In addition to providing a therapeutic environment to support the health of the almshouse residents, the garden was also a didactic space in which residents were encouraged to cultivate good moral behaviour through the example of tending the flowers and keeping their homes tidy. The model function of the almshouses is stressed in *The Times* newspaper biography of Salt⁹¹: “While for the widows and for the aged he provided forty-five almshouses, with a lawn and shrubbery in front all so neatly kept to be models of ‘cleanliness and comfort’ The picturesque homes with gardens of ‘honeysuckle, rose and sweet briar’ can be seen as an example of

⁹⁰ ‘Labor in Europe and America’ (1876) *Congressional Serial Set*. Google Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=EVBHAQAAIAAJ&pg=GBS.RA1-PP4&hl=en> [accessed 09/09/2020]

⁹¹ ‘Sir Titus Salt’ (1880) *Eminent Persons, Biographies Reprinted from the Times*. Google Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=XKkMAAAAYAAJ&hl=en> [accessed 09/09/2020]

'garden governmentality' (Chen, 2003) through which working class actors were encouraged to view the practice of attentive gardening as an object lesson on how to maintain a moral and orderly domestic environment. Chen's theorization of 'garden governmentality' draws attention to how garden and green space within Saltaire also functioned as what Legg refers to as an 'apparatus of security' which was designed to govern domestic life within the village (Legg, 2011:2). Indeed, as this chapter has demonstrated, gardens were and plants were framed as part of the 'sweet security' of the streets and social control in Saltaire. Much has been written about the governmentality of life within industrial model villages, and how 'model' environments were subject to strict rules set by companies (Rowan, 1992; Roberts, 2016; Cavanagh, 2017). However, at Saltaire these understandings have been misplaced in interpretations of paternalism that overemphasise the control of the Salts and underexamined both agency, creativity and resistance amongst Saltaire workers and residents.⁹² For example, Blewett (2006) has demonstrated that women and girls in Saltaire declined to use the communal wash houses, preferring to do laundry in the private space of the home (2006: 322). Power relations in urban spaces can be understood as being practiced and produced through materiality and spatiality (Dovey & Ristic, 2017: 267). The almshouse gardens at Saltaire were produced as a result of environmental deterministic ideas about domesticity and the didactic functions of gardens. However, garden spaces in Saltaire were not merely apparatuses of control, they can also be read as spaces which allowed for a degree of independence and dignity in older life. Author William Wheeler (1891: 298) remarked that:

The almshouses which Titus Salt created in justice to incapacitated labour do not represent the dole that the medieval peasant had to snatch from the baron's dogs⁹³

As such the materiality of garden landscapes in Saltaire can be read both through the paternalistic rules and regulation of the village, however this element of social control must not be read as being absolute or total. Gardens spaces in the village also offered respite, agency and privacy and were shaped by social relations in the village as well as the top-down industrial relations of the mill.

Whilst the development of Saltaire was motivated by sense of anti-urbanism that emerged in reaction to the problems associated with industrialization (Malchow, 1985), the design of the village reflects an ideal of a new kind of industrial urbanism – rather than a vision to do away with it entirely. The urbanity of Saltaire is reflected in an article about the town publishing in *Scribner's Monthly Illustrated Magazine for the People*:

Though very small, the place is really a city, though it's outer rows of houses face the open fields and nearly every street has a vista of the country. This gives the town a most peculiar atmosphere, a mingled breath of pure air blowing over the daisy checkered fields and the sweet security of the streets.⁹⁴

⁹³ Wheater, W. (1981) *Handbook for Tourists in Yorkshire*, Leeds: Richard Jackson. Google Books.

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=aankAAAAMAAJ&hl=en>

[accessed 09/09/2020]

⁹⁴ Barnard, C. (1876) 'The English Working Man's Home' *Scribner's Monthly Illustrated Magazine for the People*. Google Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=A941AQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA8&hl=en> [accessed 09/09/2020]

As an urban typology one of the key criticisms levelled at northern factory towns comprised of terraced streets is that of drabness, monotony and a lack of green space (Moran, 2004). However, the empirical material I have gathered demonstrates how greenery and gardening was remarked upon by nineteenth century visitors to Saltaire, forming an important part the village's initial moral environment. More broadly, the gardening practices of communities living in nineteenth-century terrace housing are a significant, and often overlooked part in the historical geographies of garden space. Crisp (2012) has explored how the provision of private back yards in nineteenth century terraced housing for sanitary purposes was a factor in the development the twentieth century ideal of a house with a back garden. Indeed, it is notable that in the nineteenth-century descriptions of Saltaire discussed in this chapter that small plots in the village as are described as gardens, demonstrating these small spaces in village were considered to be gardens in their own right. Over time the functionality of Saltaire back yards have shifted from functional mid-Victorian yards (designed to contain refuse at a safe distance from the house) to small scale gardens and patios where residents grow plants and place outdoor furniture whilst the front gardens in the village continue to be well tended to. These garden spaces continue to be an example of how gardens and gardening have been integrated into the built environment at Saltaire in an 'improving' manner creating a pleasant domestic environment for residents.

6.3 Allotments, estate gardens and horticulture shows: Interaction in Saltaire's green fringes.

As this chapter has discussed, gardens at Saltaire were an important part of the sanitary design of the village, incorporated to sweeten the air and create a wholesome environment. However, as the domestic gardens in the village occupy comparatively small amounts of space, the cultivation of fruit and veg often took place away from the home on allotments. Allotments are an important feature in the design of nineteenth industrial model villages and the creation of respectable and healthy industrial communities (Havinden, 1989). Whilst the provision of the allotments also formed part of rural poor relief schemes (Archer, 1997; Burchardt, 2002), the urban allotment landscape as a distinctive typology emerged as part of new

approaches to the industrial town and city, and now allotments represent distinctive urban and peri-urban fringe environments, with their own histories and meanings (DeSilvey, 2003). The allotments in Saltaire offered space to grow fruit and veg near to both factory and homes, and this close proximity of growing space to workers' housing was a crucial element in the layout of Saltaire, and a defining feature of the town's peri-urban fringe landscape. The provision of allotments at Saltaire can also be seen as part of a wider trajectory of urban produce growing for health which is centred on improving the urban experience, rather than replacing urbanity with a quasi-ruralised community. This next section will explore the role of allotments as part of a wider model foodscape and the role of the horticultural show in cultivating paternalistic relations through plants. I will demonstrate how the cultivation of plants and food was viewed as an important part of the industrial model village assemblage, which sought to integrate healthy eating and gardening into the lives of industrial workers. Crucially, allotments like yards formed an important part of compact garden assemblage at Saltaire, forming part of a distinctive peri-urban environment.

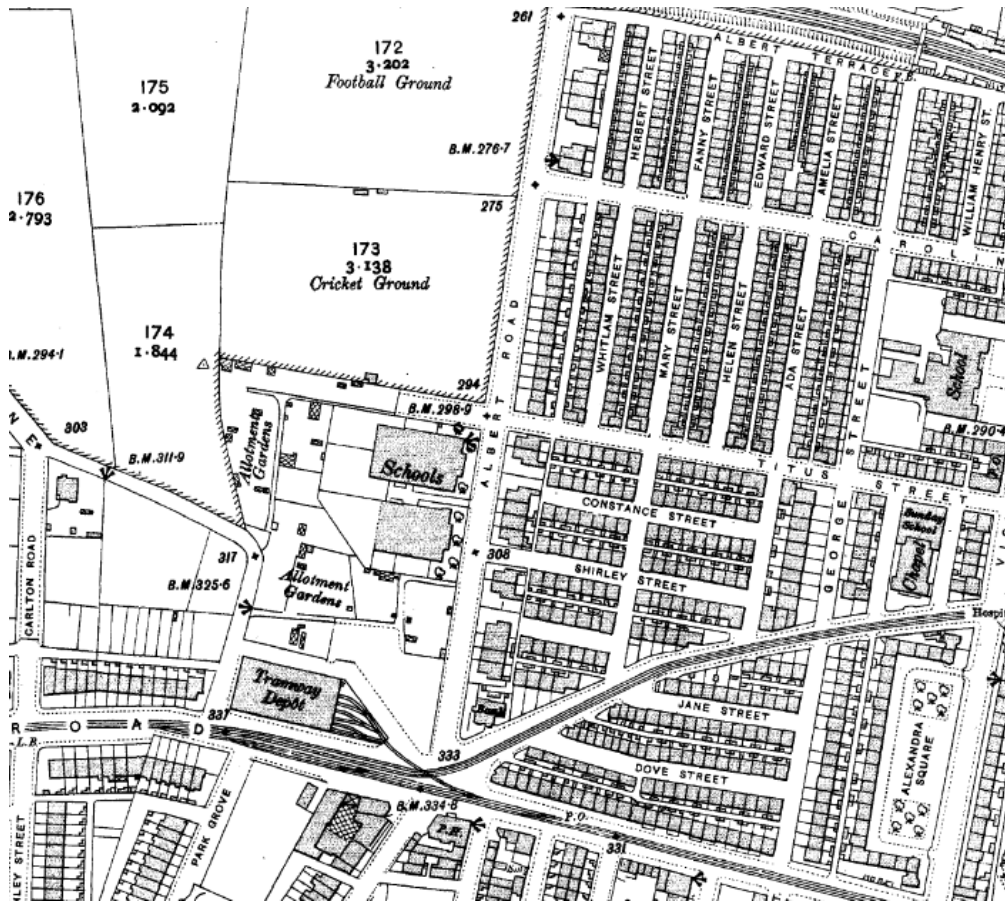


Figure 13: Albert Road Allotments and Playing Fields, 1890. 1:2 500 County Series 1st Revision [TIFF geospatial data], Scale 1:2500, Tiles: york-20107-2,york-20111-2, Updated: 30 November 2010, Historic, Using: EDINA



Figure 14: Plan Shewing the Town and Works at Saltaire, Lockwood & Mawson, 1870

There were initially three primary allotment sites at Saltaire, with plots extending along the banks of the canal next to the United Reform Church, across the railway lines on Caroline Street forming a garden fringe adjacent to the frontage of the mills and spanning the boundary of the village on the corner at Albert Road, adjacent to the Albert Road Board Schools and open fields. Additional allotment plots were added to the village in 1889 to meet 'an established want' in Shipley and part of Saltaire for allotment space.⁹⁵ These new plots were located between the technical Schools and the Shipley Board Schools on the land which had been used for the Royal Jubilee exhibition in 1887. Fragmentary glimpses into the materiality of these allotments can be found in James Burnley's description of the plots

Turning my eyes from the factory I notice a square tract of allotment gardens, let out to Saltarites as desirous of growing their own vegetables. The Gardens are fresh and bright; flowers blending sweetly with the more useful plants and roots which form so necessary a part of the British Workman's dinner. There is a profusion of peas, cabbages, rhubarb, gooseberries and other fruits and vegetables familiar in the month of the perambulating greengrocer, and the walks and beds are kept with scrupulous care and neatness... Here I have a view to the right of the north end of the factory buildings and to the left another series of allotment gardens; while beyond there lies as pretty a pastoral landscape as it to be met with in the West Riding.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ (1889) General Notices, *Shipley Times and Express*, April 13. British Newspaper Archive. Available at:

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [accessed 14/09/2020]

⁹⁶ Burnley, J. (1871) *Phases of Bradford Life: A Series of Pen and Ink Sketches*

Burnley's account demonstrates that allotments, like domestic flower gardens were an important part of the distinctive factory town landscape at Saltaire. The development of urban allotments was closely related to broader trends of housing reform in nineteenth century Britain which served to improve urban environments through access to pockets of 'nature'. The *Gardeners Chronicle* listed the value of allotments as 'increasing food, providing a refining occupation, serving to brighten people's lives, and stimulating a higher influence which would develop from contact with nature'⁹⁷ On the topic of labourers' allotments, *The Spectator* concluded that 'it is impossible to overstate the moral and physical benefit of a garden plot to a factory hand. In the thickly populated areas in mining and manufacturing districts...in such places allotments are specially valued'.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ (1887) 'Garden allotments and smallholdings', *The Gardener's Chronicle*, December 17. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=yjD65gSYr48C&pg=GBS.PP4&hl=en> [accessed 14/09/2020]

⁹⁸(1887) 'Labourers Allotments' *The Spectator*, 60. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=1BM-AQAIAAJ&hl=en> [accessed 14/09/2020]

Nineteenth-century industrial allotment represents a distinctive landscape of small growing spaces, not to enable self-sufficiency but to improve the quality of life in the towns (Crouch & Ward, 1988). Town gardens detached from houses have a long history, with medieval town plans and maps illustrating urban landscapes scattered with horticultural plots however the urban industrial allotment was a shift in phenomenon from earlier 'Guinea Gardens' (Crouch & Ward, 1988). The allotment sites at model industrial villages like Saltaire differ from sites developed on a more adhoc basis in existing towns as they were planned as part of a complete model environment. There is a close relationship between the development of allotments and horticultural societies and shows at model housing developments. For example, The Artizans, Labourers & General Dwellings Company organized flower shows at the Shaftesbury Park project built in 1875 in Battersea, a model housing project patronized by Lord Shaftesbury designed to be 'The Workman's' City (Willes, 2014). The horticultural shows at Shaftesbury Park, and comparable urban model developments, displayed plants that could be cultivated in a small garden or allotment.



