

# **The Heritage Lottery Fund and its role in the construction and preservation of the past: 1994-2016**

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
the Faculty of Humanities

2018

Virginia Tandy

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

ProQuest Number:27565107

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 27565107

Published by ProQuest LLC (2019). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

## Table of Contents

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| List of figures.....  | 5          |
| Abbreviations .....   | 6          |
| Abstract .....  | 7          |
| Declaration.....  | 8          |
| Copyright statement.....  | 9          |
| Acknowledgements .....  | 10         |
| <b>Introduction .....</b>   | <b>11</b>  |
| The concept of heritage .....   | 14         |
| The origins of this study.....  | 24         |
| Board matters .....   | 27         |
| The role of a board and its membership .....  | 32         |
| Grant decision making .....   | 38         |
| Board meetings .....  | 40         |
| Uses of knowledge by decision makers .....  | 43         |
| The scope and structure of the study .....  | 47         |
| Methods and sources.....  | 50         |
| Rationale for case studies .....  | 54         |
| <b>Chapter 1: Post war heritage funding and policy .....</b>                                      | <b>63</b>  |
| The origins of the National Land Fund .....   | 64         |
| The demise of the National Land Fund and the creation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund..... | 68         |
| A pot of gold? The creation of the UK's National Lottery.....                                     | 76         |
| The National Heritage Memorial Fund becomes a lottery distributor .....                           | 81         |
| Strategic planning and researching impact .....   | 86         |
| Conclusion.....   | 98         |
| <b>Chapter 2: Heritage funding and the commemoration of conflict.....</b>                         | <b>100</b> |
| The origins and practice of the memorial purpose of the NLF and the NHMF .....                    | 102        |
| Remembering the wars: post 1945 practices.....  | 111        |
| Planning the Great War Centenary .....  | 115        |
| Marking the First World War Centenary and the role of the HLF .....                               | 119        |
| First World War: then and now .....   | 121        |
| 14-18 NOW.....  | 131        |
| Conclusion.....   | 143        |
| <b>Chapter 3: Two fingers to the Nation? Lottery money and the Churchill Papers.....</b>          | <b>147</b> |
| The Churchill Family and the archive .....  | 147        |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| The grant decision and announcement.....   | 153        |
| The legacy of the grant decision .....   | 158        |
| Conclusion.....  | 165        |
| <b>Chapter 4: Heritage values and financial values .....</b>                             | <b>167</b> |
| The defence of the nation’s heritage .....   | 169        |
| The contrasting approaches to acquisitions of the NHMF and the HLF .....                 | 174        |
| The Case Studies: an overview .....  | 179        |
| Case study 1: Aspire (Constable’s ‘Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows’)                | 181        |
| Case study 2: Sir Anthony Van Dyck: Acquiring and sharing his last Self<br>Portrait..... | 189        |
| Case study 3: Wedgwood Museum Collection .....   | 202        |
| Conclusion.....  | 210        |
| <b>Chapter 5: A walk in the park? .....</b>  | <b>214</b> |
| Making the case for HLF investment in parks .....  | 215        |
| Introducing new heritage practice .....  | 225        |
| The grants programme.....  | 229        |
| Heritage at risk again? .....  | 237        |
| Conclusion.....  | 245        |
| <b>Conclusion .....</b>  | <b>248</b> |
| Heritage values and directions .....   | 250        |
| The People’s Lottery? .....  | 256        |
| Future thinking .....  | 258        |
| <b>Bibliography.....</b>   | <b>264</b> |
| Primary Sources.....   | 264        |
| Secondary Sources .....  | 279        |
| <b>Appendix 1 .....</b>  | <b>289</b> |
| Excerpts from Relevant Acts of Parliament .....  | 289        |
| Section 48 of 1946 Finance Act.....  | 289        |
| National Heritage Act 1980 .....   | 290        |
| National Lottery etc. Act 1993 .....   | 291        |
| National Lottery Act 1997.....   | 292        |
| National Lottery Act 1998.....   | 294        |
| Policy directions to the HLF from government.....  | 295        |
| Heritage Lottery Fund Policy Directions 1993 .....                                       | 295        |
| Policy Directions issued under the National Lottery etc. Act 1988.....                   | 296        |
| Policy Directions .....  | 297        |
| Outcomes for heritage lottery funded projects 2013 – 2018.....                           | 300        |

Word count 82676

## List of figures

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: The Women of World War II, Whitehall, London (2005) by John W Mills, bronze<br>.....  | 110 |
| Figure 2: Macclesfield War Memorial, Park Green, Macclesfield (1921) by John Millard<br>bronze and stone.....   | 127 |
| Figure 3: Cover of the book 'Letter to an Unknown Soldier' designed by ©Kate Gaughran,<br>2014, published by William Collins, London.....                         | 136 |
| Figure 4: The Weeping Window by Paul Cummins (artist) and Tom Piper (designer) .....  | 139 |
| Figure 5: We're here because we're here by Jeremy Deller and Rufus Norris: Chester Station,<br>1 July 2016. ....  | 140 |
| Figure 6: The frontpage of the Daily Mirror 28 April 1995 .....   | 155 |
| Figure 7: Letter from Sir Winston Churchill to President Roosevelt, 5 December 1940 .....   | 163 |
| Figure 8: Examples of the original state documents held in the Churchill Papers collection<br>.....   | 164 |
| Figure 9: Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows, (1831) John Constable .....   | 182 |
| Figure 10: Flyer from Salisbury Museum illustrating Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadow<br>(1831) John Constable oil on canvas and promoting the exhibition ..... | 187 |
| Figure 11: Self Portrait (c.1640) Van Dyck.....   | 191 |
| Figure 12: Flyer for Turning to See, an exhibition at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery<br>.....  | 201 |
| Figure 13: The interior of the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston. ....   | 204 |
| Figure 14: The Parks Committee visit to inspect the Summer bedding in Phillips Park,<br>Manchester, 1913 .....  | 219 |
| Figure 15: Phillips Park, Manchester. Two views, 1985 and 1993: the floral display vanishes<br>.....  | 219 |
| Figure 16: Infographic produced by the HLF in 2017 about the First World War programme<br>and thanking National Lottery Players for their support .....           | 257 |

## **Abbreviations**

ACE Arts Council England

AHRC Arts and Humanities Research Council

BAME Black Asian and Minority Ethnic

BLF Big Lottery Fund

DCLG Department of Local Government

DCMS Department of Culture Media and Sport

DDCMS Department for Digital Culture Media and Sport

DEFRA Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs

EH English Heritage

HE Historic England

HLF Heritage Lottery Fund

IWM Imperial War Museum

NDPD Non Departmental Public Body

NE Natural England

NHMF National Heritage Memorial Fund

NLF National Land Fund

NLPU National Lottery Publicity Unit

NT National Trust

PRONI Public Records Office Northern Ireland

RCEWA Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art

V and A Victoria and Albert Museum

## Abstract

This thesis examines the operation and governance of the Heritage Lottery Fund and scrutinises its role in managing how the past is used and valued in the present. My purpose is to interpret the funder's function and influence in the negotiated heritage process, understanding heritage to constitute both an inheritance to be preserved and as a political and social construction. This study questions the veracity of the Heritage Lottery Fund's statement that it does not define the heritage it supports (HLF, 2013a, p.10), given the parameters and priorities it sets for the allocation of its funding. Furthermore, my findings suggest that the funder should be regarded not only as a heritage saver but also as a heritage maker.

Set in the context of post-1945 UK heritage policy, the study locates the work of the Heritage Lottery Fund in a continuum, highlighting the enduring links with its predecessor bodies, the National Land Fund and the National Heritage Memorial Fund, through the dominant models of heritage production that are present in each funder's work. This research integrates theoretical frameworks of heritage value, historical research and my own professionally situated knowledge as a former Heritage Lottery Fund grantee and trustee, to enrich and deepen the understanding of the policy development and working methods of the largest state funder of heritage. The thesis illustrates, by example, the breadth of the funder's remit through detailed studies of two targeted funding strategies linked to marking the Centenary of the First World War and the regeneration of urban parks and four case studies of individual high-profile grants for heritage objects.

This analysis illuminates the role of the governing body in grant making, considers reactions to their funding choices in the public sphere and provides some commentary on the changing relationship with the lottery players. Through these examples, the research proposes that we should recognise that publicly funded heritage activity is shaped by both the requirements of the lottery distributor and the aspirations of the applicant. The thesis asserts that the Heritage Lottery Fund shapes many of the ways in which the past is constructed today and suggests that this power and influence should be more widely acknowledged and recognised in the critique of heritage practice and cultural policy.



## **Declaration**

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree of qualification or this or any other university or other institute of learning

## Copyright statement

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.
- iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=24420>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/>) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses

## Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to everyone who helped me in the preparation and production of this thesis, especially my supervisors Abigail Gilmore and Helen Rees Leahy for their advice and encouragement.

I am grateful to all the current and former staff of the HLF and the NHMF who have helped me with my research and in particular Carole Souter, Anthea Case, Georgina Nayler, Karen Brookfield, Drew Bennelick and Eilish McGuinness for their thoughts on specific programmes and events. The patient assistance of Vanessa Wells, Suzanne Baker and the staff of the Secretariat enabled me to access corporate documents and reports.

Conversations with Sandy Nairne, the former Director of the National Portrait Gallery and Stephen Deuchar, the Director of the Art Fund, helped me to see the work of the two funders from different external perspectives. Allen Packwood, Director of the Churchill Archives Centre, gave me insights into the wide-ranging impacts of the HLF grant.

This thesis would not have been completed and submitted without the help and advice of the staff at the University of Manchester Library, especially the IT team and Michael Stevenson of the Teaching and Learning team. Julie Fiwka and Amanda Mathews of the Graduate School also offered great practical support.

The inspiration for embarking this project was my father, Frank Tandy, who has enriched his later life by developing new skills and I am indebted to my sister, Caroline Walker, who read many versions of my chapters, without complaint. Sophie Walker, my niece has offered unstinting enthusiasm and optimism about my research and her partner, Tom Passmore, has patiently sorted out all of my IT problems.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Brian and my son George for their forbearance over the eight years that I have spent wrestling with this study. If nothing else, this experience has given me an insight into the creative process that they challenge themselves with every day.

## Introduction

The first National Lottery tickets went on sale in the UK in the autumn of 1994. Heritage was chosen by the government to be one of the 'good causes' to benefit from the funds derived from lottery players' stakes. The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) was set up as an account within the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF) budget in order to distribute the money.<sup>1</sup> One of the original fifteen distributors of the National Lottery (Henley Centre, 2004, p.6), the creation of the HLF enabled a new grant-making infrastructure for heritage via an arms-length body of the state.

The HLF 'opened for business as a grant giver on 4 January 1995' (Heritage Lottery Fund [HLF], 1996a, p.15). The scale of funding for heritage that was created by the National Lottery was unprecedented. In the first full year of operation the HLF's income from lottery players stakes was £293m (National Heritage Memorial Fund [NHMF] and HLF, 1996, p.6). In comparison, the total NHMF spend from its inception in 1980 to 1995 was just £176.6m (NHMF and HLF 1995a, p.1). In its first twenty-two years (1994-2016) over £7 billion of national lottery funding has been awarded by the HLF to the natural and cultural heritage sector (Maeer, 2017, p.40). In that time period, the HLF received seventy-four thousand applications (HLF, 2017c, p. 6) and made more than forty-three thousand grants (HLF, 2017e), making it the largest public grant giver for heritage in the UK.

---

<sup>1</sup> The National Lottery Act 1993 identified NHMF as the body to distribute funds raised by the National Lottery to the heritage sector throughout the UK. The HLF is the trading name under which NHMF operates its Lottery account. NHMF was established as a funding body for the heritage by the National Heritage Act, 1980. NHMF currently reports to the Department for Digital Culture, Media and Sport (DDCMS) and has a Funding Agreement with the DCMS. The HLF is controlled by Policy Directions from the devolved governments (NHMF, 2017b) (Appendix 2).

The lottery distributor works across a range of forms of heritage, from listed buildings, designated landscapes and protected species to the intangible heritage of oral history, customs and traditions. The HLF purports to have no working definition of heritage – ‘We do not define “heritage”, instead encouraging people to define their own heritage’ (HLF 2012ba, p10). This mirrors the position of its parent body, the NHMF - ‘we could no more define the national heritage than we could define, say beauty or art’ (NHMF, 1981, p.2). My examination of the activities of the HLF interrogates this stance, which appears to put the responsibility for the definition of heritage back on to the applicant, to reveal how the lottery distributor does in fact shape the production of heritage through its funding processes and decisions. On the one hand, the funder stimulates applications for specific heritage types and themes from across the UK through targeted programmes and on the other hand, it frames the requests for funding from its open grant schemes through the stated outcomes that its applicants are required to meet. This study recognises that heritage making is a political and social construction and therefore considers the funder not as a neutral distributor of lottery monies, but rather one which has, through its resources, the ability to shape, mould and present the artefacts, sites, experiences and spaces where heritage is made and consumed.

The first independent academic exploration of the HLF’s role in the construction of heritage, this study examines the processes of state-funded heritage making and considers what this tells us more broadly about cultural policy and grant decision making, it offers a detailed analysis of the NHMF’s and the HLF’s funding processes and traces their roots in the post-war settlement. This insight into the lottery distributor is formed from evidence from historical and archival research combined with critical heritage theory and my own professional engagement with the NHMF and the HLF, to create a richer understanding of the origins of the HLF’s specific contribution to the identification, production and preservation of heritage.

I begin by presenting two key contextual frameworks for the research, one theoretical, the other personal. The first explores the complex and evolving definition of heritage, a 'slippery and ambiguous term' (Graham and Howard, 2016, p.1) that utilises many criteria and is constantly shifting. I then consider a range of theoretical perspectives on the heritage process, including the focus on preservation (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981); the recognition of heritage as a social and political construct (Harvey, 2001; 2016) and the definition, uses and hierarchies of the public and heritage value that the HLF creates and supports (Hewison and Holden, 2004; Clark, 2006; English Heritage [EH], 2008; Gibson, 2008; Jones and Leech, 2015) and apply these to understanding heritage funding activity.

My second framework of reference is my personal engagement with the NHMF and the HLF as a grant recipient, a trustee of the NHMF/HLF board and an evaluator of an HLF-funded programme. This lived experience inspired this research and is supported by my own reflections on the heritage process and my part in it. Together these different forms of knowledge have provided me with a set of insights to contribute to this critique of the funder's work. I am aware that my professionally situated knowledge has informed 'everything from the research hypothesis to the design of the study, the selection of the sources and the manner in which they are analysed' (Gunn and Faire, 2011, p.4). The sensitivities that come with embedded practice have also informed the deliberately neutral tone of both my description and evaluation of the case studies in this thesis and my critique of the relationships between the HLF and local and national government. I have sought to achieve critical distance while maintaining professional discretion. The multidimensional approach of the study and the strengths and weaknesses of my embodied understanding of the work of the HLF are discussed in more detail in *The origins of the study* section of this chapter.

## The concept of heritage

Debates about the definition of heritage are complex and ‘(a)ttempts to codify heritage have confounded scholars’ (Smith et al, 2010, p.15). Hunter suggests that the deliberate preservation of built heritage in Britain, evidenced by legislation and the creation of dedicated charitable bodies in the late nineteenth century, such as the founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings by William Morris in 1877, the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act and the establishment of the National Trust (NT) in 1895, represent some of the first important developments in the conservation movement (Hunter, 1981, p.24).<sup>2</sup> However, when heritage is viewed as a cultural process, particularly in the context of the legitimisation of national identity through intangible heritage such as oral history and rituals, an instrumental use of the past in the present is evident. Harvey cites the annual commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot, which has been marked in the UK since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the traditions linked to the legends of St George as the patron saint of England, which were deployed by the church and the state to reinforce political and religious beliefs, as examples (Harvey, 2001, pp.328-330).

Whilst Harvey’s proposition suggests that heritage production can be traced back to medieval times, if not earlier (Harvey 2001), the word ‘heritage’ appears to be a much later addition to the vocabulary of cultural theorists (Schwarz, 2005, p.154). The term does not have a place in either Raymond Williams’ *Keywords* (1976) or in *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts* (Edgar and Sedgewick, 2005). This is a far from exhaustive search in theoretical literature, but its absence from these reference books implies that the definitive qualities of heritage remain hard to capture. An exploration of approaches to heritage research reveals tensions between the competing frameworks relating to how heritage is studied, valued and

---

<sup>2</sup> The National Trust was set up as a charity in 1895. It is the largest voluntary conservation organisation and the largest landowner in England, Wales and Northern Ireland (Murphy, 2002, p.13).

defined. Lowenthal (2012) locates the creation of heritage as a focus for academic study in the twentieth century. Observing that the concept embraces 'all time and all space' bringing geography and history together, he proposes that the 'rapid expansion of the discipline without intellectual strength' in the 1970s led to a scope of study which was 'hard to get one's arms around' (Lowenthal, 2012). This sense of a wide-ranging and unwieldy discipline is echoed by Graham and Howard, who observe that,

archaeologists may indeed pay lip service to intangible heritage, as do museums, but they are still wedded to physical artefacts; art historians inevitably are concerned largely with high (or artform) culture; geographers usually only concern themselves with heritage that has a place dimension (2016, p.9).

In the context of the preservation of the historic environment, in the twentieth century, analytical frameworks for heritage identification, assessment and management were established internationally. The Athens Charter of 1931 (ICOMOS, 1931), focused on the importance of artistic, historic and scientific interest. While the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) also recognised the cultural significance of sites in terms of the social value of place, Clark notes that, 'significance is not given an explicit role in decision making' (Clarke, 2010, p.90) relating to the conservation and care of locations. The forty documents at a national and international level that have been developed since, mainly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) have been 'in the forefront of defining common terminology and scope of heritage' (Ahmad, 2006, p.294). Jones and Leech (2015) examined the application of a range of heritage values in their construction and reveal the tensions between the expert-driven historical and aesthetic or intrinsic value conferred on heritage and the lower levels of recognition of emotional and social, or what could be described as instrumental value, attributed to sites and objects by communities when assessing significance. They note the dominance of intrinsic values that are 'long established and



embedded in expertise and connoisseurship' (de la Torre and Mason, 2002, pp.3-4, cited in Jones 2017, p.24).

The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS, 1979), which, in Clark's view, is 'probably the first conservation charter to make explicit the role of significance in heritage conservation' (Clark, 2010, p.90), acknowledges the social value of place. While this charter has no status outside Australia, its influence on the conservation plans and principles of the HLF and English Heritage (EH) in the 2000s is evident, as both organisations begin to highlight the meaning of place, as well as the technical challenges of conservation practices (HLF, 2002 and EH, 2001).<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the 2000s, EH implemented a framework for assessing four types of heritage value: evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal (EH, 2008).<sup>4</sup> These categories were created by EH to provide, in their view, 'a logical approach to making decisions and offering guidance about all aspects of England's historic environment' (English Heritage, 2008, p.7) and the recognition of social value reflects a more representative approach to heritage assessment.

Lowenthal is clear that '[t]he past is made by us' (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p.236) and it follows therefore that the HLF plays a part in that process, encouraging both expert-led and

---

<sup>3</sup> English Heritage was established in 1983 by the government. It did two jobs: it cared for the National Heritage Collection and it ran the national system of heritage protection, including listing buildings, dealing with planning issues and giving grants. In 2015 the organisation was split into two parts: a charity that looks after the collections which kept the name, and Historic England that champions the nation's wider heritage, running the listing system, dealing with planning matters and giving grants (English Heritage, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> The four types of heritage value were defined for English Heritage (now Historic England) in 2008, (English Heritage, 2008, p.28-31) in relation to the historic environment:

Evidential value: the potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity.

Historical value: the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present – it tends to be illustrative or associative.

Aesthetic value: the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.

Communal value: the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it figures in their collective experience or memory.

citizen-led requests for support through its grant regimes. 'Heritage values are contested values' (Smith, C. 2010, p.10) and the constructionist view of heritage as 'a contemporary product shaped from history' (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.20) reflects this proposition. Carman observes:

Heritage can be found in many forms – everywhere there are human beings, and any human being can make as many claims to as many different forms of heritage and as many heritage objects, sites or places as they choose (Carman, 2014, p.6).

While on the one hand this statement could be read as a challenge to the concept of designated heritage, that is determined by experts, it is also a description that reflects the HLF's approach, that is that it is open to receiving applications from anyone in the UK about something that they value from the past. Graham and Howard build on these ideas by recognising the complex behaviour at play in heritage production and consumption, as 'values are placed upon artifacts or activities by people who, when they view heritage, do so through a whole series of lenses, the most obvious of which are: nationality; religion; ethnicity; class; wealth; gender; personal history' (Graham and Howard, 2016, p 2). These considerations are evident throughout this study and they apply not only to the applicants but also to the staff, advisory and governing bodies of the HLF.

When seen as a cultural process, heritage is often linked to identity, both personal and national (Graham and Howard, 2016), and to the inheritance of resources from the past that people identify with and value (Smith et al, 2010). These ideas raise issues about whether 'heritage is defined for people [by experts] or chosen by them' (Carman, 2014, p.7).

Contrasting the 'one dimensional ideas of preservation' (Harvey, 2016, p. 20) with heritage processes that are about 'making meaning from the past and caring about it and for it' (Russell, 2010, p.29) illustrates the different approaches to heritage that are evident in the work of the NHMF and the HLF and raises questions about who is involved in or excluded

from the selection of the material deemed to be heritage and the values and resources that they bring to that exercise. The interplay between these two concepts is key to this study and can be seen in the social and political influences on the governance, purpose and processes of the two funders and the institutional values and behaviours that they display.

The term 'heritage' encompasses a wide range of activities by different people, and therefore that 'heritages have many uses but they also have multiple producers' (Graham and Howard, 2016, p.1). On the one hand, this statement recognises the range of social, economic and political purposes that heritage is put to and on the other hand, it highlights the breadth of the concepts of heritage that the HLF responds to and also produces. These include, not only applications generated by 'the obsession of a passionate, educated and generally influential minority' (Graham, et al, 2000, p.14, cited in Harvey, 2016, p. 27) and described by Smith as 'the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites' (Smith, 2006, p.4), but also Harvey's model of 'small heritages' (Harvey, 2016, p.20) that are valued by communities.

The idea of 'little platoons' with multiple heritages as opposed to the single narrative of 'great society' (Samuel, 1994, p.18) highlights the 'attempts by local communities to make and maintain their own heritage' (Robertson, 2010, p.144). This form of small scale activity, which recognises what Hewison and Holden (2004) define as an instrumental value of heritage, has been enabled by the availability of HLF funds and its funding processes which, particularly since the 2000s, have encouraged the productive involvement of stakeholders, whether applicants or volunteers, in caring for and about their past, and embraces the complex concepts of identity in a diverse society.<sup>5</sup> This support of the local heritage or what

---

<sup>5</sup> Broadening the Horizons of Heritage, the HLF's second strategic plan (2002-2007) introduced a range of measures including the ring fencing of 50% funds to be spent through the new network of offices in the regions and home countries, recognising the importance of local heritage, and made commitments to funding programmes for young people and volunteers (HLF 2002).