Figure 15: View of allotments opposite Albert Road, c1905, Saltaire Collection, C2b-286d

Horticultural Societies and shows were active in Airedale before the completion of Saltaire, with a show recorded in Shipley in 1852.⁹⁹ The first horticultural show in Saltaire was held in 1862, as an addition to the annual pig show which was established in 1859.¹⁰⁰ The space of the horticultural show at Saltaire combined the display of edible plants cultivated on allotments with exhibition of fancy and exotic plants and flowers, which could be grown at home. At the first show in 1862, an extra prize was awarded for a 'single specimen of a greenhouse plant' grown in a cottage



Figure 16: Allotments in Saltaire, taken by Ruth Quinn, March 2018.

⁹⁹ 'Airedale Poultry, Floral, and Horticultural Show' (1855) *Leeds Intelligencer*. British Library Newspapers. 18 Aug. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/EN3227024144/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=683b0194> [accessed 14 Sep 2020].

¹⁰⁰ 'Saltaire Horticultural and Pig Show' (1862) *Leeds Mercury*, 19 Aug. British Library Newspapers. Available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201593126/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=203a187> [accessed 14 Sep 2020].

window. This was awarded to a Mrs Cawthra in a rare example of a women being named as a prize winner at a Saltaire Horticultural Society show. In 1875, a special prize was awarded to William Edmondson of Saltaire, for being the only competitor to display a fern case. The report of the 8th annual show in 1869 details the location of the exhibition, held in a field on the banks of the river Aire, near the mill attracted entries of a 'brilliant character' from both the cottagers and gentleman's classes. In addition to the display of plants the show featured a velocipede race, pony leaping and a donkey show. The event attracted a large crowd of spectators, with the quality of the character of the horticultural products in the cottagers' classes being remarked upon, alongside the stove and greenhouse plants, which were 'remarkably well grown'. Initially, competition in the cottager's class was limited to Saltaire and its immediate neighbourhood, and exhibitors were deemed to have displayed some 'first rate specimens, equal to anything in the show.'¹⁰¹ The cottagers' displays of fruit 'could not be too highly commended' with gooseberries and apples receiving special commendation. The members of the Saltaire Horticultural, Pig and Dog Society eventually opened their competition to 'all England gentleman's gardeners, nursery men, amateurs and cottagers' to exhibit plants, fruit and veg and to 'all working men in a five-mile radius' to display pigs.¹⁰²

The allotments formed part of wider foodscape which included sizeable dining room which provided 'a thousand or more of the working people with

¹⁰¹ "Agricultural and Floral Shows' (1869) *Bradford Observer*, 23 Aug.

British Library Newspapers. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3207826844/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=44edb2c1> [accessed 14 Sep 2020].

¹⁰² 'Agricultural, Floral and Horticultural Shows' (1875) *Leeds Mercury*, 10 August. British Library Newspapers. Available at:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/BB3201688841/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=724532de> [accessed 14/09/2020].

a good dinner at a trifling charge...fitted up in the style of a London coffee house'¹⁰³. This description from *Scribner's Magazine* most likely over-estimates actual capacity of the dining room, with other sources stating that capacity was more likely closer to 700, providing meals for 500 to 700 workers per day. However, we can ascertain that the Dining Room was an important element in the design of a model foodscape at Saltaire, which aimed to ensure workers had access to quality food. This principles behind the dining room were stated on a sign in the entrance to the building

Saltaire Dining Hall, For the Workpeople of Titus Salt, Sons and Co – conducted on the strictest business principles, with the full intention of making it self-supporting so that everyone may frequent it with a feeling of perfect independence. The articles supplied are all of the best quality and as it is the principle to have every article fresh daily, any broth or soup remaining over will be sold at the close of work every day at half price to be carried away for use at home.

To appeal to all, the Dining Room provided simple food and refreshment at a low cost:

Cup of tea 0 ½ d, Cup of coffee 0 ½d h, Bowl of porridge 1d, Bowl of Milk 1d, Bowl of soup 1d Bowl of broth 1d, Plate of beef 2d, Plate of pudding 1d Plate of potatoes 1d Plate of meat and potato pie 2d¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Barnard, C. (1876) 'The English Working Man's Home' *Scribner's Monthly Illustrated Magazine* for the People. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=A941AQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA8&hl=en> [accessed 09/09/2020]

¹⁰⁴ (1870) 'Home Missions' *The Church of England Magazine*, 69. Google Books. Available at:

In keeping with the ethos behind Saltaire, the Dining Room ostensibly provided the worker with independence, via running as a café for workers where subsidized meals were purchased with wages rather than as a charitable soup kitchen. These principles correlate with those of the co-operative movement, and the foundation of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Movement in 1844 (Pollard, 1966). However, if we contrast the numbers of workers who accessed the Dining Room versus the actual numbers employed in the mills many workers either returned home for their meal, brought food to work or sought refreshment elsewhere. The scale of Saltaire village meant that it was possible for many workers to return home between shifts to eat their meal, yet the practice of going home for meals was viewed as potential risk in the form of ‘ill cooked meals’ and ‘the miseries of the home’ leading workers to seek escape in pubs’¹⁰⁵ The Dining Room was another layer of the paternalistic controls at Saltaire which sought to regulate the environment to create moral and healthy conditions. The emphasis on freshness is significant. Food adulteration (especially of liquid milk) was a pressing issue in Victorian society as well as problems caused by hunger and malnutrition more broadly (Otter, 2006). As chapter one has discussed, “freshness’ had a powerful affective quality in nineteenth-century public health discourse, and the close-proximity to ‘fresh mountain air’ at Saltaire was an important element in the attempts to create a healthy town.

This idea of freshness generated a distinctive foodscape in the village in which allotment growing was championed as a means of supplementing the household economy and food provided by the Dining Room was similarly “fresh”. Waste was another important consideration within this environment, as waste was a potential source of putrefaction and disease. By selling the

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=PCcFAAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PA22&hl=en> [accessed 14/09/2020].

¹⁰⁵ (1870) ‘Home Missions’ *The Church of England Magazine*, 69.

remainder of soup and broth off cheaply at the end of the working day the paternalistic reach of the Dining room was extended, and waste was reduced. Cleanliness of the environment was a key consideration in Saltaire village, the firm reportedly employing scavengers to collect any rubbish from the streets¹⁰⁶. As has been explored earlier in this chapter, gardens and houses in the village were described by nineteenth-century commentators as models of cleanliness and tidiness. Much like gardening and the cultivation of flowers, tidiness had a powerful affective quality in nineteenth century approaches to housing reform. Otter (2006) has demonstrated how 'fresh' foodstuffs, such as milk occupied a powerful space in broader attitudes towards urban reform in the nineteenth century. At Saltaire, the 'fresh' food provided by the dining room and the space for the cultivation of fruit and vegetables was a further instrument in the spatialization of model improvement sought to promote a 'model diet' and provide allotments to sustain workers both bodily and mentally.

Horticultural activity, much like Angling was also actively patronised by the Salt's and other wealthy households, and their estate staff. Analysis of newspaper reports demonstrate that Milner field estate gardeners Mr John Booth and Mr T C Anderson had an active role as exhibitors and judges both at the Saltaire show and other horticultural exhibitions in Airedale. John Booth presided over judging entries in the vegetable class at the Bradford and Airedale Floral and Horticultural Show in 1873, where the Saltaire growers took home the bulk of the prizes in this class for their "remarkably well grown specimens"¹⁰⁷. In 1869 Booth joined Mr Nichol,

¹⁰⁶ (1874) 'The Saltaire Factory', *The Practical Magazine*, 3. Google

Books. Available at:

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=NckwAQAAMAAJ&pg=GBS.PA2&hl=en> [accessed 14/09/2020].

¹⁰⁷ 'Local and District' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, 11 Apr, 3. British Library

Newspapers. Available at:

gardener to Titus Salt Snr and Mr Lurimer, gardener to Edward Salt to judge the horticultural merit of exhibitors at the Saltaire Horticultural Show. Booth also sat on the panel at the Hunslet Floral and Agricultural Show in 1874 and the Keighley Horticultural Show in 1875. In the same month of that year 1875 Salt family and Saltaire gardeners exhibited at Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Great Horton Agricultural Society, with John Booth winning the chief prizes for fruit in the Gentleman's category and the corresponding prizes in the cottagers' classes were won by John Heaton and Samuel Baldwin of Saltaire. Mr J Nichol, gardener to Sir Titus Salt Bart, and Mr E Culley gardener, to Edward Salt were on the panel of judges for fruit and vegetables. At the Halifax Flower Shower in 1879 T C Anderson, gardener at Milner Field was present to judge the plants. Anderson was also on the panel for the floral division of the Horse and Floral Show at Hunslet, Leeds in 1881 and the Leeds Flower Show in 1885.

The private gardens of Edward Salt, Titus Salt Jnr and Charles Stead were significant elements in the network of horticultural space at Saltaire. The glass houses at these sites enabled the cultivation of model plant specimens which were circulated between estates and at local horticultural shows in the 'gentleman's classes.' Edward Salt's estate at Ferniehirst in Baildon was renowned for its gardens. The residence, set within a wooded dell on a 'woody eminence overlooking the town of Shipley' was visited by a columnist from the *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener* on November 11, 1880. The article described how the gardens, although not expansive, bore the results of attentive care. The quality of the orchids was remarked upon with it being deemed that:

No plants could be cleaner or in better health than the Cattleyas, Dendrobiums &c'. These orchids were 'evidently at

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208086523/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=098e9cdb> [accessed 14 Sep 2020].

home at Ferniehirst' with Mr Culley, the estate's gardener being 'able to do anything with them'¹⁰⁸

Mr Culley was one of the first cultivators to raise seedlings for the white Lapageria in a domestic garden environment, sharing his tips for effective cultivation with readers of *Cultivated Plants, their Propagation and Improvement* (1877). The focus of cleanliness of the orchids resonates with the description of the cleanness of the pigs on display at the Saltaire Pig show, discussed in the previous chapter. These fragmentary insights into gardening and environmental thought in Saltaire and the surrounding gardens and the relationality between ideas around cleanliness and vitality. Descriptions of the gardens at Ferniehirst and Milner Field also highlight the significance of glass house environments for the cultivation of exotic plant specimens. The increasing availability of horticultural glass for greenhouses (Taylor, 2017) and Wardian cases (Wells, 2018) enabled wealthy horticultural hobbyists to create sealed and controlled atmospheres amidst industrial towns and cities, enabling the cultivation of exotic plants introduced to the UK market through networks of colonial expansion (Ritvo, 1992). Much like the neighbouring Salt estates, the Knoll was a compact elite residence, offering romantic seclusion at a short distance from Saltaire. Stead was also keen orchid grower, and his gardens contained 'some of the choicest gems in the orchid world...under a few hundred feet of crystal roofing'¹⁰⁹ Stead's orchid houses were 'glazed with

¹⁰⁸ (1880) 'A week in Yorkshire', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 1. Biodiversity Heritage Library. Available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/55255246> [accessed 20/09/2020]

¹⁰⁹ (1871) 'Garden Memoranda', *The Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*. Biodiversity Heritage Library. Available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/26053380> [accessed 20/09/2020].

the best sheet glass, fourteen inches wide, to admit a maximum quantity of light'. Glass houses enabled the growth of exotic plants in a variety of garden spaces in urban and peri-urban settings, from orchids grown in carefully controlled estate greenhouses to humbler 'stove plants' grown in wardian cases in Saltaire terraces.

Crucially, the display of flowers, produce and plants was enmeshed with a growing sense of 'civic boosterism' in Bradford and other manufacturing towns (Stobart, 2004). Speaking at the Bradford Floricultural Society meeting Henry Forbes, a Bradford worsted manufacturer and local politician, remarked that 'Horticultural and Floricultural Shows brought some of the more beautiful of god's works directly into the centre of our towns and afforded those who resided entirely in towns with the opportunity of inspecting and examining flowers, fruits and vegetables urged gentlemen to 'elevate character of society' need for Bradford to be seen as superior to neighbouring towns of Leeds and Halifax'.¹¹⁰ The civic culture of allotment culture at Saltaire developed from this broader process of civic boosterism in the Bradford district, and can be seen as a way in which gardens and green spaces were a vital element in placemaking in the early years of development at Saltaire. Mitchell (1993) has traced the lineage of nineteenth-century paternalistic landscapes through 'romantic feudalism and a longing for sylvan settings that industrialism was destroying' (1993:115). However, at Saltaire allotments formed part of a distinctly urbanised industrial landscape and are an early example of how horticulture in marginal peri-urban spaces was envisioned as a means for urban

¹¹⁰ 'Bradford Horticultural and Floricultural Society's Exhibition' (1844) *Bradford Observer*, 26 September. British Library Newspapers. available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3207952801/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=book-mark-BNCN&xid=cd23ac9f> [accessed 20/10/2020].

improvement and model citizenship. An idea, which as the chapter will explore, has grown to have considerable traction in twentieth century notions of urban improvement and regeneration.

This historical geography of horticultural interaction at Saltaire demonstrates how the space of the horticultural show created a nexus between ‘cottagers’ and workers growing in their small gardens or on allotments and the elite garden landscapes of the Salt family homes. This network created connections between the gardening practices that took place in the homes of the Salt family and gardening in the village. The involvement of the Salt family and their gardeners in these shows further cemented their practices of philanthropy in the village. The shows formed sites of interaction between the gardens and allotments of the workers and the middle and upper classes. Furthermore, the space of the private estate garden formed the perfect stage for annual ‘treats and grand galas, in which patterns of deference and tradition that were intimately connected to the land were rematerialized as part of urban power structures and as part of an urbanizing society. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, Saltaire was bordered by elite private landscapes. Access to these estates for leisure activity, such as angling, was granted on a permissive basis or else by trespass. The garden spaces within these compact exurban villas were



Figure 17: Milner Field House and Gardens c1890, Saltaire Collection, 2018.36.6

another space at Saltaire in which industrial philanthropy was manifested through plants and garden landscapes.