Jones has termed 'social memory' (2017, p.23), consisting of 'dynamic collections of fragmented stories that revolve around family histories, events, myths and community places' (2017, p.23) by the lottery distributor, can not only be seen as a recognition of a particular form of heritage practice, but can also be interpreted as the appropriation of these heritages by the state. Examples of the way that the HLF has generated and managed this activity and the consequences of this are discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

Graham and Howard's model of heritage explores these 'instrumental' values further and recognises 'the ways in which very selective past material artefacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural and economic resources for the present' (2016, p.1), whenever that present may be. This definition is relevant to this study as it offers a conceptual framework which acknowledges that multiple processes are at work in heritage production which is prompted by or used to meet perceived needs in the present. It also recognises 'the privileging of certain values over others' (Carman, 2014, p.16) by both applicant and decision maker in the requests for and allocation of funding and begins with human action and choices. This position resonates with my study of heritage production and practice, which is seeking to understand the impact of government policy and the availability and distribution of resources, through funding processes, on the presentations and interpretations of the past in the present and the ways in which the existence of the HLF generates heritage activity.

The recognition of heritage as a discipline has developed over the decades from 'a focus on object (fabric or material culture) to a focus on subject (memory or association)' (Carman, 2014, p.17). Russell has observed that '(m)ost definitions of heritage elaborate on its quality as a thing (or those things) that are passed on to future generations' (Russell, 2010, p.29), while Clark proposes a process-based approach, stating that the practice of heritage is 'based on the assertion of a public interest in something, regardless of ownership' (Clark, 2010, p.89). As a social construction that is made in the present, it follows therefore that heritage is

produced because it is meaningful for the heritage maker and the consumer, be they an individual, an institution or the state, and that heritage production is prompted by a range of present personal, social, political or economic needs or concerns.

I argue that the HLF's grant making is part of the heritage process. In return for an award, a range of the lottery distributor's intrinsic, instrumental and institutional objectives are articulated and delivered by the successful applicant. The funder's staff and trustees as well as the applicant and the other stakeholders in the project (including the lottery players) all bring their own priorities and agendas to the activity, thus creating a negotiated environment in which heritage is made and invested in.<sup>6</sup>

Bell and Oakley observe that '(t)he way that the state interacts with, supports, represses or regulates different cultural forms is highly selective and contingent' (2014, p.16) and in this thesis the comparison of the heritage policies of the post-war National Land Fund (NLF), the NHMF and the HLF and their relationship to EH and more recently Historic England (HE), outlined in Chapter 1, demonstrates the breadth of government approaches to heritage funding since the Second World War.<sup>7</sup> This analysis of heritage funding also reveals the 'transitions in how official heritage is carried from obsessions over site or over artefactual

---

<sup>6</sup> By 2017, the HLF had received 74,000 applications (NHMF, 2017b, p.6) and awarded 43,000 grants (HLF 2017c). This implies that 58% have been successful and 42% have been rejected. Projects that are rejected for support will receive feedback and may resubmit and the HLF also takes positive action in areas with low levels of applications, designating them development areas. In 2017, the HLF launched a pilot micro-grants scheme in Barrow in Furness offering applicants on the spot decisions about grants from £200 to £3000 (HLF, 2017d)

<sup>7</sup> The National Land Fund was established in 1946 by Dr Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a capital sum of £50m arising from the sale of war surplus goods. The fund recompensed the Treasury for the costs associated with accepting land and later buildings and their contents in lieu of inheritance tax. It was established under the Finance Act 1946 s.48-50.

integrity, to viewing emotion and embodied practices as legitimate and valuable vehicles through which history cultures may be practised' (Harvey, 2016, p.32).

Concepts of value in relation to heritage are key to understanding and comparing the different roles of the NHMF and the HLF (Hewison and Holden, 2004; Clark, 2006; Jones and Leech, 2015). Two aspects of this complex field are assessed and considered here. The first is heritage-specific typology and is concerned with justifying acts of preservation or designation by recognising the different types of value and meaning that are present in heritage, such as historical, aesthetic, scientific and communal (Jones and Leech, 2015). The second is the broader values framework which recognises the role of the HLF's own processes in the creation of public value and examines how different actors within the heritage process may infer value on to heritage, distinguishing between those which have institutional ties, those which are intrinsic (or free from extrinsic influence) and those which are aimed at producing social, economic, environmental or political outcomes which can be described as instrumental. This set of public goods, which was defined by Hewison and Holden for the HLF in 2004, is particularly relevant to this study of the two heritage funders, as this theoretical model identified a set of intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values evident in the work of the lottery distributor as a way of explaining or justifying the purpose and demonstrating the impact of the HLF's work.

Hewison and Holden's work was influenced by Moore's (1995) notions of public value, which were current in central and local government in the 2000s. Created to capture the complexity of the heritage sector and the multiple meanings and processes at work within a bureaucracy like the HLF, it was a response to the Secretary of State for DCMS, Tessa Jowell's question, 'How, in going beyond targets, can we best capture the value of culture?' (Jowell, cited in Hewison and Holden 2004, p.10). Hewison and Holden offered a model of inter-related intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values and relate the importance of these qualities to three groups of stakeholders with an interest in heritage: the

public, professionals and politicians and policy makers, and this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

Hewison and Holden's multidimensional proposition conflates a wide range of social, educational, environmental and economic values into the concept of 'instrumental' and can be interpreted as setting up instrumental values in opposition to intrinsic. Gibson, in her analysis and defence of instrumentality (2008), coming from a cultural policy perspective, takes this analysis further and rejects the 'simplistic dichotomies of "instrumentalism" and "intrinsic"' (p.255), in favour of 'cultural management that is articulated to democratic access, representation and accountability' (p.252). For other commentators (Lee et al, 2011, p.291), the Hewison and Holden framework denied the political reality of limited funding and the power networks that distributed it, and avoided questions about whose heritage, whose money and whose priorities.

Multiple heritage values and the power relationships that they operate within are also discussed by Jones (2017), in the context of the historic environment. She develops the concept of social value in the heritage sector and recognises the tensions between the communal importance of places of minor historic significance to communities that feel underrepresented in the national heritage agenda, and the potential indifference that these groups may have to many of the officially designated sites and places. This observation is relevant to critiques of the allocation of National Lottery funding for culture, which is widely believed to be generated, in the main, from poorer communities and spent on the cultural interests of the better off (Mulgan 1996).

This broader perspective on heritage value has been informed by the experience of heritage professionals in countries such as Australia who are working 'with people with very different cultural perspective from their own' (Clark 2010, p.90). Jones also recognises that 'the elusive and intangible' (Jones 2017, p.26) qualities of social value contrast with the

categories of historic, scientific and aesthetic values that can appear more stable and objective, linking to Harvey's proposition that the development of heritage concepts is 'gradual, tentative and discontinuous, intrinsically linked to changing notions of what heritage should be like' (Harvey, 2001, p.336). Jones and Leech highlight the tension between the idea of heritage as 'fixed, immutable and focused on "the past" and that of a mutable heritage centred very much on the present' (Smith and Akagawa, 2009, cited in Jones and Leech 2015, p.14).

As will be seen, the HLF's grant-making accommodates a wider spectrum of heritage practices and purposes than the NHMF's. It spans the physical preservation of tangible heritage through to the collection and recording of intangible heritage and also supports the interpretation and creation of heritage through participation, recognising a wide range of uses of the past in the present. The government expectations of the impact of the lottery distributor's funds are broad and go beyond preservation. From 2013 applicants to the HLF were required to demonstrate how their proposal might meet a set of fifteen stated outcomes, of which five related specifically to the interpretation and management of the heritage at the heart of the grant request and ten linked to the social and economic benefits of proposed projects to people and communities (HLF, 2015e, p.6). This emphasis on instrumental benefits is a form of policy attachment, as described by Gray (2002 ) and has also been interpreted as defensive instrumentalism by Belfiore (2012), which she argues denies the intrinsic value of culture, but as Davies (2008) has observed, a focus on the social and economic benefits can also be seen as the way in which justification and accountability for public funding is achieved in a political context.

One of the contributions of this thesis is to show in detail how the HLF responds to and generates three different aspects of heritage practice: participatory forms of heritage-making by communities and artists; the preservation and interpretation of expert-defined material, and the recognition and regeneration of everyday heritage such as public parks which is



explored in Chapter 5. The overall study considers how the HLF conducts its grant giving to respond to the types of heritage production that it supports, who makes decisions on applications and what is funded.

Chapters 2 to 5 offer in-depth analysis of grants that were agreed by the board of trustees at key moments in the HLF's history. Set in a policy context, these studies understand and interpret the work of the HLF through its funding decisions. Using two detailed reviews of funding streams, Chapters 2 and 5 focus on specific forms of heritage and methods of heritage making, exploring the strategic and pragmatic reasons for their creation and the challenges presented by their delivery, while in Chapters 3 and 4, four case studies examine the negotiations surrounding individual grant decisions in depth. The approach to all of these investigations is described in detail in the *Methods* section of this Introduction.

### **The origins of this study**

This critical inquiry into the HLF through a Professional Doctorate is informed by personal reflection on my own engagement with the lottery distributor. I bring to this task embodied and informal knowledge and insights, built up over thirty years of experience of the arts and heritage sector in executive and non-executive director roles in both regional and national cultural organisations. Four perspectives outlined below have contributed to my thinking; three of these are professional and one is a personal revelation that occurred during my studies.

I have worked directly with the HLF in three ways. Firstly, as a grantee when I was Director of Manchester City Art Galleries (1998-2008), I led the £35m expansion and refurbishment of Manchester Art Gallery, which was part funded by grants from the HLF (£18.8m, £15m in 1996 (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.51) and a further £3.8m in 2000 (HLF, 2001, unpaginated)). The availability of HLF funding realised an ambition for the art gallery site that had been discussed within Manchester City Council for decades. Combined with European funding

and an allocation from the council's capital budget, the HLF award enabled this major capital project. Transforming the organisation, its buildings and the presentation of its collections to create a new art gallery, the development was part of the cultural offer for the Commonwealth Games in Manchester in the summer of 2002.<sup>8</sup> At that time, I viewed the HLF primarily as a source of money that came with conditions. On behalf of the city council, I was accountable to the HLF's staff, trustees and monitors, who were closely involved in the project. They regularly interrogated and challenged our decisions about the building's design and the presentation of the collections.<sup>9</sup>

I began a second professional relationship with the HLF in 2009, when as Director of Culture for Manchester City Council (2008-2011), I was appointed as a NHMF trustee, the parent body of the HLF, on a six-year term (2009-2015). As a member of the board, which governed both the NHMF and the HLF and playing an active part in the organisation, I gained a detailed oversight of both funders. My reflections on my experience are outlined later in this *Introduction*.<sup>10</sup> I observed the differences and similarities of the two funds in their approach to heritage. My awareness of the political context of the lottery distributor's work, both in terms of its relationship with government through the DCMS and its engagement with related development agencies such as the Arts Council England (ACE), EH and Natural England (NE), was heightened.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> 2400 awards with a value of £520m were made by lottery distributors to projects in Manchester and Salford between 1995 and 2004. This exceptional investment was in response to: the rebuilding of the city centre following the IRA bomb in 1996; the regeneration of Salford Quays, with the Lowry at its heart; the infrastructure for the Commonwealth Games (Henley Centre, 2004, p.16)

<sup>9</sup> During the design process for the Manchester Art Gallery, one trustee insisted that we revisit proposals to remove an entrance doorway from the rear of the building to accommodate the new extension. £250,000 was spent demonstrating to him that our original decision to take out this structure was the only way that the extension could be realised.

<sup>10</sup> Board members attended monthly board meetings, quarterly regional committee meetings and undertook grant assessment visits all over the country.

<sup>11</sup> Arts Council England is the arm's length body for arts and culture and its mission is 'Great art for everyone' (Arts Council England, 2013). Natural England is the government adviser for the natural environment in England helping to protect England's nature and landscapes for people to enjoy and for the services that they provide (Natural England, n.d.)

Directly involved in policy-making, the assessment of applications and grant giving, I began to comprehend the scale of the HLF's spending power. Through an understanding of its management of diverse relationships with funding partners such as on the one hand, local authorities with wide-ranging responsibilities and on the other hand, heritage-focused charities like the NT and the Art Fund, I observed the funder's approach to applicants and grantees and its impact on heritage production and consumption from a new perspective.<sup>12</sup> The combination of these different connections made me curious about the power and the influence of the lottery distributor and the role of its governing body, the origins of its working methods and its location in the contested field of heritage.<sup>13</sup> I wanted to go further into the history and operation of the HLF and understand in more depth how this new, powerful and relatively wealthy heritage funder had plotted its course. My third relationship with the HLF was as a commissioned freelance consultant working as the artistic and heritage quality assessor for the HLF funded *14-18 NOW* programme which marked the Centenary of the First World War. This offered additional insight into the evaluation of a specific lottery funded project from a grantee perspective and this is discussed in Chapter 2.

In retrospect, I realise that while I was professionally active in the heritage process, when I joined the HLF board, my own understanding and appreciation of heritage theory was limited. My personal definition of heritage throughout my career was dominated by the concept of preservation. During my working life I had little access to or, if I am honest, interest in or time for academic literature related to heritage. Much of the current literature on critical heritage theory was written after I had completed my Post Graduate Diploma in Art Gallery and Museum Studies in 1980. In the early years of my PhD research, I struggled to grasp the theoretical concepts relating to the construction of heritage and to relate them to

---

<sup>12</sup> Previously known as the National Art Collections Fund, the Art Fund is the national charity for art and has helped museums and galleries buy great works of art since 1903 (Art Fund n.d.c).

<sup>13</sup> From 1998-2001 I served on the Arts Council England's Lottery Advisory Board, which made recommendations for lottery grants to the main council. This experience made me aware of the different approaches of the two lottery distributors.

my research. That is, until I had to empty my mother-in-law's house. As I sorted through her possessions, I found myself having to make sense of her past in the present and consider what should be saved for the future. Lowenthal's proposition that the heritage process is about making meaning from the past in the present (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p.236), became very clear. I also realised that my husband or son would have undertaken this task in completely different ways, saving and discarding other things. Their choice of the material evidence of her life would have differed from mine because their approach would have been informed by their own relationships with my mother-in-law. This personal experience gave me a whole new insight into the idea of heritage process and enabled me to comprehend its powerful relationship to personal and national values and identity.

This insight into process-based heritage provided me with a new context for the analysis of the NHMF and the HLF. I gained a different perspective on the part played by the trustees and the nature of their power and the effect of the knowledge and understanding of heritage that board members brought to the grant-giving process. Recognising how heritage is produced has enabled me to see the work of the HLF, and by implication the board of governance's role, not just as a funder but also as a significant heritage maker. As a result of my studies it has become clear to me that the HLF actively manages the construction and uses of heritage in the UK. It does this by stimulating heritage activity through its grant programmes and policies, conferring heritage status on the projects it funds and shaping heritage production through the conditions attached to the resources it provides. Conversely, the funder also affects the future of the heritage at the heart of the applications that are not supported. I now move on to consider the role of governance in the work of the HLF

### **Board matters**

My involvement in the joint governance of the NHMF and the HLF offers another significant context for this study and is, in my view, a key element of the heritage funding process. The following exploration of the governing body is informed by theoretical research about the

performance and behaviours of nonprofit boards of trustees and compares this with my own experiences and observations. It locates the role of the NHMF /HLF board in the work of the two funders and articulates the role of the trustees in the heritage process. Drawing on Jancovich's research (2015) into the ACE, this study examines the power networks that inform that funder's operation and policy making. It considers the methods of recruitment for trustees, the NHMF's position as an arm's-length body, the composition of the board and its accountability to the public.

My developing understanding of the concept of heritage practice and its construction and my awareness of the range of heritage values that the NHMF and the HLF work with, has provided me with a backdrop for this contextual analysis of my experience as a government appointed trustee of the NHMF and the HLF. These theoretical models have enabled me to see how the institutional values of the NHMF and the HLF are reflected and expressed through the work of the board, explore how funding decisions are made and identify what types of knowledge are used in these deliberations, clarifying the role of the HLF's board of governance in heritage production through its decision-making processes.

This critique of the single governance structure that oversees the work of both the NHMF and the HLF, blends my direct experience of being a trustee with the broader knowledge that I have gained from my academic research. By analysing the specific role that the board plays in a grant-giving organisation, I identify the particular contribution that trustees make to the operation and governance of the NHMF and the HLF. I describe the governing body as the NHMF/HLF board because it is responsible for the operation of both funding streams and when I was a board member, dealt with the business of both funds at the same meetings. This required trustees to navigate between the two different sets of heritage values and criteria that the two funders work with in the business of each meeting.

In my opinion, the power that the HLF wields over the creation of meanings and uses of the past in the present and the range of political and social constructions that different types of heritage represent was never explicitly discussed or questioned at board meetings when I was a trustee. The board and the committee meetings were dominated by grant decision-making and strategic planning. No time was given to explicit theoretical discussions about the HLF's agency in the construction of the heritage process or intellectual debates about the definition of heritage values and how these are interpreted and presented by applicants or received by HLF regional committees and national trustees.<sup>14</sup> As a lottery distributor not a development agency, it could be argued that this was not our role; however, it now appears to me to be a significant omission. There was no the space made in the meetings for 'the analysis of the historically and culturally specific discourses and their power effects, which are constructed and reproduced' (Gibson, 2008, p.253) through programmes developed by state and government agencies like the HLF.

Having reached these conclusions following years of academic study, I would question whether many of my trustee colleagues or indeed applicants would relate to the concept of 'mutable heritage' (Smith and Akagawa, 2009 cited in Jones and Leech, 2015, p.14) or recognise the idea of the construction of the past by the present, despite being engaged in the process, or that board members would see themselves as part of a 'powerful cultural elite' (Jancovich, 2015) that makes national funding decisions. For me, these observations on the one hand reveal the distance between practice and theory and on the other hand suggest a denial of the political nature of heritage, an issue that has been critiqued by Wright (2009) and Hewison (1987), particularly in relation to the work of the NHMF and the NT. My curiosity about the ways in which the HLF conjures with the complex range of actual and theoretical outcomes for the heritage that its funding policies and grant giving create and the lottery distributor's interface with its parent body, the NHMF, sits at the heart of the origins

---

<sup>14</sup> While I was a trustee, each UK region and devolved nation had a committee which decides grants on smaller applications and makes recommendations to the board about larger ones. (HLF, n.d.a)

of this study. This builds on Hewison and Holden's (2004) observations about the responses of different stakeholders to the public values of the HLF which they define as intrinsic, instrumental and institutional.

To progress my thinking on governance in the HLF, I have used theories about the use of knowledge and applied these to research on the roles and behaviour of boards of trustees. The writings of Bolton, (2005) Schön, (1983,1991) and Thompson and Thompson (2008) have been key to my understanding of the use of the different types of knowledge that trustees bring and how these are employed in a governance and grant giving context. Studies of the behaviour and motivations of board members in both the commercial and non-profit sectors, through the work of Fredette and Bradshaw, (2012), Heemskerk et al (2015), Inglis and Cleave (2006), Miller-Millisen (2003), Roberts et al (2005) and Zhu et al (2016), set my experiences in a broader governance context, and using Jancovich's (2015) analysis I have considered who is involved in decisions related to public funding for culture and the roles that they perform.

In reflecting on my role as an NHMF/HLF trustee, I became aware that much of the literature on reflective writing practice is written in the context of the 'helping professions' (Thompson and Thompson, 2008, p.xi) such as nursing and teaching and is aimed at the staff working in these fields. However, I would suggest that this method of analysis has value in all professions, and more importantly, in governance as well as staff contexts. One of its prime purposes is the scrutiny and challenge of the types of knowledge that people bring to their work and as I discuss later, this critical aspect of the board member's role is seldom discussed in standard texts on trustee roles and responsibilities (Charity Commission, 2017).

Schön (1983) and Thompson and Thompson (2008) have examined the role of knowledge in organisations and they explore the ways in which reflective practice builds a relationship between theory, professional knowledge and evidence. While once again, these critiques are

developed from a staff perspective, this analysis is also relevant in a governance context. NMHF/HLF board members are often appointed for their specialist expertise, but how do they apply this attribute in their governance role as grant decision makers? As Graham and Howard (2016) observe, heritage production is viewed and valued through a whole series of personal lenses related to, for example, nationality, class, gender and personal history. Board members are part of the heritage process, bringing their own experiences to their performance of their trustee role. The navigation between the hierarchies of professional knowledge and day-to-day practice, which researchers have identified as a tension in the caring professions, I would argue, is also relevant in the context of the NHMF/HLF trustees' selection of projects to fund and the work of staff in assessing and presenting applications and supporting the outcomes of those decisions.

The literature on the behaviour of non-profit governance demonstrates a growing realisation that the performance of boards is not only 'determined by structural determinants but by behavioural determinants as well' (Heemskerk et al, 2015, p.417). However, as Zhu et al (2016) and Roberts et al (2005) observe, there is little scholarly research on the working processes as opposed to the duties of boards. As Miller-Millisen observes, '[t]he empirical investigation of board behaviour has been dominated by three organisational models: 'agency', which stresses the importance of separating the ownership of the organisation (the board) from the control (the management); 'resource dependence', which relates to the ability to acquire and maintain the resources needed for survival, and 'institutional', which explores the ways in which norms, rules and sanctions encourage and legitimate certain governance practices' (2003, p.521). These characteristics all focus on the transactional activity linked to the fiduciary responsibilities of trustees, such as risk management, audit systems and financial control, not the complexity of how board members work together.

Inglis and Cleave (2006, p.84) and Fredette and Bradshaw (2012, p.391) have commented that there is little research on the motivations and behaviour of trustee bodies in the



nonprofit sector, despite them bearing the ultimate legal responsibility for the organisations they govern. As Renz (2012, p.388) comments rightly, in my view, ‘too often we treat boards as blackboxes, framing our research questions to examine only inputs and outputs and acting as if what happens inside boards has no particular significance for how boards perform’. Even the governance advice issued by the Charity Commission focuses only on transactional issues, confirming Miller Millisen’s observation that ‘literature on nonprofit boards of directors is rich with prescriptive advice about the kinds of activities that should occupy the board’s time and attention’ (2003, p.521), but this material offers no specific guidance on behaviours or use of knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

### **The role of a board and its membership**

A trustee is defined as ‘a person or member of a board given control or powers of administration of property in trust with a legal obligation to administer it solely for the purposes specified’ (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1991, p.1312). Nonprofit boards are accountable to a wide range of stakeholders and as an NDPB, the NHMF/HLF board is accountable to government. The history of the NHMF has informed the NHMF/HLF board’s current working practices as a lottery distributor. The approach to grant making by the HLF in its first twenty-two years was characterised by high levels of trustee involvement and contact time with staff and applicants. The HLF’s way of working developed from the governance procedures of NHMF, which was set up in 1980 with a staff of four and a budget of £15m (NHMF 1981, p.v), where trustees with specialist knowledge played an active role in assessing applications. From 1995-2019, the same level of intense trustee engagement was broadly applied to a budget of £327 million (NHMF, 2017b, p.6) and a staff of nearly three hundred (NHMF, 2017b, p.30).

---

<sup>15</sup> The Charity Commission’s guidance is an example of this (Charity Commission, 2017)

Until major changes to the operation of the HLF that were introduced in 2019 as part of the new Strategic Funding Framework 2019-2024 (NLHF, 2019), the scope of the NHMF/HLF board member's role included direct involvement in the operation of HLF, going beyond merely ratifying management's decisions, to actually making them:

Our trustees lead strategic development and make decisions on grant requests over £2 million. They also decide on applications under grant programmes focusing on historic parks, landscapes and townscapes (HLF, 2018)

When the NHMF was established in 1980, Norman St John Stevas, then Minister of State for the Arts, described the board as 'a group of cultured generalists' (Wright 2009, p.42). They represented the interests of those who were part of the Establishment, reflecting Jancovich's observation that 'a narrow range of voices ... are involved in decision making' (2015, p.107).<sup>16</sup> The first set of trustees was dominated by academics and the owners or residents of historic properties and could be characterised by an 'enthusiasm for working with state institutions...claim[ing] jurisdiction over the apparatus of cultural governance...securing state funding to underwrite its elite mission' (Griffiths et al 2008, p.192).