Landed estates typically operated within a 'wider moral economy' of philanthropy and charitable giving which landed families hosted dinners for tenants, typically to mark a religious holiday or festival (McDonagh, 2017). The so called 'new urban squirearchy' operated within a markedly different set of social relations to the rural landed elite of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, due to the shifting power relations and emergent working-class consciousness in urban factory towns and cities (Garrard, 1995). Within this context, the 'moral economy' shifted to integrate within in new sites of improvement such as Mechanics Institutes, public parks and industrial model villages. The private gardens of the Saltaire elite provided a site for an alternative, more sober form of pageantry in which rural signifiers and traditions were re-materialized to connote stability and tradition with an urban industrial context. For example, Titus Salt presided over a movement to bring to an end the traditional festival of Bishops Blaize, patron saint of wool combers festival, with moral reformers in Bradford viewing the event as 'a relic of semi-barbarous times, and strangely out of character with the present' (Daniels, 1980). Salt sought to replace these more traditional festivals and events with rational recreation and the model village at Saltaire.

The Salt family were often portrayed in the nineteenth-century press as a benevolent capitalist. Much of the evidence of this benevolence manifested spatially, in the development of Saltaire and the spaces contained within the village laid out for improvement (such as the park, the institutes, the baths, churches and schools). Over the Whitsuntide holiday in 1884 the scholars, teachers and friends of the Baildon Parish Church and Mission schools were invited to the grounds at Ferniehirst for the annual holiday 'treat'. At the estate the scholars 'passed through the hot houses, vineries and fern houses & c, and the grounds, being in good condition, were a rare treat... three halts were made in the grounds and at the lodge for singing and ringing cheers have been sent for Mrs and Edward Salt and for the

“Gardener”.¹¹¹ In addition to providing spaces within and near Saltaire, a key part of the kind of philanthropy practiced by the Salts was the act of inviting the work force to attend special events outside of the village. Titus Salt snr hosted grand fetes for his workforce with the grounds of his estates. In September 1859 Salt organized an excursion from Saltaire to his estate at Methley Park. Special trains were organised to convey workers from Saltaire to the estate. Upon their arrival the workers, led by the Saltaire Brass Band and Drum and Fife band processed along the estate drive, along ‘a fine avenue of Elm and Chestnut. After a tour of the mansion, the guests were guided through the gardens and ‘brilliant beds of verbenas, geraniums and other flowers) with guides situated throughout ‘to guide their movements’. The rest of the day’s festivities took place in the estate park, where guests where ‘permitted to roam until the important hour of dinner’. To accommodate the workers and Salt’s guests (estimated to number 3200 people) a tent was erected within the ground, decorated with ‘evergreens and ‘choice exotics and green house plants. After the meal, Salt addressed his guests stating that ‘he hoped that they would now go into the park and enjoy themselves and that he trusted this would not be their last meeting’¹¹². Following these closing remarks, the guests dispersed back into the park for various games and dances before departing for Saltaire.¹¹³

¹¹¹ ‘The Holidays’ (1884) *The Shipley and Saltaire Times*, June 7. British Newspaper Archive. Available at: <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> [accessed 14/10/2020].

¹¹² ‘Saltaire Anniversary Fete at Methley Park’ (1859) *Bradford Observer*, September 5, The British Newspaper Archive. Available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208034866/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=19412681> [accessed 12/10/2020].

This section has explored how allotments and the space of the horticultural show formed an important nexus of model interaction within the distinctly peri-urban environment of Saltaire. The allotments in the village provided space for the cultivation of fruit and vegetables near to the mill and housing in the village. As such, the allotments alongside the dining room can be considered as part of a wider model foodscape, which formed an important connection between the paternalistic power structures of the village and the everyday life of the town. Of course, model design did not automatically mean 'model' conduct. Transgressive horticultural relations are illustrated through an incident in which William Wright Sagar, Butcher and William Wheelhouse, Wool sorter were charged with stealing two cabbages from the allotment of George Henry Bolton. Indeed, the report reveals a broader trend of allotment theft:

During the months of September and October the prosecutor had a quantity of vegetables stolen from his garden, and he was unable to obtain any information as to who he was indebted for the daily disappearance of his vegetables.¹¹⁴

The case was dismissed by the magistrates for not containing a 'particle of evidence'. However, the incident does demonstrate that social relations on the Saltaire allotments were not harmonious. The report of the alleged cabbage theft also reveals that a Mr Salt (most like Titus Jnr) was involved in the day-to-day administration of the allotment plots. This illustrates the influence that the family had in overseeing horticultural space in the village.¹¹⁵ As this section has demonstrated, flowers and gardening formed an important part of spatialisation of philanthropy of Saltaire. This practice

¹¹⁴ 'Singular charge against a local tradesman' (1878) *The Shipley and Saltaire Times*, October 26. The British Newspaper Archive. Available at: www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/ [accessed 10/10/2020].

was not rooted in a 'rustic' tradition harking back to an idealised rural time. Instead, the display of plants at horticultural show and works outings to estate gardens formed a significant part of industrial relations on the peri-urban fringe at Saltaire.

6.4 Saltaire Park & outdoor recreation in the village.

Nineteenth-century Industrial model villages were deeply networked spaces, with linkages between institutional spaces, the home and outdoor leisure intertwining to create an improved environment for work, domesticity. Karen Jones has emphasised how the development of urban parks in the mid-nineteenth century, whilst grounded in romantic rural ideals, represent the genesis of a modern approach to city planning which developed alongside ideas around hygiene, healthy ventilation and the importance of space and flow (Jones, 2018). Nineteenth century parks and playgrounds can be understood as hybrid spaces, offering seclusion from the built environment whilst also been enmeshed with the materiality of factories, streets and urban industrial life. At Saltaire, the development of the park was closely related to the organisation of leisure activities at the institute and in many ways the Park can be seen as an outdoor institute, designed to provide moral, healthy and instructive recreation for the people of Saltaire. As McFarlane and Anderson (2011) has demonstrated, adopting an assemblage approach to the study of urban space can yield fresh insights on how urban actors and spaces when brought together yield more than the sum of their parts. By considering the park at Saltaire as part of a dynamic assemblage, this next section will explore how the park and wider landscape environment at Saltaire can be considered in relationship to the urban built environment of the factory and institute.

Saltaire Park (now known as Robert's Park) was one of the final layers in designed garden landscape at Saltaire, with work starting on the park in 1870. The commission for the park was undertaken by the renowned landscape designer, William Gay. On Saltaire Park, the *United Methodists Free Churches Magazine* remarked that:

Parks have become a necessity of large towns, where the wilderness of stone or bricks shuts out every glimpse of nature, and treads down every blade of grass. Saltaire is provided with a park, one of the most beautiful in the country. It is not very large, covering only fourteen or fifteen acres, but its position, sloping down the hill into a valley of very great natural beauty, with the shining river running at its lower edge, and a background of undulating hills covered with dense wood and variegated foliage, and crowned with fine houses -which look like guardian castles, added to the exquisiteness with which it is laid out, and the care and expense with which it is kept all tend to make it like a gleam of paradise.¹¹⁶

As this description of Saltaire Park demonstrates, by the 1870s, parks were increasingly viewed as necessary parts of towns and cities. At Saltaire, the Park was designed to maximise the aesthetic appeal of the valley in which it is situated in, and thus create a desirable residential neighbourhood. Saltaire was built in a peri-urban setting, close to popular open-air beauty spots which could be used for recreation, it was still deemed necessary to provide a park to complete the model function of the town. As such Saltaire Park should be viewed as a distinctive space within the model village assemblage at Saltaire. Crucially the park occupies land on the edge of the village and visually blends the urban industrial environment of the town with the view of the landscape beyond.

The Leeds Liverpool Canal and the River Aire effectively form a green corridor which runs through Saltaire Park connecting the urban centre of the village with the surrounding countryside and network of towns along the

¹¹⁶ Withington, J.S (1878) 'Half an Hour at Saltaire, *The United Methodist Free Churches Magazine*. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=jgUFAAAAQAAJ&pg=GBS.PR14&hl=en> [accessed 20/10/2020].

Aire valley. Although these corridors were not planned to the same extent as the Canalside walks in contemporaneous new industrial towns in the USA, such as Lowell (Malone & Parrott, 1998) the green valley setting offered both natural beauty and advantageous transport corridors, as described by the engineer William Fairburn, who designed Salts Mill:

The Saltaire mills are situated in one of the most beautiful parts of the romantic valley of the Aire. The site has been selected with uncommon judgement as regards its fitness for economical workings of a great manufacturing establishment. The estate is bounded by highways and railways which penetrate to the very centre of the buildings and is intersected by both river and canal. Admirable water is obtained for the use of the steam engines, and for the different processes of the manufacture. By the distance of the mills from the smoky and cloudy atmosphere of a large town, unobstructed and good light is secured; whilst both by land and water direct communication is gained for the importation of coal and all other raw produce.¹¹⁷

Saltaire has been represented as being both removed from and a catalyst for industrial development, and this duality is reflected in the design of the park. Fairburn acknowledged that 'the estate upon which Saltaire is built will gradually develop itself to a considerable extent'. *The Handbook for Tourists in Yorkshire* (1891) described Saltaire as a 'monster creation', albeit one which was a great wonder. As Fairburn's description illustrates, the beautiful valley in which the park is nestled in, is very much part of the

¹¹⁷ Fairburn, W. (1854) *On the Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building Purposes*. London: John Weale. Google Books. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=midWAAAACAAJ&hl=en>

[accessed 15/10/2020].

industrial landscape. The river Aire flows through the park, and the weir, which dates from around the same period as the mills (*Aire Valley Trust*, 2021). Weirs or dams were constructed across rivers in textile manufacturing districts to divert significant amounts of water for usage in the mills. Although very much a vestige of industrialism, the weir at Saltaire Park was viewed as creating a pleasing affect, as reported by the Bradford Observer.

The stretch of river which is visible to the west of the bridge has its effect considerably enhanced by two weirs – a broad foaming one which froths and roars in the distance and seems to speak of an illimitable force of water beyond and a quiet series of dam stones which slope down underneath the bridge and allow the river to tumble over them in a manner calculated to fill the poets mind with no end of smiles and pretty thoughts fit for versicles.¹¹⁸

As discussed earlier in this thesis, Foucault's concept of heterotopia has been used to unpack the distinctive, and often complex hybridity of moral and model usages of landscape in the nineteenth century (Hetherington, 2002; Chance, 2017). On the imaginative dimensions of heterotopia, Johnson (2013) has characterized how a significant characteristic of the idea of what he describes as 'tangible heterotopias' is what Foucault referred to as emplacement. Emplacement was used by Foucault to explore the creation of dream like spaces, which are firmly connected to and mirror the outside world (Johnson, 2013). The Park at Saltaire is an idealised

¹¹⁸ 'Local Scenes and Characters' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, 29 May.

British Library Newspapers. available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3209555933/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=a7a0623e> [accessed 26/09/2020].

space which conjured up rich romantic literary associations in the descriptions of Victorian visitors who described the park as a space apart from polluted industrial towns. However, the design and setting of Saltaire Park is firmly rooted in and connected to the outside world of the factory. It is this connection between the actual and the imagined which transforms the reception of the mill and the industrial function of the village into something that is model, romantic and beautiful. The park therefore, functioned as an important means of integrating a greensward into the high density development of the town, so that the development remained distinct from the 'evils' in which the town had been built in response to by creating a new kind of hybrid landscape in which nature in the form the river, trees and park planting (in addition to domestic garden space and allotments) was integrated into the wider urban industrial assemblage, for both utility and beauty.

How the urban park in Britain emerged out of the social relations created by capitalism has been widely discussed (Domosh, 1996; Gabriel, 2011; Carpenter, 2013). The concept of emplacement can be utilised to understand how Saltaire Park was designed to mirror the industrial environment as part of a beautiful landscape rather than the sea of endless brick described by the *Methodist Magazine*. The model function of Saltaire therefore was dependent on the integration of small green spaces into the village. These green spaces, alongside the classical, gothic and Italianate architecture of the village created a space which was remarked upon by nineteenth-century visitors in reference to literary landscapes, rather than the gritty realities of an industrial town. Saltaire Park is adjacent to the mills, with the central promenade in the park providing sweeping views of the massive factory complex. Salts Mill was planned to be beautiful, designed in a 'roughly romantic style' the various warehouses and building which make up the factory feature a range of architectural ornamentation, including the construction of a Venetian campanile to mask the chimney at the 'new mill' (Lord, 1973). As chapter one in this thesis has discussed, the concentrated smoke and overcrowding of cities like Bradford became a clarion call for urban improvement. However, at the same time, industrial

buildings like factories and mills became a new kind of 'ideal landscape' (Stibral & Faktorová, 2020). The landscape of Saltaire Park therefore, was received as an environment that was not part the wider industrial landscape of the Bradford district but instead as part of beautiful romantic landscape which set alongside the new sanitary town of Saltaire.

When reporting on the development of the park in 1870, the *Leeds Mercury* described the development using romantic imagery describing how 'in the hackneyed words of Keats a thing of beauty and a joy forever for the inhabitants of Saltaire and the neighbourhood', and the *Bradford Observer* commented that plants and flowers could thrive as if they were "fifty miles from the nearest manufacturing town". In order to 'mirror' the industrial landscape in an ideal form, the designed landscape at Saltaire masked certain features. This was achieved architecturally via ornamentation and façades and through green landscaping in the park. Landscape can be understood as veils or 'palimpsests' which maintain elite orderings of the world and mask the messy realities and complexities of life (Wylie, 2007: 69). This aesthetic 'masking' of an industrial landscape is evident in the nineteenth-century descriptions of Saltaire Park explored in this chapter, through which the park is perceived as a literary landscape, separate from the industrial town. As the previous chapter has argued, it is important to critically examine the 'realities' (Wylie, 2007) behind aesthetic understandings of landscape 'improvement' at Saltaire in order challenge contemporary heritage planning processes that masks the complexity of land ownership and change through considering 'picturesque' landscape views and estate parkland as the 'natural order of things'. As such it is also important to critically understand how Saltaire Park functioned to 'mask' or 'soften' the industrial landscape at Saltaire, so that the village appeared separate from the heavily industrialised landscape of the Aire Valley. However, these linkages between the industrialisation and usage of landscape are a central part of the historical geography of Saltaire. The relationality between factory life and Saltaire Park can be more critically understood through the spatialisation of sport and outdoor activities within the village.

Team sports and physical recreation in Victorian Britain was closely related with emergent ideas about healthy bodies, morality and national identity, as well as broader ideas about model ways of living (Heggie, 2016). Saltaire Park was landscaped to promote walking, boating and certain sporting games in beautiful surroundings, as described by the Bradford Observer in 1871 and 1873:

The greens and croquet grounds are cut in elegant designs and are approached by gracefully winding walks; the intervals being beautified with shrubs and flowers. At either end of the park and in the centre at the north extremity there is a large spruce looking alcove. There are also, happily, a good number of trees which lend much beauty to the generally charming effect, the only regret being that the trees are not more numerous...altogether, the park, surrounded by charming scenery of infinite variety is beautiful wide and delightfully airy and cannot fail, we should think, to be felt as a great boon by the fortunate inhabitants of Saltaire.¹¹⁹

'Saltaire Park with its fourteen acres of beautifully laid out lawns, its asphalted walks, its pavilion and terraces, its trees and greenery, its cricket and croquet grounds, and its man-of-war guns, forms a really picturesque commencement to this landscape, and looks especially delightful this afternoon with a few of the non-working residents promenading and enjoying themselves in it, some walking by the river's edge, watching

¹¹⁹ 'Saltaire: the Recreation Park ' (1871) *Bradford Observer*, 23 March.

British Library Newspapers. Available At:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3208084603/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=8623aff5> [accessed 14/09/2020].

the boats slowly glide up and down the placid waters, others disporting themselves to the spaces devoted to the inspiring amusements of cricket and croquet.¹²⁰

As Qviström (2013a) has argued, rurality is often framed as the natural or preferred status of a landscape. As such, parks and commons within urban and peri-urban environments are often framed as being a 'return to nature' linking back to an environment as it was in a less industrialised time. However, the distinctive sporting and recreational amenities provided by nineteenth-century parks represented a shift in sporting activity and recreation in tandem with urbanism. Spatially, the development of sporting landscapes, such as football and cricket pitches attached to parks became a prominent feature of nineteenth-century urban and peri-urban landscapes, and the 'preferred' leisure structures of towns. The provision of sporting facilities at factories and patronage of teams by industrialists became a significance strand of nineteenth-century philanthropy and corporate culture (Chance, 2012). As Vamplew (2016) has demonstrated, there are significant differences between rural industrial sports, such as competitive ploughing, and workplace sports such as company football teams. This difference can be perceived spatially with playing fields, stadiums and amenities for mass usage emerging as an urban phenomenon by the 1870s. At Saltaire the provision of sporting facilities close to the mill and village was a necessary part of promoting health and community within a compact industrial society. As well as providing a beautiful environment, open space for sport in Saltaire was needed to counter-balance the high density of the village. The Park at Saltaire therefore reflects urban industrial pressures on land use and the broader

¹²⁰ 'Local Scenes and Characters.' (1873) *Bradford Observer*, 29 May, British Library Newspapers. Available at: link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3209555933/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=a7a0623e [accessed 14/09/2020]

materiality of industrial sport in the nineteenth century, a practice which also shaped landscapes close to factories and houses and created a distinctive peri-urban space that remains an important environment within UK towns and cities.

When reporting on the development of Saltaire Park, *Harper's Magazine* reported that 'a large section of the park is set apart for 'cricket. That national game being quite as much as a necessity as the part itself'.¹²¹ (1872: 44). The Saltaire Cricket Club was formed by the Saltaire Club and Institute on March 1st, 1871. Charles Stead was elected president of the club with Titus Salt Jnr also serving on the committee. The club was founded with the specific purpose of playing in the Saltaire Park. Much like the Saltaire Horticultural Society, Saltaire Cricket Club hosted galas in the park to raise money for the club, and to draw in spectators. In June 1874, the club's gala (in which Saltaire Cricket Club played against the neighbouring team of Bingley), 'drew together a large assemblage, those not being cricket inclined amusing themselves with croquet and bowls, in promenading the grand terrace, or in listening to the band, which occupied the central elevation over the saloon'.¹²² In addition to the cricket match, the gala also featured a hurdle race, flat race, and high pole jump – open to residents residing within two miles of Saltaire. Cricket, much like

¹²¹ Towle, G.M. (1872) 'Saltaire and its Founder' (1872) *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. *Google Books*. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=E0tOAQAAMAAJ&num=11&printsec=frontcover> [accessed 28th August 2020].

¹²² 'Cricket' (1874) *Bradford Observer*, 23 June. British Library Newspapers available at: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/R3207907760/BNCN?u=unihull&sid=bookmark-BNCN&xid=081cc6a2> [accessed 14 Sep 2020]

horticulture, was instrumentalized to organise rational recreation in the newly created park and further support civic pride within the village.

Pendleton (2015) has demonstrated how sporting culture in Bradford was shaped by patterns of industrialization and the proliferation of small cricket clubs in the district. The development of cricket in Saltaire can be located within a broader trajectory of popular sport and athleticism as form of outdoor recreation for an urbanizing society. Towards the close of the nineteenth-century, the call for parks was also joined with a call for open air play grounds and sporting facilities as the bodily fitness of urban populations became a concern for campaigners such as Lord Brabazon, founder and chairman of the Metropolitan Parks and Playgrounds Association in London (Brown, 2013). Within the context of Bradford, sport, particularly cricket, has a close relationship with industrialization. Warehouses in 'Little Germany (a commercial district in Bradford City Centre developed by prominent German business owners) established competitive sporting teams in the 1850s, prior to the establishment of factory clubs at Saltaire and at Lister Mills in Manningham. It is significant that development of Saltaire Park coincided with the establishment of the cricket club, signalling that the development was very much designed as a space for sporting activity in keeping with the improving ideals of the town. Indeed, the *Congregationalist* commented on the relationship between physical activity and the health of factory children in Saltaire, stating that:

Into everything vigour is thrown. It was delightful to see the school of art, the reading room and gymnasium thronged. What advantages have the youngsters of Saltaire over those of the manufacturing towns! The gymnasium is the most popular of the institutions. This is a good sign. What these children of toil need is not to have their brains wearied with incessant study, but to have ample opportunity for physical recreation... In the noble park on the other side of the river in summer may be seen numbers engaged in cricket, tennis or football, what a boon is that place to the people! What a contrast such a place for

recreation presents to the muddy, grassless honey combed places in around Bradford where children play.¹²³

It is significant the columnist in the *Congregationalist* drew parallels between the provision of the Saltaire Park, institute and the wellbeing of children. The account resonates with the campaigning of organisations such as the MPPA and foreshadows shifts in park design which took place in the twentieth century to provide more space for playing fields and sporting apparatus (Chance, 2012). Saltaire Park can be seen as an example of how nineteenth-century parks were instrumentalized by reformers to be an essential part of a future orientated model of urbanism, though which romantic picturesque 'nature' was embedded into town and city fabrics to create model and sanitary environments. The importance of cricket and approved sporting games within the Park resonates with Jones work on urban vitality and how Victorian urban spaces became understood as living assemblages, 'arterial networks to pump air and life into neighbourhoods' (Jones, 2018, pp.50) and provide pocket of space for healthy sporting activities that built civic pride and community, and within organisations through the formation of sporting teams and leisure clubs.

Specialist societies were a defining feature of nineteenth-century urban leisure culture, and the study of naturalism and botany was another means in which interactions with nature were rematerialized within an urbanizing context. The West Riding in particular, was 'bristling' with amateur naturalists (Alberti, 2002). Much like angling, natural history was viewed as a moral and healthy activity, providing people who lived in the towns the opportunity to get out of the smoke and into the open air. In Bradford, natural science was part of an emergent educational landscape supported by the establishment of new institutes such as the Yorkshire College and

¹²³ 'Saltaire' (1876) *The Congregationalist*, 5. Google Books. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Congregationalist/nxDKD2a3oZoC?hl=en&gbpv=1 [accessed 15/09/2020].

working men's institutes. The reports of the Yorkshire Naturalist Union groups, published in the society's Journal, *Transactions of the Yorkshire Natural Union* provide fragmentary insights into the biodiversity of the landscapes that surround Saltaire, and insight into how naturalists classified, experienced and understood the land. The life of one West Yorkshire Naturalist in particular, H.T.S. Soppitt provides an insight into how the space of the garden, park and hinterlands surrounding Saltaire became sites for the production of scientific knowledge.

H.T.S. Soppitt (1859–1899) was a Bradford officer for the Yorkshire Naturalist Union and regularly conducted field work in Saltaire, where he lived. Soppitt was a prolific naturalist of some note for his work on the flora and fungi of West Yorkshire. He worked alongside other prominent local naturalists such as Needham of Hebden Bridge, whose collections now make up significant holdings in Leeds City Museum (Baker, 2016). Like many keen working-class naturalists, Soppitt did not earn a living through his scientific endeavour. Soppitt worked as a drysalter and later as a druggist in a chemist's store and his life was described as one of hardship and struggle.¹²⁴ His passion for naturalism, was squeezed into summer evenings and the early hours before work commenced. According to the obituary written in his memory, Soppitt, alongside Mr West (president of the BNU) would go out before breakfast on long walks 'discovering nature's treasures' and surveying the local flora fauna 'until the majority of our native species were as familiar to him as the common daisy is to an ordinary observer'. West described Soppitt as a man who was 'devoid of personal jealousy and ever free to impart the information he possessed to others...In truth to be in the open field with him under the blue sky was to receive a liberal education...He was a naturalist in head and in heart on the hills and

¹²⁴ 'In Memoriam- Henry Thomas Soppitt', (1899) *The Naturalist*, Biodiversity Heritage Library. Available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/35028529> [accessed 15/09/2022]

in the meadows and woods he was in full sympathy with his surroundings” (*The Naturalist*, 1899: 158). Soppitt’s dedication to naturalism and his commitment to exploring the natural world in his scant free time earned him the status of a model citizen amongst his peers, and his involvement with the Bradford Naturalists Union provides an insight into the relationship between the private garden and the local landscape environment.

The reports published by Soppitt and his colleagues in the Bradford Naturalists Society provide an insight into a world of sensory interaction, in which the very materiality of the landscape was carefully noted and observed. The everyday world of the changing of seasons and weather was transformed into something to be quantified, observed and disseminated as evidence of the uniqueness and character of the natural environment in the region. Soppitt would experiment in his own home and recorded how he:

Scattered a quantity of spores of Puccinia Mentha upon mint plants that were just coming up (inside). In a few weeks each plant was affected with Eucidium Menta. I took the (Ecidia spores) and scattered them on the mint plants in my garden. Every plant was affected and so was my neighbours.¹²⁵

As Soppitt’s experiments demonstrate, practice of nineteenth-century naturalism opened a world of observation at a microscale – which could take place within the private home at garden. The wider environment in Saltaire also provided fertile ground for observation of entomology, with ‘a very fine female specimen of the rather scare butterfly *Colias Edusa* was taken in a cornfield opposite Saltaire Park which was presented to the society’, and Sam Hainsworth, of Dove Street Saltaire reporting that a friend

¹²⁵ Soppitt, H, (1883) ‘Mycological Observations’ *Hardwicke’s Science Gossip*, Biodiversity Heritage Library. Available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/18288#page/272/mode/1up> [accessed 15/09/2020]

had brought him a specimen of *Acheronita Atropos* that had been found on a street in Saltaire.¹²⁶ These fragmentary accounts of nineteenth-century naturalism in Saltaire provide a fleeting glimpse into how actors perceived the natural world as part of the urban fabric of Saltaire village, as well as the peri-urban hinterland beyond.

Soppitt published much of his work and for fifteen years contributed weekly to the Naturalist's column of the *Bradford Observer*, penning articles on Rural Walks Around Bradford, the Flora of the Bradford District and a list of five hundred and fifty flowering plants and ferns found within a radius of the city. Whilst in Saltaire Soppitt organized a series of botanical classes for the public and contributed to the *Young Naturalist*, publishing accounts of excursions such as a ramble from Saltaire to Grassington to collect conchology specimens and observations of specimens found at Shipley Glen. On 14th July 1875, the annual meeting of Yorkshire Naturalist Union, which brought together the Naturalists groups active across the region, was held in Saltaire. One hundred and fifty people attended the meeting, commencing the day with excursions from Saltaire to Shipley Glen and Rombalds Moor before returning to the village for tea in the Saltaire Dining Room and the annual general meetings, held in the institute. In addition to communicating new discoveries in reports, specimens were displayed and described at meetings. These meetings provided space for naturalists, living in urban towns to come together in at mechanics institutes, churches and the nascent space of the museum and bring their findings from the field into the town in order to disseminate knowledge. In Saltaire, the institute provided a physical space in which Soppitt, and his colleagues could describe the rambles that they had make in the district and display

¹²⁶ Hainsworth, S. (1903) 'Captures and Field Notes' *The Entomologist*, Biodiversity Heritage Library. Available at: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/81632#page/229/mode/1up> [accessed 15/09/2020]

interesting specimens, further embedding plants and observation of nature into the improving activities and spaces within the village.