In the 2000s the NHMF /HLF trustees are recruited through a rigorous public appointments process and are subject to Nolan's 7 Principles of Public Life (Committee on Standards in Public Life, 1995).<sup>17</sup> The posts are nationally advertised, and shortlisted applicants are

---

<sup>16</sup> Chaired by Lord Charteris, the Provost of Eton, the first board of ten trustees included The Marquess of Anglesey who lived in Plas Newydd, National Trust Property; Sir Robert Cooke, a Conservative MP and owner of Athelhampton House, which was open to the public, and chairman of the heritage committee of the British Tourist Authority; Prof F.G.T. Holliday, the Vice Chancellor of Durham University; Sir Rex Richards ,a former Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Charles Kinahan, Chairman of the Northern Ireland Historic Buildings Council; Maurice Lindsay, Director of the Scottish Civic Trust (NHMF, 1981, p.v).

<sup>17</sup> Nolan principles are selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership (Committee on Standards in Public Life, 1995)

interviewed by the chair of the board, a DCMS official and an independent adviser who together make recommendations about appointable candidates to the Secretary of State. The final appointment of candidates is approved by the Prime Minister.<sup>18</sup> This process can take many months and the levels of political attention given to the selection of candidates varies from one political administration to another. It is a remunerated public appointment, but the £6,500 annual honorarium that I received did not reflect the many hours of work required reading papers, attending monthly meetings and visiting projects. The term of appointment when I was a trustee was three years, with a possible renewal for a further three years, subject to further political approval.

Looking around the board table at my fourteen NHMF/HLF colleagues when I was a trustee, my fellow board members were a mixture of: retired senior public servants; people linked to heritage lobbying organisations such as the Historic Houses Association and Friends of Friendless Churches; landowners and collectors; leaders of museums and other cultural institutions; retired MPs; senior staff from the BBC; academics; philanthropists; and at least one person with expert knowledge of the natural heritage and history.<sup>19</sup> Jancovich would describe us as ‘the powerful cultural elite’ (2015, p.107), but that isn’t how I would describe myself. I would like to see a more nuanced analysis of this term and evidence of discussion with those who choose to give their time for this purpose and their motivations, if only to paint a more accurate picture of who does this work and perhaps encourage a wider range of people to engage with the governance process.

---

<sup>18</sup> ‘NHMF trustees are appointed for a term of three years, which may be renewed at the discretion of the Prime Minister’ (HLF, n.d.a).

<sup>19</sup> The board members of the NHMF/HLF at 31 March 2016 chaired by Sir Peter Luff: Sir Neil Cossons, OBE, Sandie Dawe CBE, Dr Angela Dean, Sir Roger de Haan, Jim Dixon, David Heathcoat-Amory, Perdita Hunt OBE, Steve Miller, Richard Morris OBE, Atul Patel, Dame Seona Reid, Virginia Tandy OBE (to 31 August 2015) Dr Tom Tew (NHMF, 2016b, p.54)

My motivations for joining boards of governance came from a fascination with how institutions work. Throughout my career I have held board memberships in cultural organisations at a regional and national level. I have applied for some and been invited to join others. On some occasions, particularly in the late 1990s and early 2000s, I felt that my status as a female living in the North of England holding a senior position in a Labour-led local authority may have prompted my appointment to certain national bodies and been presented as evidence of positive action being taken to broaden the profile of board members. I hope that my knowledge, expertise and outlook have been of use to the organisations that I have worked with. I am an experienced board member and enjoy board membership, not because I am seeking power but because I want to continue to participate in the sector and understand the ways in which decisions get made and how the staff and trustees do or don't work together to make things happen.

In the case of the NHMF/HLF role, I felt that I had my experience as a grantee, my local government knowledge and a range of sector-specific knowledge to offer. Having previously been a member of the ACE Lottery advisory panel, I was also aware of the difference between the two cultural lottery distributors and I was curious to understand how the HLF worked from a governance perspective and took account of the views of the regional committees. Despite having been a recipient of HLF funding and thinking I knew the organisation well, it was only when I joined the NHMF/HLF board that I appreciated the breadth of the lottery distributor's activity, the scale of the trustee workload and the complexity and rigour of its grant making processes.

Few board members had met each other prior to joining the NHMF/HLF board. This demonstrates both the wide appeal of the role to people from a variety of disciplines and the breadth of the heritage sector. It can also be inferred from this lack of connectivity that the HLF's scoping of heritage is different from the way that heritage activity is networked on a day-to-day basis and evidence of the limited connections that exist between the natural and

cultural heritage. This diverse range of backgrounds brings different voices to the table, but divergent perspectives can test the cohesiveness of the board when seeking optimal resolutions of complex issues (Zhu et al, 2016). Amongst the fifteen NHMF/HLF board members were the Chairs of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, who are also Deputy Chairs of the Board and the nine trustees who were also members, but not the Chairs of the regional committees across England and attended their quarterly meetings. Therefore, board members were also required to, on the one hand, work for the good of the organisation as a whole and on the other hand, consider and represent the needs of the geographical areas that they were linked to.

Having been a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) who has worked to a board of management and having also chaired a board of trustees, I know that the relationship between board members and staff and specifically between the CEO and the Chair, is a complex one, as each is dependent on the other and a mutual respect and understanding of the different roles and responsibilities of these two positions is key to success (Roberts et al, 2005). I have observed many instances in both regional and national bodies where this is not in place and organisations do not invest the time and planning needed to engage board members in productive dialogue and get the best from the skills and experience they have to offer.

In my experience, there are examples of organisations of all kinds where staff have failed to provide, or not understood, the need to provide the information that enables trustees to fulfil their legal duties, and this is evidence of the failure of the crucial relationship between board and staff. Poor attention to the needs of the board by the Chair and /or the CEO can create frustration on both sides and result in the board meetings being seen by the staff and the trustees as events to be endured rather than enjoyed. Grant giving bodies have a further layer of complexity in their governance role, as board members make or ratify funding decisions, and where this relates to public money, they must be publicly accountable for their choices.

The membership of any board is always changing as fixed terms of office come to an end and new people join. When I was a member, the make-up of the NHMF/HLF board was not very diverse: at any one time only one or two members were under 50, only one or two were from BAME communities and there were no members who to my knowledge identified as disabled. While both the Chair and the CEO were female, women were never in the majority as board members during my time as a trustee. The governing body was also dominated by people who lived in the South of England.

For the first 18 months of my term, I was the only trustee who lived north of Birmingham, apart from the Chair of the Scotland Committee. Over my six years at the HLF, only two other trustees were appointed who lived in the Midlands and the North of England. This poor geographical spread and narrow trustee profile demonstrated, in my view, the importance of the regional and country committees in offering local knowledge and context and also highlights the need for better promotion of public appointments to a wider range of people. I have spent many years working nationally, with the support of the ACE and the DCMS (Kings College London, 2018, p.74), to build the confidence of women in the sector to apply for roles of this kind, but progress is slow and the design and workload of the NHMF/HLF trustee and committee roles may have also contributed to the profile of people who are attracted to apply and feel that they could make the time to fully participate.

Membership of the NHMF/HLF board had a demanding 'effort norm' defined by Heemskerck et al as 'socially constructed expectations of the amount of time and energy individual group members will invest in their duties' (2015, p. 419). Board members were expected to 'actively participate in discussions, apply their professional skills to perform board activities and keep themselves available for the execution of specific tasks' (Zhu et al, 2016, p.213). The workload of a trustee comprised: eleven day-long board meetings in London; quarterly regional committee meetings; making all the NHMF funding decisions with the benefit of

advice from an expert panel; all HLF funding decisions over £2m and those related to national initiatives such as public parks; project site meetings accompanying HLF staff either before an initial grant decision is made and/or part way through the grant relationship; and representing the HLF at opening events when projects are completed.

### **Grant decision making**

How should decisions be made about the allocation of Treasury and National Lottery-derived money for heritage, and who should be involved? This debate, which is also current in arts funding (Jancovich, 2015), began in the heritage sector in the 1980s when the NHMF was established (Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987). The Churchill Papers decision in 1995 and other contentious National Lottery grant decisions in the mid 1990s, such as the ACE support for the Royal Opera House, raised the question again, and as Geoff Mulgan commented, ‘the experience of allocating National Lottery funds has dramatically heightened public awareness of spending decisions and confirmed the public’s opposition to most of them’ (Mulgan, 1996, p.201). As Chapter 3 demonstrates, in 1995, press reports about the Churchill Papers grant scrutinised the NHMF/HLF board membership and queried its suitability to allocate lottery funds.

The New Labour government, the National Lottery Decision document (DCMS,2003a) and calls for participatory budgeting (DCLG 2008) all required public bodies to find ways to inform, consult and involve citizens, or their representatives in decision-making, where appropriate. As a relatively new organisation, the HLF trustees responded to this challenge through the construction of regional and devolved nations’ offices and committees (recruited through public advertisement) and the delegation of 50% of the annual budget for them to control. In the 2000s, the HLF held Citizen’s Juries (Forgan, 2006) to review HLF projects that were both underway and completed and to consider the instrumental and intrinsic

benefits that they offered, testing aspects of Hewison and Holden's (2004) values framework.

The lottery distributor also created the opportunity for the public to vote on the allocation of capital grants, from national shortlists, by working with the BBC on the *Restoration* series that ran from 2003-2005. Whilst representing good examples of responsive institutional values and participatory forms of grant giving, neither of these initiatives have become a permanent feature of the HLF's working methods.

Until 2019, the board continued to make all the decisions on multi-million pound awards by both the NHMF and the HLF. Successive five-year funding frameworks for the HLF guide the structure and assessment of applications and these have been revised with each strategic plan. The creation of these plans is informed by public consultation involving both the heritage sector and for the first time in 2018, lottery players were involved (Resources for Change and Hopkins van Mill, 2018).

It is worthwhile comparing the NHMF/HLF decision making structures with those of the arts funding body in the DCMS family, the ACE. Jancovich's research (2015) reveals the influence of those with a vested interest in the ACE's operation, policy making and grant allocations. The ACE has challenges redistributing funding as 80% of its money is allocated to revenue funding the core costs of a cohort of organisations that have a strategic relationship with the ACE. Jancovich argues that these institutions therefore have a reason to try and maintain their privileged status and support for their way of working. The ACE regularly funds national institutions, such as the Royal Shakespeare Company; in comparison, the HLF does not have the same relationship with the national museums, which are directly funded by the DDCMS, and all of the HLF's relationships are project based and time-limited.



Unlike the ACE, the HLF has not set itself up as the arbiter of excellence in its field. Instead it relies on the designation of sites and objects by external experts or other arms-length bodies such as HE and NE. In the spirit of not defining heritage (HLF, 2013a), the HLF is willing to consider applications for heritage which is purely valued by the community and has no formal designation, thereby embracing 'amateur' activity. This is a field that the ACE has, until relatively recently, found hard to resource (Dodd, et al, cited in Jancovich, 2015). I would argue, therefore, that these different circumstances put the HLF in a different position to the ACE in relation to the influence of the 'power network' that presides over the allocation of resources in the form of the NHMF/HLF trustees.

### **Board meetings**

Decision making at NHMF/HLF board meetings was labour-intensive work. Agendas for the monthly meetings, which include both NHMF and HLF decisions, often ran to more than forty items and the board papers rarely fitted through my letter box. Sometimes targeted national funding programmes such as Parks or Townscape were the focus for the meeting. Other meetings considered the applications of over £2 million for the heritage grants scheme, which included the full range of the HLF's funding categories such as historic buildings, maritime, industrial and transport, landscape, culture and memories. The expenditure at each meeting I attended was in the region of £20 million. Once a year, major batch projects requesting over £5 million were considered and about £70 - £90 million was allocated at that meeting.

Trustees assessed and responded to applications using their knowledge, both open and closed as per Schön (1983) and Thompson and Thompson's models (2008) and from the perspective of their own areas of expertise, be that specialist knowledge of built or natural heritage, local government, accountancy, banking or business. Different backgrounds may lead to divergent interpretations of the same information (Zhu, 2016, p.316). I observed over

my 6 years on the board that as the membership changed, due to the arrival of new board members, appointed by different political administrations, so did the focus of the trustees' assessment of projects. In the early days of my membership, there was more discussion about the 'people' outcomes of the projects, such as the training, learning and employment opportunities that projects offered or the social and economic benefits of the project to the location. This stemmed from the interests of specific trustees who came from public service and heritage backgrounds. They were keen to support viable community-led projects and to challenge mainstream heritage organisations to be more audience focused. In the later years of my term of office, following the change of government from New Labour to Coalition, and a harsher economic environment, more trustees from a financial and business background were appointed. Budgets were more closely scrutinised and requests for uplifts, which are permissible at the Round 2 stage, or grant increases at a later stage in the project as a consequence of unforeseen increases in building costs once projects were tendered, were robustly challenged by some trustees.

There was rarely enough money to fund all the applications from across the country that were identified as a high priority for support. Determining the final list of successful lottery projects at each monthly NHMF/HLF board meeting was not a rubber-stamping exercise. The trustees aimed to both satisfy a UK-wide spread of investment and sector-specific considerations across the range of natural and cultural heritage presented at any one meeting and at the end of a long day had to make a list of funded applications fit into the available budget. The final decision on which applications were successful rested with the trustee body and was achieved through a voting process which prioritised the projects based on numerical scores. Using the trustees as the final filter endeavoured to provide a level of accountability and objectivity.

Given the frequent need to pitch high-scoring projects against each other, in order to create the final list of projects that would fit the available budget, the main question used to

prioritise these projects was “why now?” and each board member would bring their own knowledge and experience to the choices that they made and voted for. Another complicating factor for projects seeking funding was the competition that each high-scoring project was up against. Here in essence was an element of ‘national lottery’ for those seeking funds. Some well-planned and worthwhile projects would apply many times before they were successful. Others never succeeded. For example, a large London-based national museum application might flounder next to a collection of cheaper but strong regional projects, while a robust community led project could struggle against an application for Grade 1 listed heritage building at risk. This serendipitous process is, I would argue, a part of the heritage-making process that is rarely discussed. While the heritage at the core of the applications that are submitted is chosen by a wide range of people, the projects that are finally funded are determined by the assessments of the HLF staff, the decisions of the board and the available resources.

There were very different ideas amongst the board members about the use of lottery money and the role of the trustees of NHMF/HLF as guardians of public funds. Were we pursuing a principle of ‘value for money or money for values’ (Belfiore, 2012, p.109)? The range of views on our various approaches to how money should be allocated was never openly shared and discussed. Were we there to encourage ambitious heritage projects and help to make them happen, within reasonable financial limits, or was it our role to rein in organisations that we had already supported to begin their work, when they encountered genuine, significant, financial difficulty delivering complex building programmes and potentially threaten their viability by withdrawing support? Having witnessed the problems encountered by many ACE and HLF lottery-funded capital projects and had the direct experience of running capital projects myself, I know the unforeseen challenges that can arise, however skilled and experienced the management team might be. Other trustees, with different experience to draw on and perhaps different motivations for joining the board, could be less sympathetic.

Researchers Fredette and Bradshaw (2012, p 391) assert that there is a 'need for renewed attention to social and relational considerations in the board room'. Their observation that nonprofit boards are challenged by 'political wrangling, high-stakes problems and voluntary participation' highlighted the absence of common vision and a set of core values across the mix of newly appointed and more experienced NHMF/HLF trustees. While acknowledging that a shared approach can encourage an 'echo chamber' and 'group think' mentality, 'the potential dysfunction resulting from sparsely connected or incommensurate views about the organisation and its environment represent a ... challenge to... governance effectiveness' (Fredette and Bradshaw, 2012, p.394). Heemskerk et al (2015, p.420) view the conflict which arises when board members disagree because of different viewpoints as a positive influence within boards, as it increases understanding and critical evaluation. The role of the Chair in these situations is key to ensuring decisions are made.

### **Uses of knowledge by decision makers**

What knowledges do trustees use when making funding decisions and do they know what types of knowledge they are employing? Schön (1983) and Thompson and Thompson (2008), have examined the role of knowledge in organisations. Their exploration of the ways in which reflective practice builds a relationship between theory, professional knowledge and evidence, while developed from a staff perspective, can be applied in a governance context. The analysis which follows is offered in the spirit of an inquiry into the decision-making processes of a board and the challenges of applying the knowledge which each trustee brings to the complex issues on the table. It is not a criticism of the system that was in place at the HLF when I was a trustee, which is the most robust that I have ever worked with.

The NMHF/HLF board members are appointed for their functional knowledge such as finance or specialist expertise in, for example, historic buildings. How do trustees bring this implicit personal and professional knowledge into their decision-making processes and

navigate between their professional knowledge of, say, financial planning and management and then apply it in a new context to, for example, the unpredictable reality of historic building projects and the volatility of the building construction market? What other types of knowledge do they bring to the table?

In thinking about my own approach, my decisions on how to support applications at the NHMF/HLF board were informed by my experience of leading cultural capital projects and my understanding of the challenges of delivering construction work on historic buildings on difficult sites. My knowledge of the financial vulnerability of small trusts that undertake major developments came from my personal experience of undertaking an ACE lottery funded capital project when I was the Director of Cornerhouse in Manchester. So, in having these views, was I asserting my power as a member of the cultural elite and looking after the vested interest of the sector or pursuing my belief that the HLF had the capacity to support ambitious projects and that once it had committed to them, it should follow them through? From my perspective, particularly where smaller independent organisations that were inexperienced in delivering capital projects were concerned, the HLF had a duty to assist them through their project, as no-one else would, and that this was an important aspect of enabling lottery money to be spent in a different way to Treasury funding on a wide range of heritage projects. However not all trustees shared my view.

Bolton (2005, p.9), offers an analysis of invisible or implicit and explicit knowledge as:

‘tried and tested, gained initially from experience, observation, or study. Intimately known, its appropriate application is intuitive. This does not necessarily mean that it is right, any more than knowledge gained from randomised control trial research (explicit) is.’

Thompson and Thompson (2008, p.23) develop this idea into a model of open and closed knowledge:

‘Open knowledge is the type of knowledge that we have explicit awareness of. It refers to situations where we are drawing on an explicit knowledge base, where we know precisely what knowledge we are using and why we think it is appropriate...Closed knowledge, by contrast is the type of knowledge we draw on implicitly, without any direct awareness of it. It arises in situations where we have acquired knowledge but are not sure what we have acquired or how we acquired it.’

This view of closed knowledge is more negative than Bolton’s, describing it as: uninformed... stifling... potentially reliant on stereotypes and discriminatory assumptions (1994, p.24). In a heritage context, this complex use of open and closed knowledge is identified by Carman (2014), Graham and Howard (2016) and Smith (2006) as the lens through which heritage is viewed and valued as a resource for the present.

The decision makers, therefore, had a range of information at their disposal at the board meetings. It had been prepared for them in advance by staff and further information was been presented by officers and trustees on the day. This is open knowledge, but staff and trustees would interpret this data using closed knowledge, which might include personal preference or prejudice and professional knowledge or experience. I observed that trustees, consciously or unconsciously, used both open and closed knowledge (Schön, 1983; Thompson and Thompson 2008) in order to present and prioritise applications, and I include myself in that analysis. I have also witnessed this type of behaviour on other grant-making bodies that I have been involved with.

From my personal experience and observation, despite the measures that are put in place to encourage objectivity in grant decision making in funders of all kinds, such as the scoring of

applications against stated criteria, subjectivity via closed knowledge inevitably creeps into any decision-making process. The mix of open and closed knowledge differs for each trustee but could include: the perception of the ‘reputation’ of the applicant organisation and its leadership; the trustee’s view of the importance of the heritage at the core of the project; personal and/or professional judgement of the quality of the idea being presented and its relationship to stated criteria, and the level of strategic understanding of the sector; the scale and tone of the request; the quality of communication and the impact of the views of the officers, committee members and fellow trustees; and finally, the mood of the trustee group on the day, which could be affected by poor room ventilation, hunger, thirst, energy levels and the behaviours of the chair, other board members and staff. All of these factors will also contribute to the atmosphere in which choices are made. This analysis offers an empirical model in contrast to the more objective critiques linked to the decision making of funders, adding more, in some cases mundane, but no less significant factors to those of board demographics and power networks identified by Jancovich (2015).

What did we trustees look like to the staff who have nurtured the projects through to application? Did we appear to occupy Thompson and Thompson’s ‘high ground of professional knowledge’, able to make the strategic decisions, while staff and applicants lurked in the ‘swampy lowlands of practice’ (2008, p.14)? Following our board meetings, the staff would be charged with progressing our judgements, which would require helping an inexperienced client deliver a complex project or breaking the news to another that they had not been funded. The allocation of millions of pounds derived from lottery players’ stakes, particularly in a challenging financial climate, is a high-profile activity. As part of the decision-making process, the board had to articulate the reasons for not funding some projects in order to provide constructive feedback, as well as defend the reasons for supporting others.

Having been an applicant, I know that the work that goes into HLF applications represents hours of preparation and negotiations with stakeholders and other potential funders by the applicant. A failure to secure funding can have significant consequences, not just for the future of a historic building, landscape or object, but potentially for the economy of a town or city, the wellbeing of its residents and the reputation of the people who put the bid together. It can also be disappointing for the HLF officer, who may have spent a considerable amount of time supporting the applicant and assessing the project, and for the trustee who presented the application to the board on behalf of its region of origin. Having explored the issues of NHMF/HLF governance and its impact on heritage making, I now move on from the theoretical context supporting the thesis to outlining the scope and structure of the study and the rationale for its methodology.

### **The scope and structure of the study**

This research does not present a detailed chronological history of the HLF. It is a critical investigation into the HLF's work, focusing primarily on a selection of grant-making policies and strategies and how this shapes the heritage process and the meaning of the objects and sites that are the subject of the applications. It tracks how the lottery distributor has navigated particular grant-making issues and what that analysis contributes to the understanding of the operating context and behaviours of the funder, its governance and its relationship to the publics that it serves. In this study I have examined how these factors influence how heritage is made and how they inform the environments in which it is managed. Through these lines of inquiry, I explore the HLF's role in and impact on heritage production, its relationship to heritage discourse, its navigation of the intrinsic and instrumental values of heritage and its place in the history of heritage funding.

The structure of the thesis aims to present a range of linked insights into the HLF including its historical context and governance which, as my research progressed, I realised was



critical to understanding the institutional values of the lottery distributor. The approach captures the political, economic and social environment that this grant giving activity functions within. This is demonstrated through the lens of specific funding allocations and, I argue, ultimately affects the types of heritage practice that are invested in across the UK. The overall study offers in-depth insight into the changing and complex external environment that the lottery distributor has to navigate and its operational and theoretical relationship with the NHMF, building the evidence for the recognition of the HLF as an active heritage maker, the specific roles it plays and the values it displays.

The thesis begins with a brief history of the three heritage funders and the ways in which their work demonstrates different aspects of heritage theory. Chapter 1 analyses the relationships between the National Land Fund, the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Heritage Lottery Fund, and the similarities and differences of their policies and practices. It traces the heritage of the HLF through the ways in which its policies converge with and diverge from the NLF and the NHMF. This chapter provides the context for the following four chapters, which present the detailed case studies.

In undertaking this work, I recognised Paul Cairney's observation that 'public policy is difficult to study [and that] the policy process is complex, messy and often appears unpredictable' (Cairney cited in Bell and Oakley, 2014, p.48). As can be seen with the introduction of the urban parks programme early in the life of the HLF, as discussed in Chapter 5, the creation of new initiatives can be prompted by the urgent need to fix a different problem (Harding ,1999). In that instance the announcement and development of a targeted grants scheme for 'everyday' heritage sought to repair the reputation of the HLF following the accusations of elitism and the negative press and political response to the lottery grant for the acquisition of the Churchill Papers.

Through the analysis of the heritage values evident in individual specific examples of the HLF's policies, I highlight how the distribution of lottery funding for heritage begins with the grantor (HLF) determining the requirements of the funding programme. This structure then creates the framework for the request from the potential grantee. The resulting application is then subject to a set of assessments by staff, experts and HLF committee members and trustees. I identify historical, social and political factors that have informed and influenced this process and practice in the HLF's first twenty-two years (1994-2016).

Drawing on the insight gained from the experience of being both an HLF grantee and a member of its governing body, as previously discussed, this professionally situated inquiry into the HLF employs detailed reviews of two targeted grant programmes. These are the proactive approach to funding for both marking the Centenary of the First World War, outlined in Chapter 2, and the regeneration of urban public parks discussed in Chapter 5. Four case studies of high profile, individual, reactive grant applications to the generic heritage grants programme are explored in in Chapters 3 and 4. The findings illustrate the complexity of the negotiations linked to allocating funds to secure works of fine and decorative art and archives for national institutions. The acquisition of the Churchill Papers by the Churchill Archive Centre and the press and political response to that decision is the focus of Chapter 3. The purchase of Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* by Tate, the National Portrait Gallery's addition of a late self-portrait by Van Dyck to its collections and the Art Fund's role in securing the future of the Wedgwood collection and the ways in which these requests are framed are scrutinised in Chapter 4.

To understand the role of HLF funding in the marking of the centenary of the First World War, Chapter 2, explores the connections between the three heritage funders (NLF, NHMF, HLF) and the commemoration of those who died for their country. It offers an analysis of the relationship between the HLF and central government in marking the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great War, using heritage 'in the service of celebrating the nation' (Bell and Oakley,

2014, p.110). The transfer of high-profile heritage with a high monetary value from private hands to public collections is examined in both Chapters 3 and 4. These studies highlight issues of stewardship and connoisseurship, accountability for the allocation of lottery funding, and the uses of intrinsic and instrumental values by the applicants and by the funders to make the case for funding. Chapter 5 considers the lottery distributor's work as the champion of the everyday heritage of public parks. It explores the social and political motivations evident in creating this grant programme and the challenges of constructing a new funding process aimed at attracting applications from local government, for a previously neglected aspect of the historic environment.

### **Methods and sources**

I have used multiple methods to conduct this study, exploring heritage 'as discourse, as text, as process and practice' (Bell and Oakley, 2014, p.61). My initial research was constructed from an examination of the history of the legislative frameworks that created the three heritage funders: the NLF, the NHMF, and the HLF (see Appendix 2) and draws on the narrative about their work presented in their annual reports and accounts. These public documents offer the official version of the history of the development of the political thinking that informed the policies of the two different funding streams and demonstrate the response to changing government agendas. The lottery distributor's strategic plans created for the DCMS from 1999 onwards and the Policy Directions issued by government to the HLF (Appendix 2) were also key to piecing together institutional history.

The HLF's own informal collection of grey literature such as printed grant promotional material and application forms from the 1980s and 1990s, while not comprehensive or catalogued, contributed valuable evidence, as did the HLF's press releases and contemporary media coverage of grant announcements in newspapers and on news websites. I consulted the HLF commissioned evaluation reports that are available on the HLF website, particularly those relating to the Centenary of the First World War and urban parks, to understand how

applicants had delivered their projects in line with the HLF's intended outcomes (Appendix 2), and the kinds of heritage that had been produced. This analysis of these virtual and actual corporate archives was complemented by research on Treasury files about the Churchill Papers held at the National Archives in Kew and relevant articles in newspapers and periodicals. Alongside these sources I accessed relevant board minutes, both those that are produced for trustees and the summary versions that are published by the HLF on the website, board papers and in some instances my own memory of specific funding discussions at the board meetings, while recognising that I am potentially an unreliable witness.

Throughout the research process I have been conscious of McGuigan's questions: 'how can critical intellectuals be practical?' and 'how can practical intellectuals be critical?' (1996, p.190). Working with the literature, I have, at times, encountered my own challenges in developing critical distance and marrying my professional experience with academic study to create new insights into the work of the lottery distributor. I have been conscious of the advantages and disadvantages of insider research as recognised by Mercer (2007, p.1) and the ethical challenges that this brings. These include: my trustee status and the consequent privileged access to people and information; intrusiveness, given staff and trustees knew that I was undertaking the research; and the impact of my familiarity with the organisation and my rapport with staff and trustees on my critical analysis of my findings. I have been aware of the ethical issues presented by my status as an NHMF/HLF trustee and my knowledge of the internal workings of the organisation. This position has given me direct access to NHMF and HLF staff and to internal documents.

Informal conversations with current and former senior NHMF and HLF staff helped me to understand which grant decisions stood out for them across the history of the development of the HLF. These exchanges enabled me to compare their observations with my own ideas of how to comprehend the HLF through a series of funding allocations and to understand their perceptions of the board of trustees across two decades, albeit through the lens of engaging with someone who has also been involved with the governing body. However, I have always

been clear about the purpose of my research during these conversations. I have documented informed consent from the named interviewees that I have quoted in the thesis. They have all had the opportunity to review what I have written and agreed to its inclusion. At the organisation's request, I have accessed all the NHMF and HLF internal documents that I have referred to, via the Freedom of Information Officer at the HLF.

I agree with Hannabus' view that 'the insider researcher knows by instinct what can be done and how far old friendships and favours can be pressed' (2000, p.103). I believe that 'the insider researcher is able to appreciate the full complexity of the social world at hand' and that consequently their view is 'a potentially accurate portrayal rather than a simplistic caricature' (Hockey, 1993 pp. 204-205). My experience reflects that of Griffiths, who recognises that, 'insiders will undoubtedly have a better initial understanding of the social setting because they know the context; they understand the subtle and diffuse links between situations and events; and they can assess the implications of following particular lines of enquiry' (Griffiths, 1985, p.211).

As a trustee I was, of course, expected to be both an advocate, and a scrutineer. However, once I began my PhD, my interests extended back into the history of the NHMF and the HLF, and I was regarded with a little suspicion. One challenge that was presented was the reaction of the CEO and the Chair of the NHMF/HLF, who both expressed some apprehension about my decision use the HLF as the focus for my PhD research. This became more apparent when I announced that I was researching into the Churchill Papers grant decision that took place in 1995. One of the first ever HLF funding decisions made by the NHMF/HLF board, it had caused adverse comment in the press and created direct criticism of the trustees. I got the strong sense that for these people, my research was being seen not in the context of ethical, academic enquiry, but as a piece of investigative journalism. Their reaction surprised me, but as the organisation had previously had little independent academic attention, they were nervous about the consequences of my work.

Their concern demonstrated to me how powerful the impact of the Churchill Papers incident still was within the organisation. This was an event which none of the people that I was consulting had experienced directly, and yet it was still potent twenty years later. The reaction highlighted for me the vigilance with which the HLF's reputation is guarded. It also made me aware of the risk-averse nature of the organisation, which did not want to direct attention to difficult issues from the past, given the significant day-to-day workload on grant announcements and rejections.

Once I had written up my research, I offered the Chair and the CEO a draft of the article, which forms the basis of Chapter 3, to allay their fears and their concerns were reduced. The article was submitted to an academic journal and peer reviewed but is still to be revised and resubmitted for publication.

In doing this research I have become aware of the extent to which I had adopted and accepted the norms of the HLF over my six-year term. As part of the writing process I had to overcome my sense of loyalty to the staff, the organisation and my trustee colleagues and take a more disinterested approach to my experiences in order to recognise my part in the power structures that combining grant decision making with governance represents.

Supported by my supervisors, I have endeavoured to guard against '[the] myopia and [the] inability to make the familiar strange', which are seen by Hawkins (1990, p.417) as some of the negative traits of insider research. From a personal perspective, I have found it challenging to conduct research in a field that I worked in for three decades. I now view my own previous ways of working and thinking in a different and more critical light and have sought to confront this, at times considerable, discomfort through the analysis of my findings. However, I am convinced that 'the best critical analyses can only be those that engage with the detailed specifics of the institution' (Gibson, 2008, p.253).

My observations, interviews and desk-based research were illuminated by site visits. These included a trip to the Churchill Archive Centre, to see examples of the Churchill Papers and visiting exhibitions and displays of the HLF funded acquisitions featured in the case studies in Chapter 4. I also participated in an HLF-led roundtable discussion with the AHRC-funded study centres for the First World War community grants programme, outlined in Chapter 2. Attending this event enabled me to triangulate the funding ambitions of the grant scheme with aspects of the reality of the delivery. All of these sources contributed material for the multidimensional case studies and this method allowed the specific and complex issues of each example to be explored in real time, illustrating the range of contexts that the HLF functions within and enabling scrutiny of grant giving, which is the core activity that is the daily business of the lottery distributor. In presenting these examples of the HLF's work I have endeavoured to strike a balance between informing and applied research (Bell and Oakley, 2014).

### **Rationale for case studies**

The use of the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4 offers analytical focus and critical purchase on specific, significant grant decisions and programmes that then inform a view of the values of the HLF and how these are evident in their funding choices. Combined with my working knowledge of the HLF, this research has allowed me '[t]o get under the skin ... to find out what really happens in the informal reality which can only be perceived from the inside' (Gillham, 2000, p.11). This method of inquiry creates detailed studies of decision-making within the wider history and context of the HLF as a whole and draws on multiple sources of evidence drawn from the primary materials accessed through archival research, document and record analysis, interviews, participant observation and grey literature. The thick description of the case studies reveals the hidden histories of these grants and the complexity of the funding process from both the funder's and the applicants' perspectives. Put simply, each of these case studies is 'the story of how something got to be the way it was' (Becker,

2000, p.228). The narratives that I developed are not always evident from the publicly available records of the board meetings.

These episodes in the life of the lottery distributor were selected because they each and collectively represent ways in which a set of the HLF's specific policy choices were translated into grant-making strategies and decisions and the heritage values that were created. I chose these particular examples because they encapsulate key issues for the HLF's policy development at significant moments in its history and demonstrate the complex relationship with its parent body, the NHMF, highlighting both differences and similarities. The reviews and case studies also illustrate the contrasting ways in which heritage, once produced, is then managed by different owners and the longevity or limits of the HLF's influence.

Taken together, the case studies and reviews identify key characteristics of the HLF's work. Firstly, the HLF is not only developing policies and strategy, but also negotiating with other interested parties and stakeholders, including local authorities and relevant development agencies such as HE, the ACE and the NT, relating to them as both applicants and funding partners. Secondly, these examples illustrate the many different types of interaction with those seeking funding, from the experienced serial applicant such as a national museum, to a local community group making their first submission. Thirdly, they show that the lottery distributor is operating in a range of contexts with many very different heritage producers that employ different heritage values to make their case. Finally, it highlights the variety of scale of grant from on the one hand, multi-million pound grants for the purchase of a significant art work by a national museum, which foregrounds intrinsic aesthetic and historic value, and on the other hand, awarding a few thousand pounds for a project of communal heritage value that is researching the lives of the men listed on the local war memorial.

The work on the contentious grant for the acquisition of the Churchill Papers, which I researched at an early stage of my studies and is outlined in Chapter 3, demonstrated to me



that the value of case studies in understanding the HLF as the dissection of grant decisions offered a rich source of insight into the values, politics and policies of the newly created HLF and its governing body at a particular moment in its history and offered evidence of its changing image in the public sphere. It also became apparent, during this particular investigation, that while it was a new funding entity, its parent body, the NHMF, influenced its behaviour, particularly in relation to the preservation of expert-defined heritage. I realised therefore that I needed to understand how and why NHMF had been established.

Tracing this history took me back to 1946 and the creation of the NLF. The understanding and significance of the histories of the three funders, which are outlined in Chapter 1, was informed by the work of heritage theorists such as Clark (2004, 2006, 2010), Jones and Leech (2015), Graham and Howard (2016), Harvey (2001, 2016), Lowenthal (1985, 1994, 1997, 1998a and b, 2012), and their analysis of issues of heritage and identity and the concept of heritage value. One key theme that emerged from this investigation was the symbolism of the saving of heritage as an act of commemoration of war dead. This is a sentiment which was originated by the creator of the NLF and was then inherited by the NHMF, which still acts as a funding body of last resort that safeguards heritage objects and sites as ‘a memorial for those who have died for the United Kingdom’ (NHMF, 1981, p.25). This connection between heritage and remembrance and the institutional meaning of that link led me to explore the HLF’s involvement in marking the Centenary of the First World War, and to examine how artists and communities have responded to the availability of funding for activity and participated in this opportunity to mark and commemorate this event. Both of these lines of inquiry are presented in Chapter 2.

The press and political response to the award of HLF funding for the Churchill Papers, an archive with strong connections to the two World Wars, has had a lasting impact on the funder, and this is explored in Chapter 3. Its legacy suggested two other related research fields that form part of the thesis. The first explores how the HLF applied the learning from

the Churchill Papers when framing the funding policy for large awards for expensive, high-profile objects. This is outlined in Chapter 4 and compares the lottery distributor's work with the role of the NHMF in this field. This study of three HLF applications examines how external partnerships were formed with other funders to justify grants of this kind and demonstrate public support for these acquisitions and considers the effectiveness of the access projects delivered by grantees to create wider public benefit from these purchases.

Both the NHMF and the HLF prioritise the support of heritage at risk of loss through sale into private hands, export or destruction. This concept of threat, which is considered by Adams (2013) and Hewison (1995) to be a defining trope of heritage, is regularly used by the NHMF to justify its requests to the Treasury for annual funding. Chapters 3 and 4 explore how both funders have responded to specific requests for support to rescue high-profile heritage objects and archives from the art market and potential export and highlight their different approaches to this work. Chapter 4 also looks at how applicants have worked with heritage value frameworks to shape their requests and the ways in which the meaning of objects is changed by the funding process (Kopytoff, 1986).

The focus of Chapter 3 is an interrogation of the grant for the Churchill Papers and examines how this decision shaped public perceptions of the HLF at the outset of its work and influenced its future direction. I argue that this episode illustrates the NHMF's transition from making relatively modest grants from Treasury-derived funds, to navigating the high-profile, politically charged environment of the distribution of National Lottery money. One of the first decisions to be made by the HLF in 1995, the allocation of funding for the Churchill Papers, is a case study in the technical and political complexities of achieving public access to high-value heritage through the transfer of material from private hands to public bodies, using this new funding stream. I identify the reasons why the grant became a focus for a range of debates about the stewardship of heritage and how lottery funds should be spent, and decisions justified. This chapter demonstrates how this award threatened the

reputation of the NHMF, the HLF and the National Lottery as a whole and its consequent legacy for the HLF.

A comparison of the roles of the NHMF and the HLF in the transfer of high-value works of art, considered to be at risk of loss, from private hands to national institutions is the focus of Chapter 4. Building on lines of inquiry arising from the Churchill Papers study, it explores how the press and public response to the use of lottery funds to secure expert-approved heritage objects 'for the nation' has changed over the last 20 years. The three case studies represent all of the HLF grants of £5 million and over that were made in 2013 and 2014, following a change of policy to allow fast track applications for acquisitions. In each example, the tension between the aesthetic and historic heritage value of these objects, their economic value in the market place, as observed by Kopytoff (1986), and the construction of the instrumental value of these works by their new owners as audience development tools, learning resources and tourist attractions, in order to secure and justify HLF funding, is examined.

My analysis builds on research by Rees Leahy (2007) into the presentation and interpretation of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks*, which was purchased by the National Gallery with assistance from the HLF, and her work on the acquisition of Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* by the National Gallery and the National Galleries of Scotland, which was supported by the NHMF. Drawing out the relationships between the HLF, the NHMF and specialist charities such as the Art Fund, this chapter shows how national museums developed their UK-wide roles prompted by the HLF's requirements for tangible nationwide public benefit from its grants and explores how the promised engagements with a range of publics are actually delivered.

While the case studies I have selected are examples of reactive grant-making by the HLF and demonstrate a dominance of intrinsic heritage value, Chapters 2 and 5 are structured

differently. They are reviews of individual funding streams that were created for political and social purposes and focus on the commemorations of the First World War and urban public parks. Both schemes highlight the social, environmental and economic or instrumental values of heritage. Using similar sources of information and methods to those employed to create the case studies, I examine both the external context for the policy decisions to embark on these programmes and the internal factors that informed their operational delivery. By uncovering the genesis of these targeted programmes of proactive heritage funding, I have revealed the relationship of these decisions to the development of HLF policy and the influence of central and local government in the creation and delivery of these schemes. In Chapter 2, I also draw on my own engagement with the Centenary of the First World War and the construction of evaluation frameworks to assess the range of heritage values constructed by the *14-18 NOW* programme of art commissions.

By exploring the opportunities and challenges that these two new funding programmes presented for both the applicants and the funders, I demonstrate that each one displays different characteristics of the heritage process and illuminates critical aspects of the HLF's practice, revealing the partnerships that it forms with central and local government in order to distribute its funds. This method of investigation builds a composite picture of the factors that prompt and influence the lottery distributor's strategic interventions into aspects of heritage through its grant making. These overviews of sustained investment into two fields of heritage contain details of specific projects funded through these programmes, to demonstrate 'the multiplicity of factors in order to show how complicated the reality behind them was' (Magnusson, 2003, p.713), drawing out the differences and similarities across the range of responses generated by the two funds.

Chapter 2 is an exploration of the long-standing links between heritage funding and the commemoration of those who lost their lives in the service of the country. This study of the relationships between the funders explores the complex roles of both the NLF and the

NHMF in both supporting the preservation of immutable heritage, while also using that material in the present as a symbolic means of remembrance that holds the memory of those who died for the UK (NHMF, 2005, p.6) highlighting the tension between intrinsic and instrumental heritage values. Displaying a purely preservationist approach to the funding of the past, the NHMF offers 'grants to help acquire, maintain or preserve for the nation any land, building or structure or any object or collection which is of outstanding intrinsic value. This is defined as scenic, historic, aesthetic, architectural or artistic interest or has memorial character in relation to acts of heroism' (NHMF, n.d.c.). The Waverley criteria, established in 1952 to inform the review of licences for the export of works of art, underpin the NHMF's list of requirements for eligibility for funding and priorities for funding.<sup>20</sup> However, these grants are made with an instrumental purpose, which is to create memorials.

This review explores the role of the NLF and the NHMF in the remembrance of those who lost their lives in the Second World War and in service of the UK and links it to the heritage constructed by the HLF's engagement with the Centenary of the First World War. Chapter 2 then goes on to investigate the relationship of the lottery distributor to government and to public concepts of heritage and commemoration. It demonstrates that there is evidence of the HLF's work as a memorial maker in the targeted small grants programme created to support the production and delivery of local heritage projects and shows that the HLF engendered sentiment for the anniversary of the conflict through this initiative. The outcomes of this programme are set alongside those of the HLF investment in 14-18-NOW, the Centenary's cultural programme of heritage-inspired art commissions. This material is

---

<sup>20</sup> The Waverley criteria are:

1. Is it so closely connected with our history and national life that its departure would be a misfortune?
  2. Is it of outstanding aesthetic importance?
  3. Is it of outstanding significance for the study of some particular branch of art learning or history?
- (DCMS, 2014, p.77)

used to explore how the HLF has enabled new forms of commemoration and memorial making that are led by artists and communities and how these projects have interpreted the conflict.

The early creation of a targeted grants scheme, the Urban Parks Programme, which championed the heritage value of public parks that are owned and managed by local government is the focus of the final chapter. The parks initiative was launched as a direct response to the political and press reaction to the Churchill Papers decision, enabling the HLF to identify a new populist direction. Working with local authorities to counter the charges that it was 'out of touch and elitist' (Harding, 1999, p.14), funding parks was in line with the trustees' original ambitions for lottery funds to support local projects (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.59) and focused attention on low-profile heritage assets that were undervalued by their owners. This study of parks considers how the HLF designed and promoted the grant programme for these sites and how councils responded to this opportunity to apply for funding.

This final chapter explores the HLF's relationship with local government through a critical review of the HLF's two decades of targeted interventions into public parks. While this initiative can be seen as a political move in the shadow of the fallout from the Churchill Papers the grants scheme was also responding to an evident need. By the 1990s the physical state of many public parks had seriously deteriorated, and their historic design and social value as attractive and accessible public space had been diminished (Conway and Lambert, 1993). Through examining the ways in which the HLF brought these sites of everyday heritage on to their funding agenda, I demonstrate the leadership role that the lottery distributor has played in raising the profile of the social and economic benefits of public parks (HLF,2014a; HLF,2016a), a frequently overlooked and neglected heritage asset with no active national public champion. This study also questions whether the HLF can

safeguard the future of its investment to date in the difficult public spending environment of the 2010s (Nesta, 2016).

This introduction has identified some key theoretical debates about heritage and their relevance to policies and practices of the UK's heritage funding bodies and details the scope, structure and methodology of this thesis. At the core of this research is an examination of the differences and similarities between the founding principles of the NLF, the NHMF and the HLF and their distinctive approaches to heritage and definitions of heritage value that inform their heritage making. I now embark on a brief history of the three funds, constructed from a set of diverse sources. This study outlines the origins of their funding, their policies and decision-making processes and the social, economic, political and theoretical contexts that informed their creation and development and sets the context for the findings from the reviews and the case studies that follow.

# Chapter 1: Post war heritage funding and policy

## Introduction

How has the state supported heritage over the last seventy years? This opening chapter sets the scene for my research by bringing together the history of post-1945 state funding for heritage in the UK. Building on Harvey's view that 'the history of heritage is a history of the present' (Harvey, 2016, p.23), this study identifies the social, political and economic contexts that informed the creation of the NLF, the NHMF and the HLF. It explores the specific circumstances that led to their creation defined their roles as heritage savers and heritage makers.

This examination and comparison of the funding policies and strategies of these three funders, that were created by the state, provides an historical context for the thesis as a whole. It highlights the similarities and differences of their impacts on heritage production and consumption. By exploring the role of the grant givers in making heritage, I investigate how funding policy and strategy shapes heritage practice. This research theme is at the core of this thesis and informs the subsequent chapters, which focus on three fields of heritage activity. These are: the relationship between heritage and the commemoration of those who died for their country; the transfer of high value heritage from private to public hands; and the recovery and regeneration of local everyday heritage such as urban public parks.

How are these grants programmes used to promote particular versions of national identity and resolve perceived policy challenges? Lowenthal's view that 'we enlist [heritage] for present causes' (1998a, xv) highlights the instrumental use of the past for many purposes. This is demonstrated by the ways in which particular power networks and political ideologies have dominated the definition and purpose of heritage policy and grant-making frameworks at different times, thus shaping the types of heritage activity that are encouraged and supported. This study examines the connections between the NLF and the NHMF and then



charts the history of the introduction of a National Lottery into the UK exploring the relationship between the NHMF and the HLF. Finally, it examines the development of the lottery distributor's policies and practices during the New Labour administration (1997-2010) and identifies some of the challenges to the HLF's funding models that were created by the Coalition government's austerity agenda (2010-2015).