When brought together the indoor and outdoor improving spaces of Saltaire were viewed as a realization of an ideal urban environment as described by the *Saturday Magazine*:

Still the place (Saltaire) goes far to realize Dr Richardson's city of health and serves to obliterate the old reproach that employers looked on employees as mere human mechanism, not as possessing hearts and souls but simply "hands". Less than a mile from Shipley is Saltaire. Of the processes carried in the factory, which covers twelve acres and where eighteen miles of cloth a day can be made we can say nothing, but of the town the chapels, the baths, the almshouses, the infirmaries, the schools, the clubs, the institute and Saltaire Park, it has been well remarked that the whole is the realisation of a great idea...no finer picture could be imagined by the dreamer would could think of a probably future of progress for mankind than that of city where education is open to every child where labour is respected where intemperance is banished where the graces of life and the higher intellectual pleasures are open to the enjoyment of all...such is Saltaire.¹²⁷

It is significant that Saltaire was viewed as a realisation of Benjamin Ward Richardson's 1875 plan for 'Hygeia' a utopian urban sanitary design for an ideal urban environment (Ramos, 2020). Like at Saltaire, the plan for Hygeia envisioned a compact urban environment with well-ventilated

¹²⁷ (1879) 'Salt' *The Saturday Magazine*, 7th December. Google Books.

Available at:

https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Saturday_Magazine/_1oAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1 [accessed 2/10/2020]

buildings, open green spaces and municipal improving buildings such as public baths and library facilities. In her work on spatial rationality, Huxley (2013) has described Hygeia as 'dispositional spatial rationality' an example of how the drawing boundaries problematises and solves disorder (2013: 197). Hygeia is a manifestation of mid-Victorian spatial rationalities. A model sanitary environment was imagined through the proximity of countryside to town, with airflow through buildings bringing freshness to the town. However, in imagined spatial rationalities such as Richardson's plan the interfacial landscapes beyond the ideal city are without character, a land defined in loose terms of amenity. However, at Saltaire the landscapes that surround the town are rich with associations, history and culture which have subsequently become enmeshed in the model appeal of the site. The comparison between Hygeia and Saltaire as it also demonstrates how mid-Victorian ideals around health and wellbeing were organised spatially. Rather than as a predecessor to the garden city, Saltaire represents the realisation of the nineteenth century factory town. Whilst there are close relationships between the two models, the chapter has drawn attention to the hygienic, paternalistic and didactic uses of garden landscapes in an industrial environment, where work at leisure took place in the shadow of the mill. In order to transform the urban industrial environment at Saltaire into an 'improved' and model space greenery was brought into the high-density streets, and outdoor leisure pursuits intersected with the rhythm of life in a factory town through education and organised sports, naturalist and horticultural societies.

This account of Saltaire demonstrates how it was the bringing together of different but interrelated parts that created a distinctive model assemblage at Saltaire. Although the garden and park spaces in the village are relatively small, this chapter has demonstrated that they were an essential part of the model environment. These spaces were deeply interlinked with the other model institutions in Saltaire (the home, the institute, churches and chapels). As the previous chapters have explored, the landscapes which surround Saltaire formed an important part in the assemblage of the nineteenth-century model village environment. In relation to gardens and

parks, the wooded backdrop of Baildon hill was assembled into romantic place narratives which praised the parks natural beauty and leisure appeal. The suburban gardens of the Salt family and mill managers were also linked growing activities in the village through the network of the horticultural show, which provided a vehicle for the promotion of middle-class domestic ideals on a microscale within the terraced houses, small garden plots and allotment of Saltaire.

Of course, the way in which Saltaire residents used these spaces may have not always reflected the moralistic zeal reflected in the accounts this chapter has explored. The fragmentary material relating to garden and park landscape in nineteenth century Saltaire make it difficult to construct alternative geographies of landscape use in the village. However, this chapter has demonstrated that these spaces were not always as harmonious as often suggested. It is also important to remember the governmentality of garden and park spaces in the village, these spaces were highly mediated by rules and regulations as to promote moral behaviour. Access to garden and park landscapes within nineteenth century Saltaire was highly mediated, and relations between residents and the spaces of their gardens and public open space was shaped by prominent institutions in the village and ultimately by the Salt family.

Today, Saltaire Park continues to be managed as a park, with formal planting and restored park buildings in reflecting William Gay's original design. Karen Jones has analysed how the design and prescribed usage of nineteenth-century urban parks were developed as part of wider approaches to planning/reforming urban environments which drew on bodily understandings of health, such as a circulation and flow (Jones, 2018). Within these new 'improved' environments parks were designed to bring ventilation and 'county air' into the streets and provide a site for bodily and mental refreshment. Importantly, parks, green landscaping and 'airy' streets where the material components that gave model factory villages a model status, by mitigating against the effects of pollution and overcrowding. At Saltaire, the Park is a designed 'natural' environment which has been landscaped to compliment the factory and the surrounding

landscape, uniting the two environments. The park also provides a green way into the green space beyond the village, and links Saltaire visually to the surrounding hillside, allowing for pleasant views.

The activities of nineteenth-century botanists provide us with a valuable insight into how the 'more than human' worlds of plants, insects and fungi were enmeshed with the human designed worlds of streets, park and gardens. Naturalism was a pastime which connected the Saltaire naturalists to their home and garden, street and wider landscape beyond the village - offering a different kind of relationship with the landscape based on emergent ideas about science and the classification of the natural world. Much like the space of the horticultural show, the activities of the Bradford Naturalist Union can be understood as a means of rematerializing nature within the industrial city, through exhibitions, lectures and meetings. It is significant that Saltaire Institute provided a hub for Yorkshire naturalists to meet and share their findings, as it demonstrates another way in which environmental knowledge was produced at Saltaire. The formation of special interest societies in Saltaire, encouraged by the formation of the institute, also contributed to the production of place knowledge and civic culture at Saltaire. The activities of the BNU and Saltaire naturalists can be viewed as part of wider process of designation of the environment at Saltaire as being a model environment, in which useful knowledge about the world was produced. Green spaces within the village were more than 'just' gardens, they were also therapeutic landscapes, outdoor gymnasiums, sites of scientific study, exhibition and food production which were interlinked with the wider sanitary and model functions of Saltaire village as a distinctive example of a mid-nineteenth century model of what a future industrial urban district might look like.

6.5 Garden and Park Heritage at Saltaire.

Given the emphasis Desilvey and Harrison (2020) place on assembling heritage futures, it is important to trace how landscapes have been embedded in the processes of future making in the period since Saltaire was 'carved out of the moor side'. The final section of this chapter will now turn to explore how garden and park landscapes in Saltaire have been

incorporated into heritage narratives at the site whilst also being viewed, once again, as sites of future making. This final section will explore how the usage of parks and gardens in Saltaire as heritage reproduce some the nineteenth century ideals about garden space that have been explored in this chapter. Increasingly, scholars in critical heritage studies have been concerned with research questions around ‘heritage futures’ and in particular, shifting conservation practices of landscapes within the context of climate change (Hall et al., 2016). Following widespread neglect in the late twentieth century. Nineteenth Century Public Parks have been the subject of calls for restoration and improvement (Lambert & Lovie, 2006). This resurgence of interest in public parks in the late 1990s and early 2000s was motivated by public health concerns, which in some respects reflected the concerns of the nineteenth-century sanitarians who campaigned for their establishment (Carpenter, 2013). Saltaire Park underwent a significant restoration project in 2010, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (now known as the National Lottery Heritage Fund). The restoration of the park focused on bringing back the ‘former glory’ of both landscaping, paths and buildings – the bandstand and pavilions (Casey Group, 2021). Alongside resonances with the past, garden and green spaces in Saltaire have also been positioned as part of solutions to biodiversity loss caused by climate change. This duality between past and future preservation is engrained in Saltaire as a place which was designed around creating an environment for the future, whilst also being grounded in the idea of stability and tradition developed through industrial paternalist typologies. Considering parks and gardens at Saltaire as spaces which are emergent and relational village provides a way to consider their heritage beyond the lens of fixity and essentialism expressed through the WHS framework.

Much of Saltaire’s heritage rests upon the site’s architectural and human significance, however as this thesis demonstrates, landscape, gardens and understandings of nature are a significant element in the model environment at Saltaire. ‘Nature’ (understood as plants, and insects) continues to be embedded in processes of creating environment and

meaning at Saltaire and in the surrounding area. As Hoskins (2015) has established, archival 'fragments' of everyday encounters with nature can help to understand the industrial past outside of the narrow parameters in which it has often been preserved as heritage. Garden spaces are inherently ephemeral, with planting and usage changing over time. This change can be seen in the creation of pop-up art exhibitions and highly decorative gardens in Saltaire back yards, spaces which would have hitherto had a more practical use, with front gardens and window boxes forming the primary sites for domestic garden displays in the nineteenth century. There is little mention of micro-gardening sites within the Saltaire WHS designation, probably do to the makeshift and ephemeral nature of gardens in the village. However, the act of gardening represents a process through which the Saltaire community group Veg of the Edge have created heritage inspired garden spaces on interfacial sites within the village. These gardens are an example of a distinctive type of peri-urban garden which has emerged in post-industrial towns. Furthermore, the Veg on the Edge plots are an example of how locally situated place making narratives at Saltaire continue to shape the landscape in the village in response to the shifting dynamics of what constitutes a model garden space.

As this chapter has demonstrated, there is a clear pattern of gardening, and the cultivation of vegetables was positioned as a significant improving activity during Saltaire's first phase of development. Urban food growing remains enmeshed in the village, in the popularity of the allotments and in the activities of local community gardening group 'Veg on the Edge'. Veg on the Edge were inspired by the Incredible Edible Movement which started in another peri-urban industrial town in West Yorkshire, Todmorden. Incredible Edible Todmorden was founded by community growers in 2008, transforming marginal spaces in the town centre around public buildings and waste ground into edible gardens which encourage residents to harvest produce for free (Paull, 2011). As the name implies, the Saltaire group, founded in 2011, also selected marginal spaces within and on the edges of the village to develop edible gardens which are tended to by volunteers. The planting the gardens has been designed to interpret elements of

Saltaire's history, with the Japanese Edible Garden referencing the Royal Jubilee Exhibition which took place on the site in 1887 and contained a 'Japanese Village' as a focal exhibit. The plot at Platform 1 on Saltaire Station contains 'fruit and veg from the countries which supplied raw materials to Salts Mill (Peru, Turkey and Russia) alongside everyday veg that would have been eaten by the Victorian mill workers in the Canteen next door. Feature plants: fig, pomegranate, olive, tomatillos, horseradish, watercress, hop, vine, coffee plant, apricot, cobnut, Chilean guava, Jerusalem artichokes'.¹²⁸

The 'Veg on the Edge' gardens have evolved to counter absence in the village of institutions which have not survived to present day. The 'Sunday School Garden' is situated on the site of the Saltaire Congregational Sunday School, built in 1876 and demolished in 1973 (currently the land is used a car park). Similarly, the 'Wash House Garden' is named after the baths and wash house, constructed in 1863 and demolished in the 1930s. The usage of plants as a means of interpreting the history of the site provides an example of how landscapes can be used as an additional interpretative layer within an urban environment. As has been explored earlier in this thesis, the views of the surrounding countryside have been incorporated in powerful place narratives at Saltaire which stress a connection to rural space and 'the healthy countryside'. Yet as this chapter has demonstrated, it is not just the views of outside of the village that are an important element in the creation of a model environment at Saltaire – small, everyday garden spaces within the village an important element in the fabric of the village and in the creation of a model, sanitary environment. It is notable that plants featured in the 'Veg on The Edge' gardens have been selected represent trade links between Saltaire and Peru, Turkey and

¹²⁸ *Veg on the Edge: About Us* Available online: <https://vegonthedge.org/about/> [accessed 03/05/2019]

Russia, a crucial element of Saltaire's history that is not always made tangible by the interpretation of built environment alone.

As Conan (2009) has argued, gardens and landscapes offer a link between past and present cultures and 'imbue nature with meanings attached to the past and the present, and they invite flights of imagination either to the past or the future. The 'Veg on the Edge' gardens provide a means of managing the 'gaps' within the village where buildings have been lost. The use of gardens as a means of renewal in urban space has a long a significant history (Glasheen, 2019). At Saltaire, the 'Veg on The Edge' gardens have created spaces which blend into the layout of Saltaire village and provide amenities in keeping with the ethos of a model environment. The aims of the Veg on The Edge group are demonstrative of how the group view their activities as being deeply related to the site's history, the aims of the group are in keeping with the 'improving ethos' of Saltaire:

To contribute to the general improvement of the physical environment of Saltaire and Shipley by creating attractive spaces which are reflective of their history and heritage.

To develop community cohesion within the neighbourhoods of Saltaire and Shipley.

To encourage physical and mental wellbeing through participation in the group's activities.

To adhere where possible and practicable to sustainable green practices, including organic principles and being wildlife friendly¹²⁹.

The Veg on the Edge aims are demonstrative of how gardens and gardening are deeply embedded as a model activity with the assemblage

¹²⁹ *Veg on the Edge: About Us*' Available online: <https://vegonthedge.org/about/> [accessed 03/05/2019]

of space at Saltaire. Indeed, nineteenth century ideals around the urban fabric still resonate in attitudes adopted around urban improvement today such as the 'cleaner streets' funded initiative which awarded a grant to Veg on the Edge in 2020. It is significant how the small- scale gardens in Saltaire village, continue to have a didactic function a means to improve the streets, and in turn improve the people who live within them.

The contemporary usage of Saltaire Park further demonstrates resonances with the original functions that the park was designed to fulfil around improvement, entertainment and play. The 2014 World Heritages Management Plan for Saltaire states that "The restoration of Roberts Park has increased its amenity value to the community, resulting in a five-fold increase in visitors to the park and new facilities including a café and a play area and skate park" (Saltaire World Heritage Site Management Plan 2014: 199). The improved amenity value is evidenced with an increase in visitor numbers and through the staging of public events in the park such as theatrical performances annual charity Dragon Boat Races and events linked to the annual Saltaire Festival. Cricket continues to be played in the park, whilst the refurbished pavilion provides refreshments. The planting in the park is maintained to a high stand and reflects the original designs whilst



Figure 18: 'Veg on the Edge' garden at Caroline Street car park, Saltaire. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, March 2018

the refurbished pavilions offer sheltered spaces to sit and enjoy the park vistas. These contemporary usages demonstrate how relationality between Bradford Council, who manage the park are manifested spatially in the park to facilitate civic improvement responsibilities.

However, the relationship between gardens, food-growing and wellbeing is complex. There is sustained evidence that access to gardens and green spaces lead to improved health outcomes. This has created a powerful moral geography and sense of nostalgia around the history of the model village and the development of allotments and parks as part of broader nineteenth century planning reforms. However, the development of the urban park is also entangled with the historical trajectory of the 'proximate principle' through which expenditure on parks in the nineteenth-century was justified through the increase in property value brought about by closeness to landscaped open space (Crompton, 2006). Furthermore, the research of Womack (2018) on flower gardening in nineteenth-century London has revealed anxieties around what is now recognised as gentrification – the displacement of communities under the guise of 'improvement' (2018: 275). The perceived relationship between gardens, parks and food growing and 'improvement' have prompted more contemporary critical conversations



Figure 19: Contemporary creative use of front gardens for display in Saltaire village. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, February 2018.

about 'green gentrification' (Cole et al., 2017). A linkage can be drawn between ideas around urban improvement expressed in the development of parks, gardens and allotments and contemporary debates around gentrification and who benefits from landscape amenities? Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to unpack the complexity of contemporary gentrification at Saltaire, this thesis has argued that it is necessary that the historical geographies of urban improvement at Saltaire are understood critically. Without criticality, landscape preservation at Saltaire will be solely focused on preservation of scenic amenities, based on a monumental narrative of the site's significance. However, this method of assessing the importance of gardens and landscapes at Saltaire risks reproducing essentialist and environmentally deterministic understandings of landscape at health at Saltaire. The coupling of interest in "fifteen-minute cities/twenty-minute neighbourhoods" where residents daily needs can be met within a short walk or cycle,¹³⁰ and the call for new-sanitary planning in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, presents a timely opportunity for geographers and heritage scholars to re-examine the usage of gardens and allotments in model industrial villages. As residential community which continues to



Figure 20: Saltaire Park pavilion and field. Photograph taken by Ruth Quinn, February 2018

present itself as a model environment, Saltaire village presents an important case study of how Victorian ideals about nature and gardening have evolved over time in the village, and in many respects continued to be embodied through heritage practices and efforts to conserve Saltaire's green environments to benefit urban sociability, the appearance of the village and to support the health and wellbeing of residents.

6.6 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has demonstrated that gardens, allotments and green spaces formed an integral part of Saltaire's 'original' model function as a planned industrial village. Open space within urban and peri-urban settings has long been associated with the social health and cohesion of communities (Stanley et al., 2012). The historical geographies of open spaces within Saltaire reflect this, with domestic gardens and yards forming a core part of the model standard of the housing, beautifying streets and public buildings and creating healthy streets as opposed to dark courts and crowded alley ways. Integrated garden space within a high-density residential environment was a very important element in how Saltaire was envisioned as what an ideal industrial landscape might look like, as a place in which high density housing and large-scale manufacturing could be integrated into a wholesome model town. Small front gardens and windowsills and boxes formed important sites for the display of flowers and attractive plants, gardening on a microscale for the busy factory workers. Crucially this chapter has demonstrated the ways in which gardening and horticulture at Saltaire differs from the later garden city model, building on critiques made by Gaskell (1979), Long (1982) and Schumann (2003) to challenge the linear narratives of urban planning assembled by the WHS designation. This chapter has demonstrated how the scale of small gardens and micro-gardening practices is an important element in the historical geography of spatial planning at Saltaire, as an expression of mid-nineteenth century ideas around improvement. As such, the development of allotments, small residential gardens, parks and the neighbouring estate gardens of the Salts and Stead represent an important way in which the development of Saltaire has shaped the landscape. The materiality of

Saltaire has much in common with neighbouring 'non-model' industrial towns in the Aire valley and beyond where improved streets and parks were added in the mid to late nineteenth-century to improve the condition of industrial towns (Conway, 1988; MacGill, 2007; Jones, 2018). As such this chapter has wider implications for the study of marginal garden spaces and allotments in mid-Victorian peri-urban towns and the ways in which improvement in urban factory districts was manifested through window gardening, allotments and access to interfacial green spaces for leisure. Furthermore, this chapter has built on the findings of the previous chapters to demonstrate how the materiality of plants and 'fresh' foodstuffs formed a significant part of the moral sanitary geographies of Saltaire earning a comparison between the village and Richardson's model for Hygeia. Gardens also formed a significant element in the social relations between the villagers and the Salts, and the patronage of horticultural shows and trips to estate gardens can be seen as a way in which philanthropy was spatialised at Saltaire in an 'improved' peri-urban context.

Saltaire was designed to be a sanitary environment, in which small scale gardens were an important part of creating of what we might now refer to as healthy housing and liveable communities. Mid-nineteenth-century ideals about environment and health continue influenced the development of Saltaire as a model, healthy place to live. Ideas surrounding fresh air and access to 'natural' environments have been reproduced in contemporary place narratives which describe the relationship between the natural landscape and the model qualities of Saltaire village and its inhabitants. The garden assemblage at Saltaire has shifted to be self-referential with community gardens in the village celebrating the heritage of the village through planting carefully selected edible plants. Furthermore, as Saltaire is still a residential environment gardening continues to be practiced by the residents of the village, many of whom use their front gardens to curate beautiful garden spaces, sometimes incorporating sculpture and material objects into their garden designs. The constellation of garden space in and around Saltaire, from the worker's window's box to the Titus Salt Jnr's estate gardens forms a wider productive assemblage. Livesey (2011) has

characterised urban garden assemblages (in relation to the Garden City ideal) as 'material, expressive and territorial roles that combine in continuously changing ways' (2011: 211). Whilst the role of the garden within the garden city strove towards the creation of a city as a garden, allotments, micro garden spaces and the activities of gardening and botany at Saltaire can be understood as a process of integrating 'nature' into the high-density industrial environment of the mid-nineteenth-century model village. Furthermore, by adopting an assemblage approach to the study of landscape at Saltaire we can see how small garden plots and yards were integrated in a wider planned environment containing planted squares and courts, allotments and a public park which bordered onto woods, farm and moorland creating a highly dynamic peri-urban environment through which green space and high-density urban development have been juxtaposed to create a hybrid between the industrial city and a green 'village'.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The stories woven by the WHS at Saltaire are inherently geographic. The site's development encompasses a range of scales: from the localised geographies of home, work and leisure in a compact model village to the global economic networks enmeshed in the supply of goods to the mill. The historical geography of Saltaire is also braided with the international histories of town planning and the development of peri-urban green spaces and 'healthy cities', as well as the more localised landscape cultures of the Aire valley. My decision to focus on landscape stemmed from my previous academic and professional interest in nineteenth-century landscapes and the relationship between the environment and heritage. This project was also motivated by attending meetings around the campaign to save Milner Field Farm and hearing from residents and the World Heritage Officer that landscape was an important part of the story of Saltaire, yet that it was an under-researched area. Crucially, this project was developed around understanding how landscapes have been categorised as rural and romantic at Saltaire, a place which is peri-urban and industrial in character. This thesis commenced as an investigation with two parts. The core aims were to examine the historical geographies of landscape at Saltaire between 1853 and 1900 and critically examine how landscapes, across a variety of scales, have been assessed as part of the site's significance as a heritage. My approach to fulfilling these dual aims was informed by approaches with human geography which have developed through interdisciplinary approaches between historical geography and heritage practices, drawing empirical archival research and the materiality of the historic landscape (DeSilvey, 2007; Edensor, 2011; DeSilvey, 2012; Hoskins, 2015; Robertson, 2015; Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2020). This concluding chapter will demonstrate how this thesis has met these aims and what the broader implications of this study are in a heritage context in the UK. Returning to the original research questions, this final section is divided into three sections which will demonstrate how my findings have responded to each question, and importantly how the two strands of this

project intertwine to add to new knowledge and pose broader critical questions around the relationship between landscape and heritage.

7.1 A landscape as it was imagined to be.

A core way in which landscapes have been shaped by the development of Saltaire is through the affective moral locational discourse of the 'healthy countryside'. This thesis has demonstrated that landscape was envisioned as a crucial part of the model environment at Saltaire in the mid to late nineteenth century. The historical basis for the 'healthy countryside' at Saltaire has been formed by mid-century sanitary ideals about improvement which led to the creation of the designed landscapes and environmental health initiatives evident in the historical geography of Saltaire (Driver, 1988a; Hickman, 2013; Jones, 2018). The tradition of nineteenth-century approaches to 'the healthy countryside' has been mythologised through the 'heritisation' of the industrial model town. Through my archival research I have pieced together how descriptive narratives of the model environment emphasise the beauty and health-giving properties of the surrounding countryside. This demonstrates that understandings of 'improvement' at Saltaire were as much topographical as they were industrial and architectural. Crucially, Saltaire was not designed to reproduce a rural idyll. As Qviström (2017) has demonstrated, broad currents in planning history have assembled the countryside as an ideal or preferred location, framing peri-urbanisation in terms of loss. However, the historical geography of Saltaire demonstrates ways in which the imaginative dimensions of the healthy countryside were fused with ideas around urbanisation and improvement to create an ideal peri-urban environment. As a micro-city 'by the daisy chequered fields', landscapes at Saltaire were imagined to bring health giving benefits across a variety of scales. Historical geographers have attended to the myriad ways in which 'moral geographies of regulation' were reproduced through nineteenth-century approaches to reform (Legg & Brown, 2013). This body of work has drawn attention the importance of atmospheric understandings of health and the importance of ventilation and 'fresh air' the reorganisation of a model social relations around the idea that parks and the countryside could

be restorative spaces. In studying the landscape at Saltaire we can see the development of a peri-urban moral locational discourse rooted in ideas about landscape which precedes the first garden cities. The materiality of the landscape at Saltaire is one which juxtaposes high density terraced streets, the factory, railway and bustle of industrial life with micro gardens, allotments parks and importantly the vast open spaces of the surrounding moorland. It is this hybridity that sets Saltaire apart from later lower density models, such as Port Sunlight and Bournville. Yet, this thesis demonstrates that even in a more industrial landscape the affective qualities of the 'sweet mountain air' and access to open spaces generated a powerful medical-moral discourse which shaped the development of a distinctive peri-urban landscape ideal at Saltaire.

Owing to the high density of housing in Saltaire, the village has been described as a place without private gardens (Darley, 1975). However, my research has demonstrated that flowers and plants were important elements in the creation of a model environment where 'rural' pursuits were integrated into a high-density environment. The scale of Saltaire sets the development apart from later garden city models. However, the small size of the gardens in the village does not mean that gardening and the domestic keeping of livestock were not an important part of the model environment at Saltaire. To the contrary, this thesis has demonstrated that gardening and pig keeping formed important leisure pursuits in the village, and contributed to the model, green environment in the town that was remarked upon by visitors. These activities correspond with nascent understandings of gardening and agriculture as 'healthy' pastimes and are an important element within the distinctive moral geography of the industrial model village. In this respect agricultural space at Saltaire occupies an interesting duality between a mythologised 'earlier' tradition which predates the development of Saltaire. The functions of landscape at Saltaire also resonate with 'improving' framework of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century model villages, in a peri-urban rather than rural setting. Representations of the Airedale landscape in the mid to late nineteenth century constructed an imaginative and highly localised sense of landscape heritage. These representations juxtaposed ancient landmarks in the

landscape with future orientated descriptions of the new model environment at Saltaire. As such the imaginative qualities of landscape at Saltaire can be understood as being enmeshed with associations of the 'old' and of the 'new'. David C Harvey (2001, 2013, 2015) calls for scholars to be more attentive to the histories of heritage itself is particularly pertinent when examining the idea of landscape significance at Saltaire. The significance of landscape at Saltaire can be traced to a particular strand of heritage making embedded within representations of the Airedale landscape itself. The building of Saltaire added a new layer to the 'heritigisation' of a shifting and developing locality, bringing in new association through the emergence of model gardening, agricultural, political, spiritual and leisure practices whilst also challenging the perceived stability of the 'old' Airedale landscape and vernacular buildings due to the increased urbanisation of the area. As such, I argue that understandings of landscape and heritage at Saltaire should be situated in broader temporal context that eschews the idea of a stable 'original' landscape.