### **The origins of the National Land Fund**

The NLF was established under section 48 of the 1946 Finance Act (see Appendix 2) by Hugh Dalton, the post-war Labour government's Chancellor of the Exchequer. By using its funds to recompense the Treasury for lost tax revenues, it aimed to encourage the use of a provision in Lloyd George's 1909 Finance Bill, which permitted the handing over of property in payment of death duties, an arrangement that now operates as Acceptance in Lieu (Pimlott, 1986, p. 456).<sup>21</sup> Dalton constructed the NLF as a form of remembrance of the dead of the Second World War through increasing access to natural heritage (Rickwood, 1987). This connection between the funding of heritage and the commemoration of those who lost their lives in the service of the UK is considered in depth in Chapter 2.

Created in the context of the post-war Welfare State and the nationalisation of major industries, the NLF and its link to the commemoration of the war dead appears to have been Hugh Dalton's own personal idea (Dalton, 1962, p.118). At the end of 1945 Dalton had ensured that all the proceeds from the sale of war stores went into a National Estate Fund (Pimlott, 1985, p.455). The resulting income of £50 million provided the money for the NLF. Dalton's plan was that 'where Death Duties were paid in land, it might be in the public

---

<sup>21</sup> 'The Acceptance in Lieu scheme is operated by the Arts Council of England and enables taxpayers to transfer important works of art and other heritage objects into public ownership while paying Inheritance Tax, or one of its earlier forms. The taxpayer is given the full open market value of the item, which is then allocated to a public museum, archive or library' (ACE, n.d.a)

interest that the land should be transferred to some non-profitmaking body, such as the National Trust or Youth Hostels Association' (Dalton 1962, p.118). An editorial in *Country Life* in April 1946 (*Country Life*, 1946, p.754) observed 'the establishment of the Land Fund came as a surprise not only to the public but to those most closely associated with the economics of land use'. Dalton's ownership of the idea of the NLF was perhaps both its strength, as a single-minded vision, but also its weakness, given his short two-year term of office as Chancellor of the Exchequer (1945-1947).

A Treasury account managed by civil servants, the NLF's policies and processes were bureaucratic and entirely reactive. The operation of the fund was problematic and despite its name, the NLF was unable to make direct purchases of land. Its direct link to death and estate duties meant that acquisitions were dependent upon 'the hazard of mortality' (Rickwood, 1987, p. 21). The spending of the fund was also hampered, as Pimlott points out (1985), by the technical difference between low probate valuations and higher market values. This could make the option of offering land in respect of death duties relatively unattractive to the deceased owner's heirs. With no external governing body or dedicated staff to promote or develop its activities, the Treasury did not appear to actively encourage the use of the fund (Jones, 1985, p.177). At the end of April 1947, its first year of operation, the National Land Fund accounts record only 3 cases of its use, amounting to an anticipated expenditure of £166,000 (National Land Fund, 1947, p.2). By 31 March 1950, just £314,582 of the NLF's £50 million had been spent (National Land Fund, 1950, p.2). Together with £40,000 worth of commitments in the pipeline, the total funds committed by 1950 broadly matched the level of interest that had accrued on the original £50million and the NLF was operating more like an endowment fund (National Land Fund, 1950).

The high levels of post-war taxation introduced by Dalton adversely affected the owners of

historic houses and their estates.<sup>22</sup> This financial challenge, combined with the damage done by government requisition of large properties during two World Wars and the loss of many heirs to country houses and their estates in the Great War, resulted in an increasing number of country houses being abandoned or demolished and their collections dispersed (Worsley, 2011). In response to this situation, a report on Outstanding Houses of Historic or Architectural Interest (HM Treasury, 1950) was commissioned by the Labour government and led by the senior civil servant Ernest Gowers. It focused on 'how we can best save something of a great national heritage, embodiment of our history and traditions, monument to creative genius of our ancestors and graceful serenity of their civilization' (HM Treasury, 1950, p.4).

The Gowers Report, as it became known, outlined the weaknesses of the NLF, 'these arrangements merely create the machinery for enabling property to be accepted by the state in lieu of death duties. In theory they should enable the State to possess itself of historic houses, in practice they have been little used' (HM Treasury, 1950, p.36). The NLF was not mentioned specifically in the report's recommendations as this would have weakened the case for relief from taxation for owners, which was at the heart of the report's proposals (HM Treasury, 1950, pp.48-50). The report's findings stressed the importance of continuity of occupancy of historic properties and the preservation of the buildings and their contents to be handed on to the next generation to care for them. These ideas reflected the approach of the National Trust's Country House Scheme, established through the National Trust Act of 1937. This legislation enabled the transfer of historic properties to the National Trust, in lieu of death duties, while also allowing the families of the previous owners to remain in residence (National Trust, n.d.b.).

---

<sup>22</sup> 'the annual repairs account for the bigger houses may well reach a larger figure than any income which it is possible for the owner to receive after paying income tax and surtax' (*Modern Law Review* 1950, p.489).

Many of the recommendations such as changes to taxation made in the Gowers Report were not implemented but, following its publication, the NLF's scope was broadened by an incoming Conservative government to include the acceptance of historic houses and their contents through the Finance Acts of 1953 (1953, s.30) and 1956 (1956, s. 34). This expansion of the remit of the NLF's funding shifted its emphasis from public access to land for recreation, to acts of rescue and preservation of historic property. This change of purpose for the NLF moved its focus from the acquisition of land as an act of commemoration of those who were lost in war, fighting the threat of fascism, to being a fund which addressed 'The Present Threat', as Gowers had described it (HM Treasury, 1950, p.5), of the UK's country house heritage being destroyed by demolition and dereliction and the collections lost to buyers overseas. This new direction signalled 'the rise of the national cultural discourse of lost heritage with the country house at its centre' (Dekha, 2004, p.411), a concept that subsequently influenced the approach of the NHMF when it was established in 1980.

In 1977, the Chair of the National Gallery described the NLF as 'one of the few forward-looking and imaginative acts of Government in this century in relation to general culture' (Hewison, 1995, p.29); however, Rickwood considered the Land Fund a failed policy initiative due to the dilution of its original intentions to nationalise previously privately-owned land, in line with campaigns such as the Mass Trespass on Kinder Scout in 1932 (Rickwood, 1987). The early beneficiaries of land and property secured through the NLF were the National Trust and the Youth Hostelling Association.<sup>23</sup> However, with no ability to provide endowments to contribute to running costs and an unpredictable set of acquisitions, by the 1960s the principal recipients were local authorities. While the NLF was credited by the NHMF with saving sites such as Chirk Castle in Wales, Haddo House in Aberdeenshire and Lord Egremont's land in the Lake District (NHMF, 1981, p.1), it is interesting to compare the NLF's performance with that of the Ulster Land Fund. Inspired by the NLF, this

---

<sup>23</sup> Between 1947 and 1957 26 properties were transferred to the National Trust and several properties transferred to the Youth Hostelling Association (Jones 1985, p.26)

fund was set up by the Finance Act (Northern Ireland) 1948. Its remit was quickly expanded by the Ulster Land Fund Act of 1949 to include the actual purchase of land and buildings. The National Trust in Northern Ireland actively used the ULF for the acquisition of significant historic houses and important sites such the Giant's Causeway (Gallagher and Rogers, 1986), enabling strategic additions to their collection of buildings and landscapes.

With the broadening of its scope, the NLF became 'more of a rescue service for what is commonly understood as the heritage' (Rickwood, 1987, p.19). However, I would argue that even this role was poorly fulfilled as, despite the broader remit of the NLF in the 1950s, according to Worsley (2011 p.16), there were times during that decade when historic houses were being demolished and collections dispersed at the equivalent of one per week. The widening of the NLF's remit did not accelerate its expenditure. The 1956-57 accounts (National Land Fund, 1957, p.3) record that over the 10 years of its operation the NLF had spent just £1.9m and was holding a budget of £60m. As a result of this low level of use, £50m was removed from the NLF and the fund was reduced to a nominal £10m, a decision described by Dalton as 'a drab gesture, discouraging good deeds' (Dalton, 1962, p.120). The lack of expenditure by the NLF indicates that firstly, the funding policy was not fit for purpose and secondly, the existence of the NLF was not well known or well publicised by the Treasury. Lord Cottesloe, who had chaired the Reviewing Committee on Export of Works of Art from 1954-1972, commented, 'our Treasury advisers never once suggested that the fund we needed existed and we were unaware that the NLF could be applied for such purposes' (Jones, 1985, p.117). The limited use of the NLF was interpreted as 'evidence of the indifference of successive governments to protect the national heritage' (Jones, 1985, p.58).

### **The demise of the National Land Fund and the creation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund**

The sense of threat to the nation's historic house heritage highlighted in the Gowers Report was restated two decades later by the independent report by John Cornforth, *Country*

*Houses in Britain: Can they survive?* (1974) and reinforced by the exhibition *The Destruction of the Country House* at the Victoria and Albert Museum which was inspired by Cornforth's report. Documenting the destruction of hundreds of houses and the dispersal of their collections, the essays in the exhibition catalogue debated the dilemma of these properties that still remained in private hands and the challenges faced by the owners and called for action:

Country house owners are the hereditary custodians of what was one of the most vital forces of cultural creation in our history. They deserve consideration and justice as much as any other group within our society as they struggle to preserve and share with us the creative richness of our heritage (Strong, 1974, p.10)

In the view of Adams, this exhibition:

'had a significant role in shaping the discourse and advancing the public awareness and political efficacy of the heritage movement, ... it assisted in reinforcing the association of, and perhaps even conflating, English heritage with the country house.'  
(2013, p.1)

The cause was also promoted by the Historic Houses Association, which was founded by owners of country houses and constituted as an autonomous body in 1973. The following year, Heritage in Danger, a protest group, was established in response to the minority Labour Government's proposal to introduce a wealth and inheritance tax. SAVE, another heritage campaigning group, was formed in 1975, and European Architectural Heritage Year was launched in the same year. As McGuigan commented: 'A whole history of grace and civilisation inscribed in the rural idyll of British aristocracy and gentlemanly business was seemingly imperiled' (McGuigan, 1996, p.122).

The NLF continued to operate until 1980. Its abolition was hastened by the findings of the Environment Sub-committee of the Select Committee on Public Expenditure into the fund in 1977 (Jones, 1985). This inquiry was in part triggered by the perception that, earlier that same year, Treasury officials had failed to effectively negotiate the use of the NLF to save the historic house Mentmore and its collections from disposal and dispersal in what was described as ‘an auction of tragic importance’ (Jones, 1985, p.1). The Labour government’s lack of response to the sale of Mentmore was valuable ammunition for the growing and articulate historic buildings lobby and an emerging preservation movement (Lowenthal and Binney 1981).

The new arms-length grant-giving body, the NHMF, grew out of the Select Committee recommendations. Its remit is ‘to safeguard our national heritage of historic buildings and artistic treasures’ (excerpt from the Queen’s speech at the State opening of Parliament in 1979, cited in Jones, 1985, p.185) and it was created by the incoming Conservative government’s National Heritage Act (c.17, 1980) (Appendix 2). Taking control of the remaining NLF budget of £12.4m, as heritage commentator Patrick Wright observed, the NHMF was an interesting successor to the NLF, ‘the country house having become an emblem of everything that the post-war settlement was meant to have destroyed’ (2009, p.254). The NHMF received additional grants from the government on an annual basis through the Department of the Environment and the Office of Arts and Libraries (Jones, 1985, p.189). The link to the commemoration of those lost in conflict was continued in the stated purpose of the NHMF, ‘to give full recognition to Dr Dalton’s original intentions for the NLF’ (Jones, 1985, p.196) and the memorial purpose was broadened to include all those who had lost their lives for the UK (NHMF, 2005, p.37). The effectiveness of these funds as a method of remembering the dead is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

The 1980 and the 1983 National Heritage Acts created the NHMF and EH respectively, and thus established arm’s length Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPB) to manage what

were previously government responsibilities of the Treasury and the Department of the Environment.<sup>24</sup> Peter Mandler argues that these two pieces of legislation made ‘ “national heritage” the centrepiece of public arts policy in the 1980s’ (1997, p.267). However, as Hewison observed, while the term ‘heritage’ had been given government and legal recognition, heritage remained ‘a word without definition even in two acts of parliament’ (1987, p. 31). Cornforth offered another more practical view of the Government’s arrangements, describing the NHMF as:

‘an administrative device used by Government to tidy into one field a whole range of problems from a number of departments that were seldom individually expensive, but which were time-consuming and difficult to handle. For Government it is much easier to give insufficient but regular help to an arm’s-length body and leave it to make the decisions’ (Cornforth, 1988, p.14)

The focus on the preservation of the version of national heritage promoted by both the NHMF and EH has been described as an ‘essentially conservative and nostalgic project ... a romantic and idealized view of the past which, in Britain at least, is deployed to reinforce old identities at times of change’ (Robertson, 2016, p.143). The Thatcher government was on the one hand seeking a radical break with the recent past and the post-war settlement of which the NLF had been a part, but on the other hand it was promoting a ‘traditional’ idea of English identity. Wright observed that in the 1980s, the ‘conservative ideologues are still presenting their political project in the moving vocabulary and imagery of national heritage’ (2009, p. 48). The Treasury-funded NHMF was considered by McGuigan to be complicit with this political appropriation of heritage: ‘the National Heritage Memorial Fund and English Heritage were funded in order to save the aristocratic and aristocratically venerated past’ (1996, p.122). These bodies represented an example of Ahearne’s concept of “Explicit”

---

<sup>24</sup> An NDPB is a ‘body which has a role in the processes of government, but is not a government department or part of one’ (The Cabinet Office, 2018)



cultural policies [that] will often identify “culture” quite simply with consecrated forms of artistic expression’ (Ahearne, 2009, p.144), echoing Bourdieu’s concept of ‘those cultural goods that are canonised as “art” ’ (Bourdieu, 1984,p.xviii).

The NHMF conforms to the ‘Legal entity, public law’ model of autonomous and quasi-autonomous public bodies as defined by Bouckaert and Peters (2004, p.34). It is ‘responsible to a ministry, or to a minister, but not hierarchically subordinate and will often have its own governance structure...this organizational format has been employed for organizations that perform some public functions but for which governments do not want to be held directly responsible’ (Bouckaert and Peters, 2004, p.36), thus confirming Cornforth’s view of the nature of the NHMF. All of the UK’s state funding for the arts and heritage is administered in this way and in theory is at arm’s length from government. However, as Quinn observes, this is a term of convenience which masks government direction and influence while also providing government with the means to ‘pass the buck’ (Quinn, 1997, p.154).

In its first annual report the NHMF sought to distance itself from the NLF; it asserted that it was ‘free from the interference of government’ (NHMF, 1981, p.1) and wanted ‘conserving the national heritage [to] be kept outside politics’ (NHMF, 1985, p.7). However, this was an unrealistic and naïve ambition and by 1985, the NHMF was regularly in negotiation with government ‘for special, supplementary funding’ (NHMF 1985, p.7) and had been awarded an additional £25m from the Department of the Environment to secure the futures of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, Nostell Priory in Yorkshire and Weston Park in Shropshire (NHMF, 1985, p.8). The comment that ‘Grateful as we are for the recent injection of £25 million, we are determined not to become simply an agency, or spending arm of government’ (NHMF, 1985, p.7) demonstrates the tension in the arm’s-length relationship and the limitations of the funds available to respond to the historic property coming on to the market. However, some of these high profile and high value disposals may well have been

prompted by the existence of the NHMF and its ability to negotiate with government for additional money.

The NHMF's approach to funding was reactive: 'We awaited requests for assistance from those who believed they had a part of the national heritage worth saving' (NHMF 1981, p.2). While this stance might appear to be offering a funding agenda driven by applicants, as Clark observes, 'Most systems of heritage value involve a relatively narrow set of values – artistic or aesthetic, historical (usually in the sense of being associated with important people or events), and scientific or technical' (Clark, 2010, p.91), thus favouring 'the high culture of the proverbial "great and good"' (Harvey 2016, p.30).

The trustees felt that a working definition of heritage was not required 'because it [heritage] was a concept tacitly agreed upon by a powerful social fraction' (Adams, 2013, p3), reflecting Bourdieu's observation that, 'taste is the basis of all that one has...and all that one is' (1984, p.49).<sup>25</sup> The NHMF's narrative in the 1980s presents a dominant vision of the national story interpreted through the lives and legacies of the aristocracy and the landed gentry. 'We feel it very important to try to prevent our great houses and indeed smaller ones becoming denuded of their contents' (NHMF, 1982, p.7), 'their contents often gathered together by single families over generations are being dissipated' (NHMF leaflet, n. d.). The concept of heritage as an act of preservation and 'a linear exchange relationship between two parties where there is a passing on of the role of trustee' (Russell, 2010, p.34) is central to the work

---

<sup>25</sup> Chaired by Lord Charteris, the Provost of Eton, the first board of ten trustees included The Marquess of Anglesey who lived in Plas Newydd, National Trust Property; Sir Robert Cooke, a Conservative MP and owner of Athelhampton House, which was open to the public, and chairman of the heritage committee of the British Tourist Authority; Prof F.G.T. Holliday, the Vice Chancellor of Durham University; Sir Rex Richards, a former Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University; Charles Kinahan, Chairman of the Northern Ireland Historic Buildings Council; Maurice Lindsay, Director of the Scottish Civic Trust (NHMF, 1981, p.v).

of the NHMF. The intrinsic historical and aesthetic value and significance of the heritage building, landscape or object is at the core of its funding criteria.<sup>26</sup>

From the outset, under the chairmanship of Lord Charteris, the Provost of Eton, the NHMF described itself as ‘a safety net to deal in the final last resort with emergencies where items of outstanding importance are under threat’ (NHMF, 1981, p.4), a direct reference back to Mentmore and the Gowers Report (NHMF, 1985, p.12). Reflecting on 5 years of operation in 1985, the funder’s main purpose was clear:

‘The largest proportion of our resources has been spent on historic houses. Finding secure futures for our great country houses, together with their collections of furniture and great works of art, as well as sufficient “amenity land” surrounding them, was regarded as one of our primary tasks when NHMF was established’ (NHMF 1985, p.12).

Wright felt that the awards made in the early years of the NHMF ‘told a fairly predictable story... Behind these often worthy dispensations there is a more general and indeed well connected sense of what the nation and its inheritance actually amount to’ (Wright, 2009, p. 42). This observation was not entirely borne out by the NHMF trustees’ own sample of the first year of their activities which shows, despite their interest in the country house, a serendipitous approach resulting in the saving of an eclectic mix of fine art, historic buildings and natural heritage:

By responding to the requests coming before us and assessing them, we seem to have decided that the national heritage includes not only portraits by Reynolds and the Dryden family home, but also the peal of bells at Durham Cathedral, seaside theatres

---

<sup>26</sup> The stated criteria on the NHMF website are: importance to the national heritage, outstanding interest, at risk, or memorial character, cost, public access (NHMF,n.d.c)

and the greater horseshoe bat' (NHMF, 1981, p.2).

The NHMF is a reactive funder and in the 1980s it did not directly engage with the challenges facing central and local government, which saw, 'the history making business' (West, 1988, p. 38) as a response on the one hand, to the loss of traditional industry in areas such as Wigan and the Tees Valley and on the other, the need to give identity to new towns such as Telford, bringing potential employment and tourism. Hewison's polemic, 'The Heritage Industry' (1987), observed that 'Instead of manufacturing goods we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity nobody seems able to define' (1987, p. 9). This was an obvious reference to the NHMF's avoidance of a working definition. For both Wright (2009) and Hewison (1987) this type of commodification of heritage was not a positive force that would assist in forming a dynamic economic future for the UK. In their view, organisations such as the NHMF and the NT were complicit in articulating the nation's past through the country house. Wright described the NT as 'an ethereal kind of holding company for the dead spirit of the nation' (2009, p.51) and was frustrated that this 'giant...landowner, when it comes to politics, merely snores' (2009, p.51).

In the 2010s, the NHMF continued to operate in the way it did when it was established in 1980. The small staff team are at the heart of often sensitive negotiations over the future of heritage assets, which mostly take the form of major works of art, historic houses and designated landscape, but also include objects and sites of maritime, industrial, transport and military history. They connect with vendors, auction houses, art dealers, other funders and applicants for grants, facilitating the transfer of heritage out of private hands and into museum collections and the care of charitable and public institutions. All other possible sources of income must have been explored before an application is made: '(a)ssistance will only be given where there is no other source of funds or when the scale of the project is such that "topping up" is essential' (NHMF, n.d.a). The level of risk to the heritage under consideration is a key criterion in deciding what to fund:

‘In all of the cases where we have considered giving assistance we have asked whether the item is genuinely at risk. Will a picture leave the country, a house disintegrates, or a piece of important marshland be drained, unless we help?’ (NHMF, 1981, p.4).

A review of the annual reports of the NHMF shows that political commitment to funding the NHMF is unpredictable and the amount of annual grant that the NHMF has received has varied dramatically from year to year and government to government. In its first five years it ‘spent almost £40m’ (NHMF, 1985, p.8). Since then sums of a few million pounds have been granted in most years. There have been extreme variations in the allocations. In 2009-10, the last year of the Labour Government, £20m was given to the NHMF. This was reduced to only £1 by the Coalition Government in the following year (NHMF 2011c, p. 46), demonstrating the volatile political and financial environment that the Treasury-derived fund operates within.

### **A pot of gold? The creation of the UK’s National Lottery**

The UK was a late adopter of raising funds from a National Lottery, a mechanism for offering games of chance for public benefit. The idea had been raised, but not pursued, via a private members bill in the 1960s (Creigh-Tyte, 1997, p.322). In 1978, a Royal Commission on Gambling chaired by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Rothschild, whose son Jacob became the chair of the NHMF in 1994, proposed a single national lottery:

One of the most appealing features of an independently administered but state sponsored national lottery for good causes is that it escapes or bypasses normal Government decision-making processes for resource allocation. In practice, a Government of any party subject to day-to-day public and political pressures, finds it impossible to devote more than meagre resources to good causes of the kind which

are desirable rather than essential...There is a crucial need in our society for a source of substantial funds to provide support of a kind with which any Government experiences great difficulty' (Lord Rothschild, 1978, p.62).

Rothschild's recommendations were not acted upon and by 1992, 116 countries had national or state lotteries. Apart from the UK, Albania was the only other European country without a lottery (Allin, 1997, p.1). Sir John Major, the Prime Minister who introduced the National Lottery, described how his experience as Chief Secretary to the Treasury (1989-90) had influenced his thinking. Like Rothschild, he could see that good causes such as the arts, sports and heritage could not compete with major issues of government and were not high on the agenda of the Treasury. His ambition for the lottery was that it should be 'a pot of gold free from government interference, of the public and for the public'.<sup>27</sup>

National Lotteries are probably the most important patrons of arts and heritage in Europe (European Lotteries, n.d.).<sup>28</sup> Across Europe, each national government allocates lottery funds to good causes in different ways. Sport is the major beneficiary receiving more than 2 billion euros of European lottery income per year, while culture and cultural heritage receive nearly 1 billion euros per year. Germany spends two thirds of the income generated by the Länder lottery on arts and culture. In Finland, 45% of lottery income is allocated by the Ministry of Education to the arts. Italy specifies that a share of the lottery income is allocated to the Ministry of Cultural Heritage (European Lotteries, n.d).

After deducting tax and operating costs the UK allocates the remaining 24% of its lottery take to good causes and 20% of that budget goes to heritage, although this percentage has varied from time to time over the last two decades and the allocation has been temporarily

---

<sup>27</sup> Quote from John Major's speech on 16 May 2013 at a Camelot event at 8, Northumberland Avenue, London attended by the author to celebrate 18 years of the National Lottery.

<sup>28</sup> The European Lotteries represents the interests of the national and state lotteries operating across the EU and includes Camelot, the UK's lottery operator, in its membership.

lowered to accommodate initiatives such as the New Opportunities Fund (Hewison and Holden, 2004, p.14) and London 2012 (NHMF, 2015b, p.4).<sup>29</sup> The UK appears to be the only country where lottery income is managed by organisations that are at arm's length from government and in many cases, such as the ACE and the NHMF, these responsibilities for distribution were added to their existing portfolios of established grant-making bodies.

When the National Lottery began 'there were concerns about this new, 20<sup>th</sup> century invitation to gamble' (Maeer, 2017, p.39). The lottery was seen by some as a tax on the poor, expanding an existing cultural funding system that already took from those on low incomes, through taxation, to give to the arts and heritage, sectors that were seen as the preserve of the rich (Mulgan, 1996, p.201). The New Labour government, elected in 1997, presented new thinking in relation to what it called *The People's Lottery* (Seely, 1998), requiring distributors to take a more strategic and accountable approach to the distribution of funds. This new government also increased public spending, creating a new era of urban regeneration (Department for the Environment Transport and the Regions, 2000). From the late 1990s, the National Lottery provided the funds for multi-million pound cultural capital projects in partnership with local authorities, devolved governments and, until their abolition, the Regional Development Agencies.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> 'The precise breakdown of where the money goes depends on the actual level of sales, the types of game being sold and the period of the licence that has been reached. The average breakdown for every £1 of ticket sales in 2017/18 was:

- 55p paid to winners in prizes
- 24p given to good causes
- 12p to the government in lottery duty
- 4p paid to National Lottery retailers on tickets sold
- 5p retained by the operator to meet costs and returns to shareholders.'

<https://www.gamblingcommission.gov.uk/for-the-public/National-Lottery/About-the-National-Lottery.aspx>

<sup>30</sup> 'The Government announced the abolition of the nine Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in England – eight regional agencies through the Public Bodies Bill and the London Development Agency through the Localism Bill - on 22 June 2010...Under the Regional Development Agencies Act 1998, each Agency has five statutory purposes, which are:

The major heritage grants from the HLF encouraged towns and cities to support new build heritage projects as the centre of major regeneration strategies and to recognise their contribution to defining local identity, such as the Lowry in Salford (which was jointly funded by the HLF and the ACE lottery), the Museum of Liverpool and the Riverside Museum in Glasgow. The resulting 'Lottery funded landscape' of cultural and sports related buildings (Maer, 2017, p.39) reflect Richard Florida's thesis of image winning, cultural flagship urban regeneration projects that super-serve the socially mobile who can choose where they live and use their town or city like a tourist (Florida, 2002). However, the DCMS-generated *Taking Part* survey results for the 2000s and 2010s show limited movement in audiences for heritage, despite all of the lottery investment in the sector, with only a 10% increase in the numbers visiting museums and galleries and a less than 5% increase in those visiting heritage sites. This appears to indicate that those who already visited arts and heritage sites are visiting more, as opposed to large numbers of new visitors being created.<sup>31</sup>

This approach to regeneration has been critiqued by McGuigan (2009) and other academics working in planning and social sciences, who question whether public money was being invested wisely in creating upmarket regeneration areas which appear to exclude 'those who cannot leave' (Massey 1991, p.27), such as the urban poor. For McGuigan, (2009, p.295) this is instrumentalism, in the form of the commodification of urban culture, in its broadest sense and focuses on competing globally to attract 'the creative class' or the expense account

- 
- To further economic development and regeneration
  - To promote business efficiency, investment and competitiveness
  - To promote employment
  - To enhance development and application of skill relevant to employment
  - To contribute to sustainable development

The RDAs' agenda included regeneration, taking forward regional competitiveness, taking the lead on inward investment and, working with regional partners, developing a skills action plan to ensure that skills training matched the needs of the labour market' (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> Headline measures from the Taking Part survey indicate that of those surveyed in 2005/6 42.3% visited a museum or gallery and in 2015/16 the figure was 52.5%. 69.9 visited a heritage site in 2005/06 compared with 74.2% in 2015/16 (DCMS, 2016b, p.4)



business traveller. This economic model is described by Fainstein (2007 unpaginated), as a 'me too' exclusive culture characterised by towns and cities developing the same combinations of shopping centres, conference facilities, sports arenas and cultural institutions. The National Lottery distributors were complicit with this new approach to public space, 'Some architectural critics have talked, tongue in cheek, of a distinct architectural style - "Early Lottery" – for a series of gleaming, new civic structures in Teflon, steel and glass' (Moore 2014, cited in Maer 2017, p.39).

An upbeat report by the Henley Centre in 2004 to mark the first ten years of the National Lottery looked at 20 examples drawn from all over the UK and explored the instrumental impacts of multi-investment by lottery distributors (The Henley Centre, 2004). The scope of the report included the economic impact of the lottery, not just in relation to the spend on good causes, but also the effect that buying lottery tickets had on other areas of 'recreational' spend, lottery player demographics, the positive impact of lottery terminals on retailers, the apparently minimal effect on other charitable giving and the limited impact on problem gambling. This extensive focus on the social consequences of the lottery is a reminder of the range of concerns that surrounded its introduction.

The conclusion of the 2004 Henley Centre report was that lottery money had accelerated the regeneration of areas of the UK and that the lottery funding system was able to respond to a community initiative in a way that the political system was unable to, as the 'tight directive relationship between government and local authorities leaves little room for experiment' (The Henley Centre, 2004, p. 47). The long-term viability of some of the more experimental high-profile projects that secured lottery support in the early years of lottery funding was, however, problematic. Proposals for new projects were planned on the basis of optimistic visitor projections rather than rigorous analysis of potential markets. Arts projects that were new concepts, such as the Centre for Popular Music in Sheffield and Millennium projects such as the Earth Centre in Doncaster and Urbis in Manchester, did not draw the attendance

numbers expected. However, in comparison, while the HLF has made some contentious decisions such as the Churchill Papers grant, discussed in Chapter 3, there have been no high profile major financial failures of HLF projects, as most have been based on existing sites and collections. Where closures have occurred, such as the Women's Library building at the London Metropolitan University, resulting in the transfer of the collections to the London School of Economics (LSE, n.d.) and mothballing of the Museum of Lancashire in Preston by Lancashire County Council (Visit Lancashire, n.d.), these have come about through changes of policy by the owners rather than a lack of interest from visitors.

### **The National Heritage Memorial Fund becomes a lottery distributor**

The National Lottery Act (1993 s. 23 (3)) (Appendix 2) identified the NHMF as the lottery distributor for the heritage. The NHMF was chosen because of its UK-wide remit and its broad definition of heritage that included land, buildings and objects (Clark, 2004, p.66). The HLF became a trading account within the NHMF budget (NHMF, 1993, p.1). This brought about major change in the NHMF in terms of the scale of its operation but not in terms of its purpose or governance. The 1993 Act merely increased the number of NHMF trustees from ten to fourteen (NHMF and HLF, 1995a). As McGuigan commented about the impact of the lottery in its early years of operation, 'no simple switch from one way of rationalising cultural policy to a completely different one happened' (1996, p. 65), indicating that in his view money continued to be spent on the same projects and in the same ways.<sup>32</sup> The HLF grant decision to fund the acquisition of the Churchill Papers by the Churchill Archive at Cambridge University, discussed in Chapter 3, can be seen as evidence of this continuation of NHMF funding policy using HLF funds and the case study of this decision explores the political and press reaction to this particular decision.

---

<sup>32</sup> 64% of HLF funding was spent on museums and galleries, historic buildings and manuscripts from April to August 1995 (NHMF and HLF, 1995, p.23)

The location of the responsibility of lottery distribution for heritage within the NHMF made differentiating between the purpose of the two funds increasingly important to the trustees. A careful distinction was made in the 1994/1995 NHMF Annual Report between the two heritage funds. Trustees stated that they ‘intend[ed] that the primary fund for the acquisition of important parts of the country’s heritage should remain the Heritage Memorial Fund’ (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.61) and that ‘the powers of NHMF are not constrained by the Secretary of State for National Heritage’s priorities reflected in the Directions about the spending of National Lottery Funds and on occasions it can step in to purchase outright items of outstanding importance for the benefits of the nation’ (NHMF and HLF 1996, p.60). It was asserted that ‘NHMF has an important role, particularly in acquiring outstanding items of national heritage that are being sold by private owners’ (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.61).

The National Heritage Memorial Fund is unique. One of the key reasons for the founding of this independent government-aided fund of last resort was to prevent such national disasters as the break-up and sale of Mentmore’ (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.59).

In contrast, it was proposed that the HLF would be supporting initiatives of regional or local importance only and that lottery money ‘will be distributed to the widest benefit of those from whom it comes – the players in the National Lottery’ (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.23). This statement represents the first acknowledgment of those who are providing the HLF’s funds in an Annual Report and the first of many assertions that lottery money might be spent in a different way to NHMF funds.

The NHMF was keen to show how the HLF would work in a new way. Lottery funds for heritage derived from players’ stakes were described in terms of improving the future as well as saving the past: ‘a cultural investment programme that posterity will see as a key element

in the renewal of the nation's stock of its heritage' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.6). However, my research suggests that the HLF's spending power has also been used to secure outstanding items of national heritage that are beyond the financial reach of the NHMF and the consequences of the blurring of the boundaries between the two funders are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The creation of the HLF within the NHMF represents the first time that government recognised the support of a wide range of heritage as a good cause in its own right and not like the NLF and the NHMF, linked to an act of commemoration. Located within the same arms-length body, the NHMF and the HLF have different relationships with government. The NHMF reports to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and has a funding agreement for the grant it receives from the Treasury. The HLF is controlled by a set of Policy Directions issued by the same Ministry (see Appendix 2). The eight original policy requirements (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.53) rose to eleven in 1999 (NHMF and HLF, 1999, p.65), the same year that the HLF was required to produce a strategic plan for the first time. From 1999 onwards, progress against the Policy Directions has been tracked in the NHMF's Annual report on the HLF. By 2008, there were 15 Policy Directions (NHMF, 2013b, p.32). To reflect the devolution of culture to the nations, the HLF received additional annual policy directions from the Welsh government in 2008 and since 2011 directions have also been received from Scotland (NHMF, 2017b, p.63). No policy directions have been created by Northern Ireland.

The management of the HLF account has given the NHMF significant spending power, but unlike its lottery distributing cultural counterpart, the ACE, it is not a cultural development agency, nor does it currently have long-term revenue relationships with individual organisations. Despite these different roles, the HLF's policies have, partly through government direction, developed a strong socio-economic instrumental purpose, 'grappling with much bigger questions about the value of heritage to society, to the economy and in the

environment as a whole' (Clark, 2004, p. 66). The HLF has had to work sensitively with lead bodies across the UK such as EH and HE and more recently the ACE, while also asserting its own particular approach to funding, as the allocation of the lottery distributor's resources can bring about major change in other NDPB's fields of operation. <sup>33</sup>

Managing the allocation of the lottery millions brought major change to the NHMF, which until then had 'happily steered clear of falling into the treacle of bureaucracy' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.59). There was a rapid increase in its staff numbers, which grew from 8 in 1994 (NHMF, 1994, unpaginated) to 43 in 1996 (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.5) and had risen to 162 by 1998 (NHMF and HLF, 1998, p.4). Initially, the HLF mirrored the NHMF's reactive approach to heritage, supporting the acquisition, maintenance and preservation of heritage assets: 'Throughout the year our main assessment criteria for applications have been the heritage quality and conservation benefits of the heritage asset upon which the project is based' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.16). But funding complex major capital projects required trustees to also take account of 'the public benefit of the project; public access to the project; the future viability of the project and the organisation; the technical viability and the partnership funding available' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.16). The HLF's adoption of the NHMF's decision not to define heritage appeared to be a generous gesture, but it initially led to the dominance of established and highly organised and marketised forms of heritage taking the lion's share of the available funds and this can be seen in the spending patterns in the Annual Reports and Accounts for early years of the HLF (NHMF and HLF, 1995; NHMF and HLF 1996).

Estimates of the annual income from the National Lottery for heritage made in 1994 were thought likely to be in the region of £100 million (NHMF, 1994, p.2) By 1995 this prediction

---

<sup>33</sup> 'The 2003 Quinquennial Review of the NHMF stated that 'the HLF should not assume the kind of leadership role which is exercised by Sport England and the Arts Council' (DCMS 2003b p.7). 'The lead role in the historic environment is currently given to English Heritage in England, not to HLF.' (Hewison and Holden 2004, p.9)

had increased to over £200million (NHMF, 1995, p.1). In the first year of operation the HLF actually received £293 million (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.6) and awarded over £200m on 300 projects (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.15). By March 1997, it had spent £450 million on 607 grants (NHMF and HLF 1997). The NHMF/HLF Annual Report of 1997, which was published following the election of the New Labour government, reflected on the first months of the HLF's operation. It recognised that 'we have also had to face our critics...that we have concentrated too much on grants to London and other big cities and large institutions – museums and galleries in particular' (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.6). In the HLF's defence of this criticism, the requirement via their policy directions from government to be a reactive funder and not solicit applications was highlighted and it was argued that 'some of the national institutions were amongst the first to submit ambitious, excellent, well worked applications' (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.6). In addition, the introduction of the Urban Parks Programme, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, was cited in the same annual report as a response to the challenges of spending money nationally, 'as it is an initiative that does spread funding to a wider range of applicants across the UK' (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.7) by investing in everyday heritage owned and managed by local authorities.

In 1997, the New Labour government devised new legislation for the HLF, which further defined its difference from the NHMF. The National Heritage Act (1997, s.1) (Appendix 2) extended the powers of the NHMF in relation to its lottery funds, and made more demands on the HLF, requiring it to focus on the social and economic uses of heritage. The 1997 Act identified new responsibilities 'to secure and improve access to the heritage, encourage its study and enjoyment and to develop the necessary skills to preserve and enhance heritage and to deliver public benefit' (HLF, 1999, p.8). These factors further defined the HLF's activities as a heritage maker by specifying the areas of work that it would support and enable.

Legislation via the National Lottery Act 1998 gave powers to lottery distributors to solicit applications and went further in specifying that education must include the provision of activities for children (1998, s.6 (8)). The 1998 Act also required the HLF to produce a strategic plan which outlined the principles of resource allocation, the setting of performance indicators and the calculation of a statement of need. There was also a reduction in the share of available lottery funds for the distributors from 20% to 16.6%, to finance the creation of the New Opportunities Fund (NHMF 2014d, p.2). The revised policy directions for the HLF issued in the same year included specific legal requirements for the HLF to pursue ‘the scope for reducing economic and social deprivation at the same time as creating heritage benefits’; ‘the need to promote access for all people from all sections of society’; ‘the need to promote knowledge of and interest in the heritage by children and young people’ (NHMF and HLF, 1999, p.65) The presentation of these directions as part of the Annual Report now included a brief commentary on what had been achieved against each requirement. By 2000, reporting on policy directions was re-titled a Statement of Compliance (HLF, 2000b, p.39), demonstrating the increasing emphasis on monitoring and audit that characterised the ‘new public management’ approach (Hood, 1991,1995, cited in Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.27) that was adopted by New Labour towards its arm’s length bodies.

### **Strategic planning and researching impact**

Examination of the HLF’s strategic plans offers an insight into the development of the HLF’s thinking about the heritage process in response to demands from government as it moves beyond the NHMF’s support for the preservation of expert- defined heritage. Produced under the chairship of Dr Eric Anderson (1998-2001) it presented a mission for the HLF that had an emphasis on preservation and was still strongly connected to ‘the Victorian concept that the best culture, as a set of values and experiences, will have a “civilizing effect” ’ (O’Brien, 2014, p.123):

‘to improve the quality of life by safeguarding and enhancing the heritage of buildings, objects and the environment, whether man-made or natural, which have been important in the formation of the character and identity of the United Kingdom, in a way which will encourage more sections of society to appreciate and enjoy their heritage and enable them to hand it on in good heart to future generations’ (HLF, 1999, p.3)

The HLF’s first strategic plan was informed by the DCMS’s New Cultural Framework, which laid out the department’s approach to its investment in culture and was also published in 1999.<sup>34</sup> The influence of the government department can be seen in the HLF’s four priorities (HLF,1999, p.5). These were: heritage conservation, national heritage, local heritage and heritage education and access. The first two, related to the conservation of heritage and support for large projects of national importance, reflected the HLF’s approach to date and can also be seen in the context of pursuing excellence. The second two, which promoted local heritage projects and education and access to make the heritage available, referenced the new powers for lottery distributors created by the 1997 and 1998 legislation and the requirements of the lottery distributor’s expanded policy directions. The public benefits from the 1999 strategy were described as ‘the double dividend of preserving heritage assets and making a wider contribution to the quality of life through regeneration, access and education’ (HLF,1999, p.6), asserting the connection of heritage to New Labour’s public policy goals (Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015). Offices that had already opened in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland were fully staffed from 1999 and had locally recruited committees, recognising the devolution of culture (HLF, 1999, p.10). Commitments were made to refocusing existing programmes for places of worship, urban parks and townscape to give priority to applications from areas of economic and social deprivation (HLF 1999, p.9).

---

<sup>34</sup> The priorities of the New Cultural Framework (DCMS,1999, p.2) were: the promotion of access for the many not just the few, the pursuit of excellence and innovation, nurturing educational opportunity and fostering the creative industries



Annual budgets for the three years of the plan were expected to be between £305m and £325m (HLF, 1999, p.19).

The second strategic plan, *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage 2002-2007*, produced under the chairship of Liz Forgan (2002-2008), (HLF, 2002) promised ‘to listen carefully to the changing ways in which an evolving society values the past’ (HLF, 2002, p.1). While continuing to put the conservation of heritage at its heart, the plan clearly moved towards a definition of heritage as a cultural process. This can be seen in the stated priorities which were: achieving greater involvement; supporting conservation; enhancing access and learning. The ambition for public engagement is wide ranging and is described in the plan as ‘a better understanding and commitment to heritage conservation by policy makers and members of the public alike, including young people (HLF 2002, p.19) and highlights the importance of volunteers, local heritage, and local decision making.

In this strategy, the term ‘conservation’ was broadened by the HLF to include intangible heritage as well as built and natural heritage (HLF 2002, p.20). The commitment to learning was targeted at under-represented and socially excluded groups and meeting the needs of children and young people (HLF 2002, p.21). To commit to these new priorities, which reflected New Labour’s agenda and demonstrate Gray’s concept of ‘policy attachment’ (Gray, 2002), changes were made to the grants framework, creating three open programmes of heritage grants at different levels of expenditure and continuing a range of targeted schemes such as support for public parks and high streets linked to everyday heritage and a dedicated programme for young people, *Young Roots* (HLF, 2002, p.39).<sup>35</sup>

Structural budget changes were also made to ensure a greater UK-wide spread of funding with 50% of funds being spent by regional and country teams on grants of less than £1

---

<sup>35</sup> ‘Clive Gray (2002) developed the idea of “policy attachment” to explain how culture can draw on the clout of other realms of public policy’ (Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.11)

million and the decision that not more than 25% could be spent on grants of £5m or more (HLF, 2002, p.29). Quantitative and qualitative performance measures and numerical performance targets for each year of the plan were devised (HLF, 2002, p.39). In 2002, offices were opened in cities in all of the English regions (Exeter, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds, Newcastle and Cambridge) and development staff appointed to work alongside grants officers and actively increase wider access to lottery funds by working in geographical areas that had not made many applications (HLF, 2003, p.41).

In 2004, the HLF commissioned a report via the think tank Demos, from Robert Hewison and John Holden, *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Values*. This was produced in response to a range of issues including the *National Lottery Decisions Document* (DCMS, 2003a), which called for more transparency and accountability about lottery decisions and a desire for lottery funding to 'be different and take risks' (DCMS, 2003a, p.33). A second concern was the proposal for a complete merger between HLF and NHMF, relying entirely on HLF to protect heritage at risk, which had been discussed in the DCMS's *Quinquennial Review* of the NHMF, whose *Stage One Report* had been published in July 2003 (DCMS, 2003b). In addition, there was a perceived threat to the HLF's future from the imminent creation of the *Big Lottery* which would have responsibility for 50% of all lottery funds, to be spent in line with the government's social and economic agenda (Hewison and Holden, 2004, p.6). The 2004 paper can also be seen as an advocacy document for the sector, aimed at influencing New Labour, which associated the term 'heritage' with the previous Conservative administrations.<sup>36</sup> It is different from but complementary to reports such as *The Power of Place* (EH, 2001), *Heritage Dividend*, (EH 2002) and *Heritage Counts* (EH, 2003) that were produced by EH to make the case for the

---

<sup>36</sup> 'As evidence of ministerial reluctance to use the word "heritage", we cite the Secretary of State's recent "personal essay", *Government and the Value of Culture* (Jowell 2004), which mentions museums and galleries but does not refer to heritage as a concept or use the word at all' (Hewison and Holden, 2004, p.9).

economic and social importance of heritage and the historic environment which faced reducing Treasury funding for this particular cultural sector.<sup>37</sup>

The Hewison and Holden report explored the work of the HLF as a creator of cultural value and described its innovative approach to the stewardship of heritage thus:

HLF has shifted the idea of the value and importance of heritage away from being something that is exclusively determined by experts on behalf of society, to one that recognises the importance of widespread participation in identifying and caring for what is valued collectively. The work of HLF has broadened the social base for the enjoyment of heritage so that there is now an acknowledged diversity of contributions to the national story (Hewison and Holden, 2004, p.3).

These claims were not substantiated by any rigorous independent research on the HLF's work; however, the statement does capture and emphasise the HLF's attempts to move on from the intrinsic heritage values of its parent body the NHMF to a broader agenda 'recognising that heritage was something that needed to evolve to meet the changing needs of society' (Hesmondhalgh et al 2015, p.168). Analysis suggests that some of this change was not generated internally and had been prompted by the need to respond to the government legislation of 1997 and 1998 and the expanded Policy Directions issued to the HLF (Appendix 2). The emergence of new thinking within the heritage sector demonstrated by 'the new museology' (Vergo, 1989) and the working class history movement (Samuel, 1994) must have also played a part. Stuart Davies, a previous member of HLF staff, observed wryly, but accurately, that,

---

<sup>37</sup> An assessment of English Heritage's funding in 2011 by the House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport committee, (cited in Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.174) noted that between 1997 and 2011 the Arts Council's budget had increased by 90% and Sport England's by 18% while English Heritage has been subjected to an 11% cut.

‘in the 1970s...products of the grammar school system...infiltrated the museums world infrastructure...Their first target was to challenge the “sanitized” presentation of history in museums and the “history with the working classes left out”...They advocated that museums were about people not things; the first signs of dangerous instrumentalist leanings (2008, p.262)

As part of their study, Hewison and Holden identified a range of heritage and public values that, in their view, the HLF invests in, offering this analysis of the breadth of its work:

The first is that of economic value; the second the discourse of cultural value found principally in anthropology; the third the language of environmentalism; fourth is the approach to the financial value of intangible assets; fifth is the concept of Public Value and the language of heritage practice itself (Hewison and Holden, 2004, p.24)

The management of the tensions between these value sets is implicit in the work of the HLF, in the design of its strategic plans, the structure of its funding policies, and the criteria for assessing applications and evaluating the delivery of HLF projects. This mix of heritage values are on the one hand evidence of the influence of the aesthetic and historical interests of its parent body and on the other informed by the social and economic agendas of the New Labour government and the concept of heritage as a political and social construction.