However, it wasn't necessarily the case that the environment at Saltaire was a particularly healthy one, and this thesis does not seek to prove in empirical terms whether Saltaire was healthier place than other comparable factory towns. Indeed, by exploring the historical geography of environmental pollution and industrial disease at Saltaire this thesis critiques the axiology of industrial heritage significance which attributes value to landscapes at solely through narratives of 'improvement' and 'progress' (Hoskins, 2016). During the mid to late nineteenth-century, relationships between landscape and health and Saltaire were complex. Sutcliffe Rhodes's letters and William Ellis's replies demonstrate how atmospheric understandings of health relating to the landscape, the idea of fresh air and recreation could be assembled to deny deadly possibility of anthrax faced by the wool sorters at Saltaire. Furthermore, this thesis has drawn attention to the wider complexity of the pollution of the river Aire and the changes wrought to the landscape by the vast quantities of stone required to build Saltaire and other grand civic institutions and improving institutes in Bradford. Dominant heritage narratives at Saltaire construct the

significance of the landscape as something that reflects the absolute nature of things as they *were* and not the more ephemeral nature of things as they were *imagined* and *experienced*. This has led to the reproduction of environmentally deterministic place narratives about how Saltaire was healthier than other places nearby due to the close proximity to an idealised 'countryside'. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of critically evaluating the historical geography of landscape when considering the significance of space and place within a heritage context. Recent scholarship within landscape studies and historical geography (Brown, 2007; Setten & Brown, 2009; Hickman, 2013) has grappled with the difficulty of unpacking the relationship between how moral regulation and spatialisation has been imagined and how this has corresponded with the spatialisation of 'improved' urban environments and practices. This thesis builds on extant literature on 'moral geographies' to demonstrate how nineteenth century moral locational discourse shaped how the surrounding landscapes both in and around Saltaire were understood as part of the moral amenities of Saltaire. However, though juxtaposing sanitary and romantic place narratives with accounts of industrial disease and ill health in Saltaire we can better understand how the imaginative dimensions of the model village came into conflict with the often-harsh realities of industrial labour. Furthermore, these episodes demonstrate how the materiality of landscapes around Saltaire were shaped by the growth in the village in ways which were not always model or healthy. Rather than viewing the significance of landscape at Saltaire purely through the lens of scenic landscape assessments and the myth of the healthy countryside we can better understand this sense of local landscape distinctiveness through the processes of social relations.

7.2 Social relations and landscape formation

Landscapes in and around Saltaire have also been shaped by social relations in the form of leisure, property ownership and collective activities. The importance of access to fresh air and landscape leisure cultures is a significant part of the historical geography of the Pennine region more broadly, it is not a process solely relating to Saltaire as a *model* site.

Broader processes of industrialisation in the north of England led to distinctive outdoor leisure cultures and a sense of the moorland edge as a place of freedom (Dellheim, 1986; Navickas, 2009; Walton et al., 2013; Booth, 2014; Navickas, 2015). Though examining social relations, the materiality of the landscape can be understood not just as something scenic or healthy – but as an important part of how allotments gardens, rivers and the moorland were enmeshed in broader context of industrial community formation in Saltaire and the wider Aire valley. As this thesis has demonstrated, the landscapes which surround Saltaire were used as spaces for mass political meetings, worship and leisure. This thesis argues that these fragmentary historical geographies of worship and protest are just as significant as the those of sanitary improvement and benevolent capitalism upon which the town's world heritage designation rests. The 'improving' quality of the landscape, therefore, should also be considered beyond the prescriptions of paternalism and the planning apparatus of the mid-nineteenth century industrial model village ideal. The closeness to moorlands and fields provided fertile ground for groups to come together in search of their own political and spiritual improvement. This environment was also a space for mass leisure activities and fair ground attractions, a lively world away from the regimentation of the factory and model village. Indeed, these landscapes continue to be imbued with a rich array of meanings today through community gardening initiatives and campaigns to protect open space. As such this thesis contributes to scholarship concerned with importance of the regional specificities of landscapes and how the materiality of the peri-urban industrial environment of factory towns in the hilly Pennine regions shaped experiences of leisure and community (Navickas, 2009; Booth, 2014). Crucially this thesis has demonstrated how experiences of social relations in the landscape were not homogenous. Tensions over the 'right' uses of Shipley Glen for leisure demonstrate how the materiality and usage of the landscape was contested. Through viewing social relations in the landscape at Saltaire through a multiplicity of fragmentary historical geographies this thesis builds on Massey's (2005) conception of locality and place as a series of stories so far. This way of thinking about landscape and place rejects essentialism and the idea of

fixed landscape character, and instead highlights the multiple, and sometimes conflicting, ways in which the landscape has been shaped by the growth of Saltaire.

Crucially, this thesis has drawn attention to ways in which the perceived 'rurality' of the landscapes around Saltaire was altered through elite property relations. Saltaire fused a patrician approach to the governance of model settlements, with nascent urban models of 'improvement' in the city (parks, model dwellings, improving institutes). The 'patrician approach' is evident in the creation of the elite estates which border the village, a pattern which can also be seen more broadly in the development of contemporaneous planned industrial model villages (such as Port Sunlight). These elite estates further privatised the landscape, creating elite exurban enclaves. As the analysis of the development of Milner Field demonstrates, the changes wrought about to the landscape by the Salts were not always welcomed. The description of the demolition of the hedgerows and old picturesque landmarks challenges contemporary understandings of an original rural setting at Saltaire. Significantly, Saltaire formed an environment through which landed paternalism encountered nascent ideals of permissive access to the countryside for urban improvement, and the 'right' to open space encoded in the creation of parks, squares and allotment gardens.

By permitting access to private estates which border Saltaire for special works outings, 'treats' and through organised leisure societies – such as angling, the Salt family and other paternalistic model village owners practiced a tradition of landed paternalism which is rooted in the first iterations of the planned model village as part of a re-ordering of the land through the practices of paternalism and aesthetic 'improvement' of estate landscapes. Permissive access represents another layer in the moral geography of Saltaire, though which access to the landscape was governed by the landowner. Being attentive to the ways in which the materiality of the landscape in around Saltaire has been shaped to keep people 'within bounds' demonstrates the complex relationship between landscape and social relations on the peri-urban fringe.

7.3 Critical reading of materiality at planned model settlements

This thesis problematises the fixed ways in which the materiality of landscape has been viewed as heritage at Saltaire. My empirical research has challenged notions of fixed rurality and the 'heathy countryside' and instead demonstrates how fixed ideas based on rurality and a moral spatialisation of health outside of the city do not match the complex historical geography of the industrial, peri-urban environment at Saltaire. Pendlebury et al. (2009) has demonstrated the fundamental tensions between the WHS principles of fixed 'authenticity' and 'historic value' and the complexity and heterogeneity of urban landscapes. Building on these arguments, my thesis demonstrates how at Saltaire the process of heritage designation has led to appraisals of landscape significance which have attempted to locate historical value within imagined and ideal historical representations of Saltaire, using historical enquiry selectively rather than critically. However, as Hoskins (2016) has demonstrated the attribution of geographic significance within a western landscape conservation context is not *found* in fixed in place, but rather *made* by those making decisions about what constitutes heritage. This process of designation inherently favours certain places and histories over others and this thesis has argued that it is necessary therefore to develop critical and empirically grounded alternatives to 'grand narratives' of improvement, and instead view the historical relationship between landscape at health at Saltaire through a multiplicity of relationships between people and place. The historical geography of mid-nineteenth century architecture, planning and spatialisation is important and continues to be reproduced in decisions made about former textile towns on the peri-urban Pennine fringe today. Within the Bradford District a great deal of hope currently rests on the value of heritage as an economic driver. The regeneration of Saltaire has acted as a catalyst for wider hopes expressed in contemporary campaigns such as the current Bradford 2025 city of culture bid. This bid has sought to celebrate the both the 'hills and mills' of the district and emphasises the amenity of the district's large expanses of moorland (Blow, 2020). However, this thesis has demonstrated that value judgements regarding landscape

amenity in relation to Saltaire can also be read by local people as an act of dispossession and a threat to a more intangible sense of historic value.

In this thesis I have critiqued models of heritage designation where heritage value is rooted in scenographic approaches to views and preserved buildings. This approach fails to protect and value the processes which enliven Saltaire, the multitudes of lives lived in the village and the deep and affective processes of engagement and dwelling in the landscapes which surrounds the village. The campaign to save Milner Field Farm draws sharp attention to how residents groups and communities come into conflict with developers over issues around land use and ownership. By re-assessing ideas around landscape significance at Saltaire, this thesis traces some of the fundamental tensions at work in building the peri-urban ideal. At Saltaire the landscape is valued for views, space and leisure amenity, yet bordering stretches of green space also have a high value for building and development, due to the desirability of the neighbourhood. This tension between landscape for development and landscape for scenic views and amenity is not a purely modern phenomenon. As this thesis has demonstrated, loss of the countryside due to the development of Saltaire and bordering villa homes was a cause of consternation in the nineteenth century, and the geography of past ownership continues to affect access to land around Saltaire today. Indeed, given the value placed on pastoral and agricultural landscapes in both romantic place narratives about Saltaire and the UNESCO world heritage designation, there is a deep irony in the struggle of the current farmers at Milner Field to secure tenure of the land that they farm, due to development pressures and landlordism. However, the rubrics which underpinned Saltaire's development, the creation of a private estate by the Salts which contained a mix of land for development uses (upon which Saltaire was built) alongside marginal spaces of farm pasture and woodland, is now threatened due to the vicissitudes of the land market. This episode demonstrates why critical readings of historical geography matter at Saltaire. Understanding the dynamics of property ownership and access from a historical perspective allows us to better understand this complexity, and how to avoid reproducing systems which

exclude people through modern heritage planning approaches. Neither planning or heritage produce neutral decisions about landscape and as Pendlebury (2013) has argued sector bodies, such as English Heritage, are responsible for shaping ideas around significance. As such, historical geographers should be critical of understandings historic landscapes which neglect to explore the complexity of property and claims towards access and ownership.

7.4 Local history, place and landscape

As Crouch and Parker (2003) have demonstrated conceptions of 'landscape heritage' are inherently political. Furthermore, as the thesis has demonstrated, landscape interactions are not static – they are always 'becoming'. By assembling an alternative historical geography of landscape significance at Saltaire, this thesis 'brushes against the grain' of the versions of history presented by Historic England, UNESCO and KDPS in which the value of the landscape is historically contingent upon a sense of pre-industrial rurality, aesthetic beauty or narratives of scientific and technological 'improvement'. Through assembling a counter historical narrative this thesis demonstrates a version of landscape significance which extends beyond that of industrial philanthropy and indeed sometimes comes into conflict with it. I also demonstrate how the historical geography of Saltaire is deeply intertwined with property development on the peri-urban fringe and that rural and agricultural land was part of the Salt family's peri-urban property holdings. Furthermore, I have demonstrated the centrality of industrial processes and development in understanding the formation and continued usage of agriculture landscapes on the periphery of Saltaire. Local actors and groups have come to view the distinctive heritage of these spaces not solely as a fixed sense of rural nostalgia which is in the past, but as a 'living heritage' which is continually practiced through the continuing practice of dairy farming at Milner Field. I argue that the dominant models of heritage management at Saltaire must reflect the hybridity of the peri-urban landscape in which Milner Field and adjacent agricultural landscapes are situated in.

Furthermore, this issue of landscape categorization extends beyond the case study of proposed developments at Milner Field and is reflected within the broader conceptualisation of landscape described in the WHS Management plan. I have argued that the approach taken to grading the landscape within the world heritage site 'buffer zone' at Saltaire can be seen as process of heritage emparkment. Trees and landscaping are noted for the benefit of screening off newer housing estates around the village, and caravan sites and pylons are listed as 'detractors' from the 'original' setting. There are inherent tensions in the creation of conservation planning areas, world heritage sites and temporally severing these spaces from the materiality of subsequent changes to a landscape. This process becomes even more complex when scale is added, and planning controls seek to preserve distant landscape views in keeping with a fixed period, such as at Saltaire where the emphasis is placed on views of the Aire, canal tow path, woods, pasture and moors that are deemed to be 'in-keeping' with an 'original' setting. However, through my empirical findings I have challenged this notion of 'originality' through demonstrating how the landscapes surrounding Saltaire have been shaped by processes of industrialisation and urbanisation at the town. The concept of 'assemblage' provides a framework through which the hybridity of temporal changes with a landscape can be more fully understood (Edensor, 2011; Dittmer, 2014; Bartolini & DeSilvey, 2021). Crucially the idea of assemblage/s challenges notions of fixity and stresses the processual and emergent nature of space and places. When the idea of the assemblage is applied to the study of the historical geography and subsequent heritagization of Saltaire we can better understand the relationality between the surrounding landscapes and the village. Through analysing this sense of relationality from a historical and a heritage perspective I propose a model of heritage management which, rather than screening off 'detractors' in the landscape instead considers the materiality of development and change as part of the wider industrial landscape at Saltaire.