As Hewison and Holden observe:

‘Heritage is created out of conflict and complexity, as much as consensus, and it is important that all sides of the national argument as well as the national story can be heard. The heritage exists not just to be saved, but to be added to’ (2004, p.43).

This statement challenged the notion of heritage as something to be preserved and championed the idea of heritage as something that could be negotiated and produced.

This public value approach to understanding the HLF's work was then developed into a programme of work with the lottery distributor to create a cultural value framework for analysing the HLF's work (Hewison and Holden, 2006; Hewison and Holden 2007).

Hewison and Holden's multidisciplinary approach, which took account of the views and dispositions of a variety of stakeholders alongside the different meanings and values of heritage, seemed appropriate for the HLF's needs, reflecting both the relationships between the policy networks and issues networks model identified by Marsh and Rhodes (1992) and the range of specific heritage values identified by Jones and Leech (2015). The model built on the concept of 'public value' (Moore, 1995) that was current with the New Labour Government and overlaid the triangular relationship of institutional, intrinsic and instrumental cultural value onto the different interests of public, politicians and policy makers. It recognised 'that the practices that were important to policy makers and were involved in the generation of instrumental value, measured through auditing frameworks ...were at a distance from what mattered to both the public and to cultural organisations' (O'Brien, 2014, p. 124), offering a situational approach to understanding the importance of different heritage values to different stakeholders.

In January 2006, a conference entitled *Capturing the value of heritage* (Clark, 2006), was convened by the DCMS, the HLF, EH and the NT. This event explored the tensions between expert-led and citizen-defined allocations of value and the challenges this posed for the funding and management of the historic environment in the context of New Labour's antipathy to heritage. Hewison and Holden's cultural values model (2006) was used as a framework for debate. For the HLF this conference was seen as preparation for the next strategic plan in 2008 and a report written by Clark and Maeer (both HLF employees at the

time) that same year, looked at the challenges of measuring the impacts of the HLF's generic heritage programmes, which were set up in 2002, and attracted a wide range of applications.

Using the cultural value framework as a tool to organise and commission applied research and understand the difference the HLF's funding was making, tested the robustness of model. It exposed challenges in the specific definition of instrumental value and demonstrated the inherent conflicts within a context which is trying to identify and categorise a multiplicity of intrinsic and instrumental values and outcomes. Clark and Maeer concluded that 'no one framework can ever encapsulate the range of what the HLF does without somewhat over-simplifying it' (Clark and Maeer, 2008). Further debate within the sector about the model (Gibson, 2008; Gray, 2008) suggested that there 'is no consensus about what particular elements of museum and heritage programmes might constitute instrumental or intrinsic values' (Gibson, 2008, p. 251).

From the late 1990s onwards, New Labour's policy-making approach was 'attempting to demonstrate policy success to the public, rather than relying on professional expertise' (O'Brien, 2014, p. 116) using monitoring and measurement regimes, to demonstrate 'public administration that could claim a status not in ideology but rather in evidence' (O'Brien, 2014, p.119). Clark described the challenges for the HLF in this context as:

'establishing the needs of heritage - where there is no other body to do the work and encouraging sectors to address needs more systematically and coherently; exploring the impact and benefits of funding not only on the heritage, but also on society, the economy and the environment as part of sustainable development; capturing and sharing best practice from projects' (Clark, 2004, p. 68).

Quantifying levels and causes of heritage need were difficult tasks to complete across all of the HLF's interests, as many aspects of the heritage had no government- funded lead body

and therefore no base-line information. Some sectors had detailed plans, such as the regular surveys of buildings on English Heritage's Buildings at Risk register; however, for parks (Urban Parks Forum, 2001) and museums (LASER, 1998), the HLF had to commission the research (Clark 2004, p.71). Given the speed of the pragmatic development of the HLF's heritage funding infrastructure, this work was done after, rather than before, the launch of the first targeted HLF grants programmes for parks and museums, which were introduced in 1996 and 1997 respectively. Having compiled the results of these investigations, it was then hard to compare one sector's circumstances with another, as understanding the causes of the need was key and these could, for example, be related to poor enforcement of legislation, which was not in the HLF's remit, as much as shortages of capital or project funds.

Measuring the social and economic impact of projects in the early years of the HLF, in order to satisfy the New Labour government's requirements, was further complicated by the lack of longitudinal research to draw on in terms of public benefit. Isolating the impacts of HLF investment or identifying the 'policy lever' (Davies, 2008, p.264) in relation to for example job creation within both the tourism and construction industries also proved difficult as the changes that lottery funds brought about were often entangled in other initiatives. Selwood and Davies (2004), for example, found it hard to comb out the specific impact of lottery investment on increased visitor numbers to national museums, which opened HLF funded projects in 2000, as these organisations had also adopted free entry in 2001:

London museums, as a whole, have made a good start to the twenty-first century, with visit numbers up by nearly a third between 1999 and 2003. However, there are enormous difficulties associated with identifying effects and attributing them to certain causes (Selwood and Davies, 2004, p.452).

These observations reflect the challenge of responding to the 'attendant fixation with targets, performance measurement and evidence [as]... a means to gain legitimation' (Belfiore, 2012,

p. 107), which characterised cultural policy making during the New Labour era and for her created a ‘defensive instrumentalism’ which ‘was deprived of the attendant effort to elaborate a positive notion of cultural value’ (Belfiore , 2012, p.103) as the cultural sector ‘strived to demonstrate its “usefulness” in socio-economic terms’ (Belfiore, 2012, p.,104).

The third strategic plan, *Valuing our Heritage: Investing in our future*, asserts that ‘The Heritage Lottery Fund is the UK’s leading advocate for the value of heritage to modern life’ (HLF, 2008, p.2) and restated the HLF’s aims to:

conserve the UK’s diverse heritage for present and future generations to experience and enjoy; help more people, and a wider range of people, to take an active part in and make decisions about their heritage; help people to learn about their own and other people’s heritage (HLF, 2008, p.4).

This statement represents a more active, people focused approach to heritage. No new initiatives were announced in this document and annual budgets were set to fall from £220m in 2008-2009 to £180m from 2009 – 2013. During this period, National Lottery allocations were reconfigured by government to support the delivery of the London 2012 Olympics and the country entered an uncertain era following the economic crash of 2008.

*A lasting difference for heritage and people* was the HLF’s strategic framework for 2013-2018, created during Dame Jenny Abramsky’s term as Chair. It was presented during the turbulence created in the funding environment, following the cuts in public spending introduced by the Coalition government, which came into power in 2010 (HLF, 2012b). Given the economic uncertainty, there were no five-year financial projections in the document. The dismantling of the Regional Development Agencies in England and the consequent loss of their funding for major projects changed the role of the HLF prompting



the statement: 'We will increasingly be the most important source of funding for the largest and most ambitious projects' (HLF 2012b, p.2).

The new funding framework based on assessing outcomes for heritage, people and communities (HLF, 2012b, p.10), rather than outputs, was introduced in 2013 (Appendix 2). This new approach recognised the importance of understanding the significance or meaning of the heritage that applicants want to be funded and is demonstrated by the funder's new requirement for potential grantees to describe how and why they value the heritage that they want to support. By weighting different outcomes for different grant schemes, the framework could be used for every funding programme. While embracing the concepts of aesthetic and historic value that dominate the work of the NHMF, the HLF recognised constructs of economic value, such as the use of an historic building or heritage institution as the core of a regeneration project or social value such as the exploration or restoration of a local heritage site by local people and the volunteering and learning that arise from this. In this revised funding process these dimensions are articulated in the required outcomes for grants. This demonstrates a continued requirement 'that quantifiable "returns" need to be guaranteed for the "investment" received' (Belfiore, 2012, p.109). Davies described the grant making process as follows:

'In applying for a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, for example, a museum manager is making a conscious strategic choice to sign up to the HLF's objectives in return for hard cash' (2008, p.260), confirming the HLF's influence on heritage production.

Heritage Enterprise, a new type of heritage grant to encourage the sustainable use of heritage buildings with private- and public-sector partners and based on the experience of the Townscape Heritage Initiative programme was announced in the 2013 framework (HLF, 2012b, p.2). The opportunities presented by digital media to extend the reach of projects and engage new audiences were highlighted to encourage more projects in this field and in response to public consultation and a new small grants programme, *Sharing Heritage*,

offering small awards for £3000 to £10,000, was introduced (HLF 2012b, p.33). The government decision to return the HLF's share of lottery good causes income to 20% combined with high ticket sales created a budget for 2012-2013 of £375m (HLF 2012b, p.32).

38

In a review of the HLF published in 2017 to mark twenty years of lottery funding, Maeer, then Deputy Director of Research for the HLF, (2017) identified a number of areas where there is still work for the HLF to do. Firstly, while every local authority in the UK has received some funding and participation in heritage projects has increased, research into volunteer profiles reveals that unless time and money is spent targeting specific participants, those that are attracted to these opportunities are: 98% white British, 44% over 60 and 69% hold at least one degree (Rosemberg et al, 2011), thus challenging the previous assumption that volunteering promotes social cohesion. Secondly, the decision-making process on which projects get funded still remains in the hands of the board of trustees and the local committees, continuing to raise questions about whose heritage gets funded and who chooses. Thirdly, the concepts of heritage value presented by applicants in each funding request are not interrogated in either the application process or the during the grant decision-making process. This takes us back to the intrinsic and instrumental heritage debates and the issues of heritage as a process and heritage as preservation and the recognition of these processes in grant making. Finally, the changing public spending environment is challenging the HLF's funding model both in terms of the availability of matching contributions to funding packages for HLF funded capital projects and the sustainability of future revenue projections, once a project is complete (Maeer, 2017, p.49). This issue has also been recognised as a risk in the Annual report for 2016 (NHMF, 2016b, p.30). Based on my research, I would suggest that a further major challenge has been posed

---

<sup>38</sup> Income for subsequent years has been £332,037,000 (NHMF, 2014d, p.28); £360,626,000 (NHMF, 2015b, p.32); £384,665,000 (NHMF, 2016b, p. 34) and £325,989,000 (NHMF, 2017b, p. 36).

to the HLF and all the lottery distributors as the public buy fewer tickets and the National Lottery income available to distributors falls (Ahmed, 2017).

## **Conclusion**

In the histories outlined above, it can be seen that each of the three funders differentiates itself from its predecessors. However, it is also clear that they are all connected to each other, demonstrating O'Brien's observation that, 'Public policy also has a historical dimension...based on the fact that it will always carry the traces of approaches of previous administrations to a given issue' (2014, p.115). The following chapters explore three examples of how the HLF's work can be seen as part of a continuum of heritage funding in different contexts.

The first example of the links between the three funders relates to the commemorative role of the NLF which was inherited by the NHMF and Chapter 2 considers how this has been continued by the HLF. The concept of the NLF was to use natural heritage as a new form of remembrance for the dead of the Second World War by creating public access to land that was previously privately owned. The NHMF's funds, while supporting the preservation of heritage, also have an instrumental purpose. Each object that is allocated an NHMF grant becomes a memorial for those who have lost their lives for the UK (NHMF, 2005, p.37). The HLF's extensive funding of both small- and large-scale projects to mark the Centenary of the First World War has perpetuated the links between heritage funding and the remembrance of those who died in global conflicts in a different way and has encouraged heritage-making, which is prompted and shaped by the lottery distributor.

The second connection is the funders' responses to the perceived risk of loss to the nation of historically significant property and collections. The purpose of the transfer of sites from private to public hands, funded by the NLF, initially aimed to create public benefit by

increasing public access to the countryside. This concept was then developed to focus on the saving of historic landscape, buildings and objects that were at risk of loss from export, dispersal or destruction. This approach was continued by the NHMF which facilitated the transfer of sites and material to the care of publicly funded museums and galleries or charities such as the National Trust, where they remain in perpetuity. Evidence that heritage is at risk continues to be an important stated funding criterion for both the NHMF (NHMF, 2014b, p.20) and the HLF (HLF, 2012b, p.38). Chapters 3 and 4 look specifically at securing the future of examples of heritage with a high market value, a field generally associated with the NHMF, and consider the ways in which the HLF has managed the tensions inherent in the use of lottery players' money for this purpose.

A third legacy from the NLF is that, in the spirit of the post-war Labour government, the NLF represented a form of 'nationalisation' of heritage assets, initially land, and later country houses and their collections. The transfer of land and goods from private to public or charitable ownership and the consequent anticipated increase in public benefit from access to artistic and natural beauty, was at the heart of the thinking behind the NLF (Dalton, 1962, p.118), and continues to inform the purpose and the funding criteria of both the NHMF (NHMF, 2014b, p.20) and the HLF (NHMF, 2013b, p.2). The original intention to provide public amenity and free access to nature is still evident across the HLF's scope of work and in particular its championing of and investment in local authority owned and managed urban public parks. The recognition of these sites by the HLF as high-quality everyday heritage displaying both aesthetic and communal values and the strengths and weaknesses of the grant making models developed by the HLF with local authority partners to regenerate these constructed landscapes is explored in Chapter 5.

## **Chapter 2: Heritage funding and the commemoration of conflict**

### **Introduction**

This chapter continues the exploration of the policy connections between the NLF, the NHMF and the HLF by examining two important aspects of the enduring and complex links between heritage funding and the remembrance of those who gave their lives for the UK. It combines a review of both heritage policy and production and state and civic practice in the remembrance of the two global conflicts of the twentieth century, to draw out the similarities and differences of the three heritage funders in their approach to this complex and contentious field. This analysis identifies the different ways in which the sites, material and memories of global conflicts have been used in the construction of a range of commemorative activity in the present, and why.

The study begins by investigating why politicians considered natural and cultural heritage to be an appropriate vehicle for the commemoration of those who died for their country and traces how the defence and rescue of the UK's heritage has been connected to the defence of the nation in the funding principles of both the NLF and the NHMF. What prompted the political requirement for this funding to have a dual purpose to not only secure the future of natural and cultural heritage, but also to confer the status of an alternative form of war memorial upon the landscapes, buildings, and objects that were funded, and to use the past for such specific purposes in the present? Was this commitment to commemoration carried through into all aspects of the work of the funders and how was it demonstrated and acknowledged in grant giving?

The second section of this chapter looks at the social and political role of state and civic commemorative activity relating to the two world wars in the construction of collective memory and identity, setting the scene for a detailed analysis of the HLF's engagement with

the marking of the First World War Centenary. Exploring the ‘selective memorialisation’ (Eley, 2014, p.xii) of specific anniversaries linked to the two global conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by successive post-1945 UK governments reveals that many of these events were gendered and ‘for but not of the people’ (Gillis, 1994, p.9). How have the NHMF and the HLF challenged this practice and how has the availability of National Lottery money influenced the scale and nature of the commemoration of both the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Second World War and the First World War Centenary and the contested and ‘difficult heritage’ (Macdonald, 2009) that these events represent?

Finally, I investigate the lottery distributor’s decision to work alongside government and take a proactive role in shaping the public response to marking the Centenary of the First World War. How has the HLF contributed to new forms of memorial activity mediated by communities and artists, not the state and the church, through both the creation of a dedicated small grants fund for community-led research entitled *First World War: then and now* (HLF, n.d.e.) and its investment in heritage-inspired arts commissions in partnership with ACE through *14-18 NOW* (14-18NOW, 2014a)? These projects created new relationships between heritage funding and the commemoration of the war dead in the post-national era when ‘today everyone is her or his own historian ...[and] the nation is no longer the site of frame of memory for most people’ (Gillis, 1994, p.17). By stimulating public interest and encouraging the production of heritage directly linked to this contentious conflict, I argue that the HLF has demonstrated that ‘heritage is something that can engage as well as something to be engaged with’ (Harvey, 2017, p.110). How have these activities enabled a democratisation of remembrance, offering alternatives to the civic and religious ceremonies, by encouraging activity on a human scale that enabled people to connect to individuals that were affected by the Great War and in many instances presenting a revisionist view of the conflict?

As a member of the NHMF/HLF board, I was party to the strategic planning and early delivery of the HLF's involvement with the DCMS and other partners in the First World War Centenary programme that marked events across the four years of the conflict.<sup>39</sup> I felt that there was an intriguing connection between this initiative and the NLF's and NHMF's commemorative purposes. In 2014, I developed a direct relationship with the HLF's funding for the remembrance of the Great War, through my role as the artistic and heritage assessor for *14-18 NOW*, the cultural programme for the Centenary that was funded by the HLF in partnership with ACE.<sup>40</sup> This chapter, which uses the analysis of two funding programmes as the basis of its argument, is therefore informed not only by critical heritage theory but also my own reflective practice concerning arts-led and arts-based heritage activities. I explore how the Centenary programme has provided different opportunities for participation and meaning-making and draws on different value frameworks in the analysis of this heritage field.

### **The origins and practice of the memorial purpose of the NLF and the NHMF**

How does the commemorative purpose of the NLF's and the NHMF's funds relate to the cultural history of the two world wars? This exploration is set in the context of the state's approaches to the recognition of those who experienced each of the two global conflicts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The official commemorative practice that developed following the First World War 'preferred the dead to the living' (Gillis, 1994, p.10) and focused on military losses, the "fallen soldiers" who had died abroad. Apart from the annual marking of

---

<sup>39</sup> The First World War Centenary commemoration programme is led by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in partnership with the Heritage Lottery Fund, The Imperial War Museum and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The Centenary Partnership, which promotes related events, is managed by the IWM. It has over 3000 members in 50 countries and over 100 webpages of events. (DCMS 2015a)

<sup>40</sup> I was appointed by Morris Hargreaves Macintyre in 2014 to work with them to create an arts and heritage evaluation framework for the three seasons: 2014, 2016, 2018, and to recruit expert assessors. This work excluded me from any direct involvement in the HLF funding and monitoring processes for *14-18 NOW*.

Armistice Day ‘there were few tributes, material or symbolic, for World War 1 veterans’ (Gillis 1994, p.12). In contrast, after the Second World War, which caused more civilian deaths than military losses, ‘the promise of a land fit for heroes did not go unfulfilled ... the fact that the returning soldier could actually find a place in the present reduced considerably the pressure to memorialize them’ (Gillis 1994, p.13). It is in this context that the NLF (discussed in Chapter 1), which aimed to increase the amount of public land available for recreation as a way of honouring the war dead and creating new amenities for those who had survived the conflict, was created. Dalton’s vision to ‘let this land of ours be dedicated to the memory of our dead and to the use and enjoyment of the living, forever’ (Dalton, cited in Jones, 1985, p.22) connected natural heritage with commemoration and linked both to the concept of public access to and ownership of assets.

The memorial role of the NLF and the motives for its creation were announced by Hugh Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his 1946 budget speech and are explained in this transcript from Pathé news footage:

‘One more big idea that I have put into my budget this year, I want the people of the country and particularly the young people to have the chance to enjoy the country, which should belong to all of us, not just a few private landowners. And so, I have put aside £50 million, to be a great new National Land Fund spent in buying up beautiful open spaces, stretches of cliff along the coast, woodland, moorlands and downland for hikers, cyclists and ramblers. This will be thought of as a war memorial for those who died in order that we here might live in freedom and in peace. A war memorial better I think than some of those great stone edifices which were put up after the last war. And I hope that this idea of a Labour Chancellor and ex-serviceman of the First World War will be welcome to the young generation, growing up as we shall hope in years of abiding and unbroken peace’ (British Pathé, 1946).



This statement sets out the agendas that Dalton hoped would be addressed by £50m that had been amassed from the sale of war surplus and allocated to the NLF.<sup>41</sup> Informed by his own experiences as a soldier in the First World War and inspired by his enjoyment of the natural world, Dalton's ambition was to turn away from previous commemorative practice and create public amenity through the public acquisition of natural heritage, in the form of landscape. His proposed new form of war memorial for those who had lost their lives in the Second World War appropriated natural heritage in the service of the present echoing the heritage process defined by Graham and Howard (2016, p.1) and Lowenthal (1997, p.147) which is explored in my *Introduction*.

Dalton's aim was to put more of the country's landscape into public and charitable ownership so that it would be accessible to those who had served their country at home and abroad, 'the heritage not of a few private owners, but of all our people' (Dalton, 1962, p.118). Building on the National Trust's founding principle 'to make freedom to enjoy unspoilt beauty and open skies a universal right' (Murphy, 2002 p.14), the sentiment was also symbolically linked to the successful defence of the country against invasion, 'the white unconquerable cliffs that Hitler never scaled' (Dalton, 1962, p.118). The NLF was presented by Hugh Dalton as 'a thank-offering for victory, and a war memorial which many would find finer than any work of art in stone or bronze' (Dalton, 1962, p.118).

However, as discussed in Chapter 1, the success of the NLF as a funding stream and, I would argue, a memorial maker is questionable. There was no formal public recognition of the commemorative purpose of the funding when it was allocated, nor any signage at the sites that were acquired. Marcus Binney commented during the 1977 parliamentary enquiry into the NLF that 'it [the NLF] was intended as a war memorial, but apart from Dr Dalton's words in his speeches, I know of no public statement to draw the attention to the public of this fact'

---

<sup>41</sup> £50m is calculated as £1.5bn at 2018 values (moneysorter.n.d.)

(Jones, 1985, p. 34). This implies that while the connection was clear in Dalton's mind when he set up the fund, the acknowledgment of this commemorative purpose was not seen as important by the Treasury, which administered the funds.

In 1980, the NHMF inherited the NLF's concept of creating living war memorials through heritage that had been saved for the nation and the commemorative scope was broadened to include anyone who had lost their life in the service of the UK (NHMF, 2014b, p.20). A fund of last resort for outstanding heritage deemed to be at risk, all the acquisitions funded by NHMF become part of the commemorative process, regardless of whether or not the object, building or landscape had a direct link to a major conflict or act of heroism: 'these purchases in themselves stand as a memorial to those who gave their lives' (NHMF 2005, p.6). This use of heritage adds a new dimension to Lowenthal's ideas of how the present uses the past (1997, p.147) by constructing an additional layer of symbolic remembrance to the cultural meaning of NHMF funded acquisitions, but how is the dual identity of these purchases evident in their role as museum objects or publicly accessible buildings or landscapes?

At the time of its foundation, the support for this NHMF remembrance link was mixed. Arthur Jones MP, who chaired the 1977 Environment Sub-Committee of the Select Committee on Expenditure on the NLF that recommended the creation of the NHMF, records that Tam Dalyell MP hoped that 'Dr Dalton's original concept of the NLF as a war memorial would not be forgotten' (1985, p.195). Jones himself had misgivings, believing that the 'significance of the word memorial is likely to become increasingly less for succeeding generations, who may well question why the preservation of their heritage should be linked to a particular historic event' (Jones, 1985, p.3).