7.5 Epilogue: suggestions for new ways of understanding the landscape at Saltaire.

The benefits that a historical geographical approach can bring to heritage studies have been clearly demonstrated in recent work in historical geography which has used archival ‘fragments’ and empirical research to broaden understandings of landscape heritage. This thesis builds on and makes an important contribution to this work. Through conducting new research into the historical geography of Saltaire, I have demonstrated how a multitude of meanings and practices were assembled in relationship with the landscape and how the ‘original rural valley setting’ of landscape was changed and became a more peri-urban and highly networked environment. Overwhelmingly, when brought together this historical re-contextualisation of the significance of landscape and green spaces at Saltaire emphasises how these environments have been shaped by changing processes of industrialisation, dwelling, development, farming, gardening and leisure – essentially through interactions with the landscape. Whilst Saltaire’s ex-industrial spaces have undergone a process of gentrification to bring residential and high end cultural and retail provision into a former mill (echoing wider patterns of heritage redevelopment), the site also contains residential streets and pockets of green space which remain remarkably true to the town’s original design. This thesis has demonstrated how growing, both in private gardens and allotments, is a significant practice through which Saltaire residents have engaged with the model environment and design of the village from the establishment of the town to present day. The spaces of the allotments, private gardens and the park constitute significant spaces through the distinctive moral geographies of green space at Saltaire continue to be reproduced, challenged and remade. Furthermore, the conservation planning assemblage at Saltaire has been reworked by the community to value the processes of agriculture over the proposed benefits of an ‘innovation centre’ at Milner Field. Crucially, the alternative landscape plan at Saltaire proposes a post-industrial vision ecological of stewardship as a means by which the landscape environment has significance to Saltaire for future generations. The Alternative Landscape plan presents a future orientated model for

landscape preservation, utilizing nature-based conservation to consider the heritage of farming in the area and its future environmental impacts. In this future, the model farm at Milner Field is used to re-imagined as part of the solution to an even greater risk – climate change. This demonstrates a shift in the moral geography at work in Saltaire, a town that was designed around nascent understands of environmental determinants of health in the nineteenth century, is now being envisioned as a place where a new kind of environmental improvement can take place, to sustain the sites model function in a post-industrial future.

This thesis was written during a time of prolonged difficulty for the UK heritage sector, which has brought issues around history, heritage and landscape designation to the forefront of debates about national identity (Mandler, 2021). In 2021 Dorman Long Tower, a 1950s coal tower in Middlesbrough was recommended for Grade II listing by Historical England as a ‘rare surviving remnant of the coal, iron and steel industries’.¹³¹ However, this assessment was overruled by the government, leading to the demolition of the tower, and the statement by Tees Valley Mayor Ben Houchen that ‘our heritage does not lie in a rotting coal bunker it lies in the people who build this great nation’.¹³² Whilst the context of ideas around landscape at Saltaire differs from the twentieth century legacies of coal and steel this episode demonstrates the outcome of a decision in which monumental ‘grand narratives’ of history were deemed to be more

¹³¹ Halliday, J (2021) ‘Dorman Long tower to be demolished as Nadine Dorries axes listed status’, *The Guardian*, 17 September. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2021/sep/17/dorman-long-tower-to-be-demolished-as-nadine-dorries-axes-listed-status> [accessed 17/09/2021]

¹³² *Dorman Long to be destroyed after listed status revoked*. Available online: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tees-58593615> [accessed 17/09/2021]

significance than more granular and everyday materiality of the landscape. Historic England recently announced a renewed focus on place as a core way in which heritage can connect with people and support local economies.¹³³ In a similar trajectory the National Trust have developed conservation principles around 'Sprit of Place' as part of assessments of the unique contributes heritage makes to local distinctiveness.¹³⁴ However, such an approach has yet to be applied to the management of Saltaire. As this thesis has demonstrated, the historical significance of Saltaire is rooted in a broader trajectory of sanitary approaches to function of green space within model industrial developments, the idea of the 'healthy' countryside and the formation of a historically contingent grand narrative of 'industrial improvement' that has led to a constellation of post-industrial areas being awarded with UNESCO world heritage status. As such, my work on Saltaire presents as case study that has wider implications for how ideas derived from historical understandings of the 'improving 'industrial model village continue to influence heritage led decision making that is highly relevant to current issues around the value of heritage and public history. Through the examples of the proposed development at Milner Field and the landscape assessments contained within the Saltaire World Heritage Site documents, this thesis has demonstrated the power that historical narratives stemming from nineteenth century attitudes towards improvement have on contemporary decision making about landscape. However, as this thesis has also demonstrated that this understanding of the historical significance of landscape significance at Saltaire, is based only a partial understanding

¹³³ *High Street Heritage Action Zones*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/heritage-action-zones/regenerating-historic-high-streets/> [accessed 17/09/2021]

¹³⁴ *Our Conservation Principles*. Available online: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-conservation-principles> [accessed 17/09/2021]

of the site's history. This thesis demonstrates that there is scope for greater collaboration between the academic study of historical geography and the more applied practices of heritage decision making on the ground. The materiality of peri-urban landscapes at Saltaire has been marginalised both in existing scholarship on the industrial model village and within official heritage landscape assessments. Yet the mythical idea of the fixed rural idyll does not reflect the materiality of hybrid industrial landscapes at Saltaire. Interdisciplinarity between historical geography and heritage studies can support a renewed, critical understanding of the relationship between locality, history and place. Working 'against the grain' of grand narratives with historical fragments provides a method through which landscape history can be understood not as fixed or essentialist, but as multiple and emergent. This way of working provides greater scope for heritage value to be rooted in a more critical understanding of the past as well as being attuned to the ways in which landscapes are shaped by people over time.

This thesis has focused on nineteenth century archival material in order to recontextualise understandings of the significance of landscape within the historical context upon which the world heritage designation at Saltaire rests. However, equally valuable research could be undertaken into the twentieth-century environment at the village and the development of council estates at Hirst Wood and Higher Coach Road on the periphery of the village, developments which were also planned around the provision of gardens, green space and the surrounding landscapes. Moving from the 'what' of heritage to the 'why?' it matters means being attuned to the processes of practice and process, and not just focusing on preservation and 'fixing' things in time as a measure of authenticity (Silverman, 2015). This thesis argues that a fundamental part of the value of Saltaire lies in the quotidian processes of interacting with and creating a constellation of landscapes. The environment at Saltaire is typical of many peri-urban former industrial towns in the north of England, criss-crossed by canals, bordered by moors, small, terraced gardens and allotments. As such the significance of the site extends beyond the grand narratives of industrial philanthropy and into the

everyday geographies of a wide array of industrial towns in Britain, where landscape and access to green space continues to matter.

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Saltaire from the Northeast of England. Built for the manufacture of Alpaca and Mohair. Opened by Titus Salt in 1853. Planned with admirable arrangement for ensuring the health and comfort of the workpeople and

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Appendix 1

OBJECTION TO 15/05538/MAF 'Alternative Landscape Plan'

MILNER FIELD FARM:

MORE ACCESSIBLE AND MORE BIO-DIVERSE AN ALTERNATIVE
LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT PLAN crafted by the community

Baildon Local History Society

Bingley Local History Society

Bradford Urban Wildlife Group

The Downs Family

Eldwick Village Society

The Friends of Bracken Hall

The Friends of Roberts Park

Gilstead Village Society

Higher Coach Road Residents Group

Hirst Wood Regeneration Group

Jamie Roberts

Nicholas Salt

Saltaire History Club

Saltaire Village Society

Saltaire Walks and Talks

BACKGROUND

This document has been prepared in support of the retention of Milner Field Farm and in opposition to planning application 15/05538/MAF. It sets out a plan to conserve heritage features, and to establish a more accessible, environmentally sound and bio-diverse farm. This plan has the enthusiastic support of the farmer who has participated in its creation.

In the short time we have had to prepare this plan, we have managed to consult and collaborate with many local people together with several members and officers of community groups and democratically elected councils. Their views are reflected in this document and their support for the plan is beyond doubt.

As a result, we are confident that the community-farmer partnership that underpins this objection can and will be translated into a more formal agreement.

The groups with whom we have engaged include:

Airedale Beekeepers Association

Baildon Friends of the Earth

Baildon Local History Society

Baildon Town Councillors

Bingley Civic Trust

Bingley District Councillors

Bingley and District Local History Society

Bingley Town Council

Bradford Beekeepers Association

Bradford Environmental Action Trust

Bradford Environmental Education Service

Bradford Urban Wildlife Group

Descendants of Sir Titus Salt and Sir James Roberts

1 Inclusion of a group's name in the list that follows does not indicate it endorses the plan. Those individuals and groups endorsing and formally objecting are listed on p1.

Eldwick Village Society

Friends of Roberts Park

Gilstead Village Society

Higher Coach Road Residents Group

Hirst Wood Regeneration Group

Mid Yorks Fungi Group

RSPB Northern England

Saltaire History Club

Saltaire Village Society

Saltaire Walks and Talks

ShIPLEY District Councillors

The Green Party

West Yorkshire Bat Group

Yorkshire Wildlife

INTRODUCTION

Milner Field Farm is a significant historical asset set in Green Belt. It is also a productive and successful business.

Farmland covers around 75% of the UK: 'farmland' is virtually synonymous with 'countryside'. A healthy rural environment is one where farmland is productive but also a supportive home for wildlife, with healthy habitats and soils. These features are directly connected to our farmland's capacity to supply us with the food we need.

The applicant wants to end farming at Milner Field and has proposed changing the use of the farmstead and of the farmland. The applicant has proposed an apparently 'green' transformation of the latter. In a partner objection, our friends have set out why this transformation is unacceptable and why it is neither viable nor sustainable.²

A more accessible and more bio-diverse landscape is certainly desirable, but not at the expense of a heritage asset and a viable farm. Our view is that it is better to work with the farmer with the aim of incremental improvements to habitats and to heritage as opportunity and funding allow.

Unlike the applicant's scheme - which is over-ambitious, prohibitively expensive and assumes a long-term commitment that cannot be delivered - our partnership proposal is low cost and achievable.

So, working as a community alongside our farming neighbours, we have devised and now propose a strategy – an Alternative Landscape Plan - to enhance our farm's sustainability, its potential as a wildlife habitat with benefits to both flora and fauna, and, through arranged access, as an educational resource for members of the public, young and old.

We are not only committed to retaining our heritage. We also aim to ensure that the heritage which the Farm represents, and its unbreakable links with the World Heritage Site of Saltaire, are enhanced and then sustained for the long-term.

The best guarantee of sustainability is the retention of farming and the development of a farmer-community partnership with agreed goals.

THE EXISTING SITUATION

Milner Field Farm is a working farm and home to the Downs family who have worked the land for 114 years - including many when the mansion kept guard over haymaking.

The Farm is a significant heritage asset: a 'model farm' created by the Salt family as part of the wider Milner Field estate. The Farm consists of buildings and associated farmland. The latter is a historic landscape which benefitted from the expertise of Robert Marnock, one of the outstanding English garden designers of the 19th century. The boundary of the Farm and many landscape features remain as they were in ~1872 when it was completed by Titus Salt Jr.

Its significance is magnified by its close historical and geographical links to World Heritage Saltaire. Local historians regard it as a critically important link within that zone to Saltaire and to its founding family – and as this image shows, it sits within the buffer zone of the World Heritage Site, overlooking the village.

We contend that the most practical and most sustainable option for the protection of this community and heritage asset is a farm which is healthy, productive, and a successful business.

OUR ENVIRONMENTAL STRATEGY

The applicant proposes a development which even it acknowledges as being “in the strict terms of Green Belt policy... inappropriate”³

This Alternative Landscape Plan proposes no inappropriate development, no inappropriate changes to historic buildings, landscapes and boundaries, and therefore it does not pose a risk to the site's historic qualities nor its Green Belt status.

It is proposed that the existing Green Belt land continues as a dairy farm. However, our plan is not 'same old, same old...'. It does propose change - to make the Farm both more accessible to the public and more bio-

diverse, thus substantially enhancing its sustainability, the Green Belt and the buffer zone.

Unlike the applicant, we do not propose a separate environmental strategy. Our strategy is an environmental strategy.

OUR LONG-TERM VISION

We look forward – and will work towards – the conservation of the entire Milner Field estate so that

- it will be accessible along designated footpaths
- its history - and especially its connection to the Salts and World Heritage Saltaire - will be experienced and understood
- it will attract visitors and tourists
- it will be a haven for wildlife, and its natural history will be experienced and understood, and
- it will be productive and economically successful.

OUR SHORT-TERM AIMS

- to ensure that the Farm is a model sustainable dairy farm
- to enhance the management of land at the Farm in order to attract and sustain a wider range of wildlife
- to increase managed access to the Farm and to the historic estate with a focus on agriculture, nature and local history
- to strengthen public understanding of the Farm, sustainable agriculture, and the estate's connection to the World Heritage Site
- to start a process of conservation and restoration of the Farm buildings and landscape so that its history as a model Farm and as a key part of the Saltaire story can be better understood.

OUR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

We set out below measurable objectives which will act as indicators of whether we are achieving the aims of the project. Management will be dynamic with objectives monitored and reviewed regularly in concert with community partners, and remedial or alternative action put in place as required.

Objective 1

The development and implementation of a plan to encourage biodiversity.

In collaboration with natural history groups in the Bradford area and across Yorkshire, we will work to create a realistic and achievable long-term plan for the enhancement and creation of wildlife habitat. In creating that plan we will be mindful of the Farm's geographical context, for example that it has Trench Meadow SSSI as a neighbour, and the need for any improvements to be in keeping with the planned historic landscape.

Our first task will be to audit the Farm's natural history. This will deliver the baseline against which we will be able to measure progress. We will use the applicant's ecological appraisal⁴ as a starting point, but we can already see opportunities for community involvement – including the involvement of young people – in this endeavour.

This audit will inform the overall plan which we would expect to be agreed by the end of 2017. However, some likely elements will be pursued immediately as part of the Farm's routine work, for example managing vegetation to give more variation and managing hedges more effectively to provide a variety of habitats.

From the start of 2018, we will implement the plan – and again we can predict some of the improvements we will be expected to make... increasing the size of existing wildlife areas; planting new species or

encouraging the growth of existing plants; changing the timing of some routine farm work.

We expect the plan to include an independent annual audit to ensure that we are on the right track. We expect this audit will involve monitoring, using the diversity of species across the site as a measure of success.