Despite Jones' ambivalence, the link between the preservation of heritage and the protection of the nation has endured and the emotive language used by the NHMF to justify its work

continues this link.<sup>42</sup> Stating that ‘the national heritage is constantly under threat’ (NHMF, 1981, p.2) has remained a recurrent theme for the funder and in the 2010s, the NHMF still describes itself as ‘the central bulwark...in the defence of items of outstanding importance’ (NHMF 2014b, p.20). Barzini’s observation (cited in Lowenthal, 1994, p.50) that a nation ‘clings to its glorious past and mounts guard, jealously and suspiciously over its unique heritage’ reflects this fiercely defensive stance of the NHMF in defending heritage deemed to be at risk. As Adams comments, ‘Threat is not only a ubiquitous trope of heritage discourse, but a defining characteristic’ (2013, p.3) and the rhetoric in every NHMF annual report underlines its role in defending and rescuing heritage that would otherwise be lost through export, dispersal or destruction. While these phrases enrich the case for the annual grant from the Treasury and differentiate the purpose of its work from that of the HLF, they also evoke an almost embattled approach to the saving of the nation’s heritage. However, the primary focus of the narratives of the NHMF are the battle that the funder is fighting is on the intrinsic value and preservation of what is being saved, and the act of creating memorials to those who have lost their lives for the country appears to be a secondary outcome.

While the NHMF describes the acquisitions that it funds as ‘a memorial to those who gave their lives’ (NHMF, 2005, p.6), the commemorative purpose of the NHMF’s funds is not explicit in the publicly displayed acknowledgment of their awards, which is required as a condition of funding. The NHMF logo has no strap-line to explain its commemorative purpose. The main evidence of its perpetuation of the spirit of the NLF’s founding principles resides in the NHMF’s assessment standards, which are the basis of its funding criteria.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> The National Heritage Memorial Fund was established under the National Heritage Act of 1980 ‘in succession to the National Land Fund as a memorial to those who have died for the United Kingdom’ (NHMF, 2017a, p22)

<sup>43</sup> An HLF board paper (HLF, 2000a, p.6) states that ‘the current policy is to provide grants for the purchase of land, buildings and objects of outstanding interest and importance to the heritage which are: at risk of being lost damaged destroyed or broken up; have a clear memorial link. The seven NHMF standards in operation in since 2000 are: importance to the national heritage, outstanding interest, at risk, cost, financial need, memorial character, public access (NHMF, n.d.b p.7)

One of these standards has been developed specifically to recognise and privilege heritage with a memorial character in the decision-making process. This term is applied to heritage that has a link to major conflicts or acts of heroism, in line with the NHMF's commemorative purpose and this approach appears to have been agreed in 2000 (HLF, 2000a, p.7).

Prioritising heritage of this kind was not enshrined in the original legislation (The National Heritage Act 1980 s.3) (Appendix 2); but memorial character is one of the current seven key assessment standards and it has equal status with the heritage at risk standard in terms of confirming eligibility for funding. Consequently, unlike any other type of heritage that the NHMF funds, an item of memorial character does not have to be at risk of loss in order to be considered eligible for funding (NHMF, n.d.c. p.3).

When looking at the effect of this policy decision across the NHMF, heritage of a memorial character does not dominate the grants that have been awarded. Just 8% of the NHMF's grants have been given for heritage that has links to a major conflict or heroic acts since the fund began in 1980.<sup>44</sup> The NHMF is a passive funder that receives but does not generate or solicit applications and I would suggest that the decision to highlight memorial character was indicative of an organisational sense of a need to promote the fund's commemorative role through its criteria and differentiate it from the HLF, rather than an intention to significantly increase the number of applications for the acquisition of conflict- or heroism-related material.

The NHMF's efforts to secure the future of objects from the two World Wars have in some instances been boosted by subsequent funding from the HLF. This model can be seen in the support for the preservation of both Yr Ysgwrn, the home of the Welsh poet Ellis Humphrey

---

<sup>44</sup> An analysis of the grants listed in NHMF Annual Reports and Accounts from 1980-2012 shows that of the 1264 awards made over 32 years, 94 grants with memorial character have been awarded

Evans, known as Hedd Wynn, who was killed in action in 1917, and HMS Caroline moored in Belfast, the last surviving ship from the Battle of Jutland (1916). Having both been purchased with NHMF grants in 2012 (NHMF, 2012d, NHMF 2012a), their subsequent restoration and interpretation has been funded by the HLF (HLF, 2014d; HLF, 2014e). The NHMF's limited budget, in comparison to the lottery distributor, has meant that it has become focused on acquisitions of mainly portable heritage objects rather than buildings or land and the HLF has become the main funder of large-scale capital projects with a memorial character, such as the £2million restoration of HMS M.33 based at Chatham Royal Dockyard (HLF, 2015d) and £4.5million the new First World War galleries at IWM (HLF, 2014f).

The NHMF's commemorative role is not foregrounded in its own narrative about its work. In the introduction to the *Treasures for the Nation* exhibition at the British Museum in 1988, which presented 116 examples of objects funded by the NHMF in its first eight years of operation, the Chairman, Lord Charteris described the primary purpose of the exhibition to be 'to show the public how...the National Heritage Memorial Fund has spent taxpayers' money, entrusted to it by Her Majesty's Government, for the defence of our National heritage' (Lord Charteris, 1988, p.9). The publication did not describe how all the works that have been saved constitute a memorial to those who have lost their lives for the UK. This defining role in the remembrance of the dead was only linked to material directly related to conflict: 'exhibits such as the World War 1 tank ... [which] specifically reflect this [memorial] purpose' (Lord Charteris. 1988, p.9).

In 2005, the publication celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NHMF did not lead with its commemorative purpose, despite that year being the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War. Only the last section of the report entitled *For Those who Gave their Lives* recorded grants given to secure heritage with memorial character, 'part of a heritage of which we can be proud and that is – in the widest sense – worth fighting to preserve'

(NHMF, 2005, p.37). The items linked to the two World Wars that were highlighted in this section were: Siegfried Sassoon manuscripts acquired by the Imperial War Museum, the conservation of two First World War Tanks for the Tank Museum at Bovington and the preservation of HMS Cavalier, berthed at Chatham Historic Dockyard, as a memorial to all those who lost their lives on Royal Navy destroyers during the Second World War (NHMF, 2005, pp.39-41).

Many of the NHMF grants for heritage with memorial character have supported objects that relate to the male experience of war, reflecting Gillis' observation that 'national commemorations were largely the preserve of elite males' (Gillis, 1994, p.10). However, there is one atypical NHMF award associated with the sixtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, which both challenged the dominance of the male story in relation to global conflict and prompted the funder to actively assert its commemorative purpose by breaking its own rules and supporting the creation of a new permanent memorial. The NHMF made an 'exceptional remembrance' grant of £934,115, (82% of the costs) (NHMF 2004, p.7), for the creation of a bronze war memorial to the Women of World War II (Figure 1), to be located in Whitehall. The NHMF chair at the time, Liz Forgan, a previous editor of the Guardian Women's page, defended this decision by describing the award as 'a national memorial to a nationwide contribution ... a once and for all tribute on behalf of the nation' (NHMF, 2004, p.7).

Given Dalton's stated desire to find new forms of commemoration (Dalton,1962, p.118), it seems ironic that the only NHMF grant for a new commemorative work was for a traditional memorial in bronze, the very thing that Dalton set up the NLF to avoid. However, this criticism must be balanced with the lack of formal recognition of the contribution of women to either of the World Wars. In relation to the Great War, Gillis observed that, 'as for the women who had contributed so much to the world's first total war effort, there would be no monuments' (Gillis, 1994, p.12), and while long overdue, the form and content of





*Figure 1: The Women of World War II, Whitehall, London (2005) by John W Mills, bronze*

The sculpture depicts the roles played by women during World War II illustrated by their uniforms

(Source: Photograph by Alan Stanton Available at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/alanstanton/33427541845> Accessed 29 October 2019)

the Second World War monument was contentious (Peniston-Bird, 2014, p.74),

demonstrating the complexity of remembrance.<sup>45</sup> The women veterans had strong views on

<sup>45</sup> Led by the charity The Memorial to Women in World War II fund, set up in 1998, the memorial by John W Mills aimed to 'commemorate the contribution made by women in wartime occupations' (Peniston-Bird, 2014, p.68). 'The NHMF funding ensured it was completed and sited in time for the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The imagery used on the memorial is of the uniforms and clothing worn by women in the military and civilian roles they played in the Second World War representing the range of contributions made by the estimated 7 million women that worked in the Armed Services and on the Home Front'. (Peniston-Bird, 2014, p.74)

how they should be depicted and who should be remembered. The memorial design was controversial. 'Some women who had been in the Armed Services wanted a memorial that gave them parity with their male counterparts and resented being grouped with those women who had performed civilian roles' (Peniston-Bird, 2014, p.74). This grant was the first example of the heritage funders responding directly to the anniversary of a World War, but this significant and unique decision merited just one sentence in the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary report (NHMF 2005, p.7).

It can be seen, therefore, that the commemoration of the fallen played a key role in the foundation of the NLF and that this concept was continued by the NHMF and modified to embrace a broader memorial scope. However, the commemorative role of both organisations and this use of the past in the present has not been actively expressed in the required acknowledgment of the grants given. While saving heritage associated with conflict is prioritised by the NHMF, these reactive funds can only respond to applications received. With the exception of the memorial to Women in World War II, the purpose of NHMF grants is to preserve material by aiding its acquisition by public and charitable bodies. Its grants do not support the interpretation of these objects and sites of memorial character as evidence of the contested political acts that conflict represents. To explore other forms of commemorative practice in the UK, I now turn to a review of the state managed remembrance of the First and Second World Wars since 1945 and the place of National Lottery money in supporting those practices.

### **Remembering the wars: post 1945 practices**

To set the context for the HLF's involvement in the First World War Centenary programme, this section examines the politics of war commemoration through the official ceremonies that recognised previous key dates related to the two World Wars. Central to the social and political construct that is heritage practice and production is



understanding who decides and controls what is remembered, by whom, when and how. As McDowell observes ‘Those who wield the greatest power, therefore, can influence what is remembered and what is forgotten’ (2016, p.43). These state rituals using ‘cultural policy as display’ (McGuigan, 2004, p.91) and representing the ‘big identity politics of heritage’ (Harvey, 2016, p.20), have changed, over the decades since the two conflicts, to meet the needs of the social and political agendas of different times. The state’s mediation of the remembrance of past conflicts can be seen in how the official documentation of the two World Wars was organised and how the marking of key anniversaries has been conducted.<sup>46</sup> Timing and politics influences what is commemorated, demonstrating the power of these national events to manipulate the memory of the past for current needs and that ‘the actions of the state shape the understanding of culture’ (O’Brien, 2014, p.9).

Post 1945, there was no national programme of creating commemorative statuary to the soldiers killed in the Second World War. The dates of the 1939-45 conflict were merely added to the First World War monuments and the sites became the place of remembrance for the fallen of both wars. Exploring what Eley describes as ‘selective memorialising’ (2014, p.xii) of the Second World War provides ‘a way to look at changing ideas about Britain and the British, as individuals and groups, including governments, tried to find their place in contemporary global politics and culture’ (Watson, 2014, p.176). In 1968, the only year in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when there were no losses of UK troops in conflict, there was no additional major public ceremonial recognition of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the First World War aside from the annual Remembrance Sunday events, (Watson 2014, p.185). In 1985, British Second World War veterans were recognised in a commemoration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War, in a Service of Thanksgiving for Peace at

---

<sup>46</sup> This account of the history of the Cabinet Office demonstrates the governmental control of records of conflict. ‘The historical section of the Cabinet Office was established in 1907 to provide an impartial review of events of the Russo-Japanese War...It then went on to document the First and Second World Wars, employing professional historians, whose work was edited by staff in the section’ (Mosely,1969, p.6)

Westminster Abbey led by the Queen. According to Watson (2014, p.175-191), this event, championed by veterans' associations, was not wanted by the government. It believed 'that there was no good to come from reviving the memories of old antagonisms, especially at a time when the former enemies – Germany and Japan – were such important economic partners' (Watson 2014, p.181). As Mycock observes, by the end of the 1980s popular participation in war commemoration had reduced considerably 'largely due to the declines in the membership and influence of key sponsors such as the Church of England and veterans' associations. These changes in social attitudes and practices meant that more people were unwilling or unable to participate in official acts of war commemoration' (2014, p.101).

A service of Thanksgiving, Reconciliation and Hope was held at St Paul's in 1995, recognising the important role that the cathedral played in wartime propaganda, having survived the London Blitz in December 1940 (Watson, 2014, p.186). As those who had fought in the Second World War grew older, there was a new emphasis on women's contribution to the war effort and the wartime experience of children: 'in the 1990s ... the Second World War became increasingly everyone's war no matter what they had done between 1939 and 1945' (Watson 2014, p.176). However, formal recognition of the contribution of the home front took longer and as Peniston-Bird notes (2014, p.70), while Britain had been the first country to conscript women in 1941, it was not until 2000 that members of the Women's Land Army were allowed to march in the Remembrance Day parade.

There was no lottery investment in major projects to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 1995, but the civic marking of both November 11 as well as Remembrance Sunday was introduced.<sup>47</sup> However, there was a resurgence of interest in the two World Wars at the turn of the century. The War Memorials Trust has linked this

---

<sup>47</sup> Until 1945, Remembrance Day was on November 11<sup>th</sup>. After 1945 ceremonies were moved to Remembrance Sunday, the second Sunday in November. In 1995, the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War, marking the November 11<sup>th</sup> as well as Remembrance Sunday was reintroduced (War Memorials Trust, 2017)

increasing interest in commemorative events to a number of factors: the UK's more recent involvement in conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, which has raised the profile of the military and veterans' associations and the inclusion of the two World Wars in the National Curriculum (War Memorials Trust, n.d.).

In the 2000s, the availability of lottery funding has not only saved significant items of heritage related to both World Wars but has also diversified those who shape and participate in the act and the focus of remembrance. Veterans Reunited, an intergenerational project, delivered with significant involvement from the Imperial War Museum (IWM), was constructed to mark the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 2005. It is the first example of a large scale, participatory, National Lottery funded heritage project linked to the commemoration of global conflict. A £45m grant from the Big Lottery Fund (BLF) supported the documentation of the experiences of older people who had lived through the conflict.<sup>48</sup> The project built links between Second World War veterans and young people through joint activities and despite being a heritage project, it received only a relatively modest £1.14m contribution from the HLF.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Big Lottery awards grants to community groups and projects that improve health, education and the environment (BIG, n.d.a.)

<sup>49</sup> The *Veterans Reunited* programme was a funding programme announced by Tessa Jowell, then Secretary of State for Culture, in her 2003 Labour Party conference speech and launched at the beginning of 2004 by the Big Lottery Fund to bring generations of people in the UK together to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. *Veterans Reunited* was made up of three strands: *Heroes Return*; *Their Past Your Future*; and *Home Front Recall*. Together, these three strands supported England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the commemoration of the 60th Anniversary. The *Their Past Your Future* strand worked with schools and museums on education activities related to the Second World War and the HLF contributed £1.14m to the Home Front Recall project supporting commemorative events and projects looking at groups such as the Land Army, the Bevan Boys and evacuees. The whole project recognised that veterans of the Second World War were now in old age and memories needed to be captured and it also involved many of them as volunteers. 11 million people participated in over 17,500 projects (BIG, n.d.b).

## Planning the Great War Centenary

In the 2010s, the HLF acquired a formal role in marking the First World War Centenary, an event now beyond living memory and one where ‘the connections between history, memory, nation, state and the individual have been significantly reframed, in comparison with one hundred years ago’ (Mycock et al, 2014, p.6).<sup>50</sup> Working alongside government, IWM and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, the HLF provided the majority of the £55 million announced for the cultural programme (Cameron, 2012).

In 2011, there were comments in the popular press, such as the *Daily Mail*, that ‘the UK had been “left behind” by the other countries, such as Belgium, France and Australia, in the development of plans for marking the centenary’ (Mycock, 2014, p.100). The Coalition Government Prime Minister, David Cameron, announced plans for the Centenary’s commemoration in October 2012:

Our ambition is a truly national commemoration, worthy of this historic centenary. I want a commemoration that captures our national spirit, in every corner of the country, from our schools to our workplaces, to our town halls and local communities. A commemoration that, like the Diamond Jubilee celebrated this year, says something about who we are as a people (Cameron, 2012).

The tone of his speech about the launch of the country’s commemorative plans, just a few months after the London 2012 Olympics and the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee, reflects a ‘concept of “heritage” as an innocuous and apolitical object for public recognition and the formation of social cohesion’ (Simon and Ashley, 2010, p.252). Elsewhere in the speech, Cameron mentioned ‘our Friends in the Commonwealth and across Ireland’, but as Mycock

---

<sup>50</sup> The last surviving male combatants Harry Patch and Henry Allingham had died in 2009 and the last surviving veteran, Florence Green of the Women’s Royal Air Force had died in 2012 (Mycock et al, 2014, p.5).

commented, how would the programme acknowledge and engage with 'the interconnected and entangled histories of the citizens and nations of the UK and its former Empire?' (Mycock, 2014, p.118)?

The speech prompted a response from the No Glory in War Campaign, a movement supported by artists, writers and performers which offered a very different perspective of the conflict:

2014 marks the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the First World War. Far from being a "war to end all wars" or a "victory for democracy", this was a military disaster and a human catastrophe.

We are disturbed, therefore, to hear that David Cameron plans to spend £55,000,000 on "truly national commemorations" to mark this anniversary. Mr. Cameron has quite inappropriately compared these to the "Diamond Jubilee celebrations" and stated that their aim will be to stress our "national spirit" (No Glory in War campaign, n.d.).

This tension between on the one hand, the idea that the UK's part in the war should be a source of national pride and on the other, informed by revisionist thinking, that the conflict was a futile loss of life, lies at the heart of the difficult heritage of the First World War and these views define the two ends of the wide spectrum of opinion about the conflict and its legacy. Much has been written in the press about the approach to the Centenary: 'Most media commentators responded along well-established political trench lines: those on the right, including London's mayor Boris Johnson, proclaiming the first world war as a patriotic, just war against German aggression; those on the left decrying it as a futile slaughter of the British working classes for imperialist aims' (Jones, 2014).

The articulation of the contemporary meaning and relevance of the conflict and consequently the overarching purpose of the Centenary was not defined by the UK government in the way that it was in other European countries.<sup>51</sup> The formal programme of events led by the church and the state linked to the human losses at the frontline during major battles and created a focus on the ‘glorious dead’ by default, prompting criticism from historian, Martin Pugh (cited in Mycock, 2014, p.103) that the recognition of the war as a political, economic and social phenomenon was being overlooked.<sup>52</sup>

In 2013, the Secretary of State for the DCMS, Maria Miller, highlighted the importance of the HLF’s funding in relation to community activity during the Centenary and linked this back to the lottery distributor’s other Centenary related investment:

‘It is completely right that we mark the Centenary of the First World War with a national programme capturing our national spirit and saying something about who we are as a people. But what we do also needs to help create an enduring cultural and educational legacy for communities. The HLF grant programme announced today will play a big part in this and builds on the substantial investment they have already made towards the Centenary’. (cited in Bashir et al., 2015, p.7)

This statement recognises the partnership between the DCMS and the HLF and endorses the work of the lottery distributor in marking the Centenary. The direct link between the DCMS

---

<sup>51</sup> ‘In France and Germany...the war is being presented as a vital lesson in why there is a need for global peace and stability, particularly in terms of post-Second World War European integration’ (Mycock 2014, p.117). This can also be interpreted as a way of using heritage to support present needs as the Centenary is being used to reinforce the value and future of the EU.

<sup>52</sup> In the same article Mycock references the work of Todman and Sheffield (2001), Gregory (2008) and Pennell (2012) as examples of ‘nuanced and critically objective analyses of British military leadership as well as wider issues concerning the causes, conduct and legacies of the war’ (Mycock, 2014, p.103)

and the HLF represents a shortening of the arms-length relationship between government and the NDPB, as they worked together on the event.

At the Gallipoli commemoration on 25 April 2015, David Cameron's speech had a new focus, highlighting the legacy of the First World War and promoting the following three years of the Centenary:

The war also gave rise to a number of developments, which continue to shape our world today: for example, the rapid advance in medicine, industrialisation and the emancipation of women. In the UK it gave rise to the Royal British Legion and established the poppy as our national symbol of remembrance. Some of the most moving and poignant poetry, literature, art and music was created as a direct response to it. (Cameron 2015).

The carefully written rhetoric is about the positive outcomes of the Great War and many of these points are reflected in the *14-18NOW* programme for 2016.<sup>53</sup> This collection of political, cultural and technological advances that are attributed to the conflict widens the government's expectations of the commemoration.

The evidence above shows that since the 1950s the state's commitment to the commemoration of the two World Wars, beyond the marking of Remembrance Sunday and Armistice Day, has been variable and the recognition of these particular pasts has been managed to suit the political situation of the day. The overarching aims of the Coalition government in embarking on the four-year Centenary are not clear or consistent and the

---

<sup>53</sup> The 2016 14-18-NOW programme included *Fashion and Freedom*, an exhibition examining 'the fashion legacy of the First World war for the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (14-18 NOW, 2016b, p.7). This was the first year that the poppies became part of the 14-18 NOW programme (14-18-NOW, 2016, p.35). Other projects included *Black Dog -The Dreams of Paul Nash* (14-18 NOW 2016b, p.22,) one of the official war artists, and a new commission based on the epic poem by David Jones about his experiences as an infantryman (14-18 NOW 2016b, p.19)

changes in political administration, leadership and the UK's relationship with Europe over the life of the programme have contributed to this shifting purpose.<sup>54</sup> The following section looks in more detail at the HLF's approach to the government-led First World War Centenary, which was designed not just to acknowledge the beginning and the end of the conflict, but to also recognise major battles that took place in the four years of its duration.

### **Marking the First World War Centenary and the role of the HLF**

The HLF's support for acquisitions and projects associated with the conflict did not begin in the 2010s. Applications with a First World War connection have always been eligible for support. In 2011, perhaps in anticipation of media and government scrutiny, the lottery distributor began to specifically highlight the First World War as a focus in its communications. In November 2011, it announced all the recent, relevant major capital grants, such as the new First World War galleries at IWM, in a joint press release with IWM which also launched a dedicated small grants programme for community projects about the conflict (IWM, n.d.). This promotion of all of the spending on the First World War as part of the Centenary programme was the first time that the reporting of all types of HLF grants had been grouped around a single historic event. Presented under the heading, *Remembering the First World War* (HLF 2011), this exercise was also seen as an advocacy tool for the HLF and enabled the lottery distributor to 'demonstrate HLF's role as a funder of heritage projects marking the Centenary...promote the availability of HLF funding ... build on existing leadership in discussing and funding sensitive heritage' (Brookfield 2017).

The HLF's contribution to the marking of the First World War Centenary is framed in two ways: to support heritage production; to promote the value of heritage and the work of the

---

<sup>54</sup> The four-year event has run through a turbulent time in UK politics, including both the Scottish Referendum (2014) and EU Referendum (2016) and two General Elections (2015 and 2017)



HLF.<sup>55</sup> This section tracks the ways in which on the one hand, the HLF built on previous funding models to create a dedicated fund for community projects to produce heritage exploring the First World War and on the other, how it changed its approach to grant-making to support a new organisation producing large scale contemporary art commissions, inspired by the heritage of the First World War. Evaluating the activity that has emerged from the allocation of these lottery funds, reveals how the meaning and legacy of the war has been constructed and reconstructed through these initiatives and the types of heritage practice and consumption that have taken place.

An assessment was made of the public's understanding of the First World War in advance of the Centenary. Research into public attitudes to the Great War via a YouGov poll of 1,955 adults in July 2013 was further analysed by British Future.<sup>56</sup> This additional study, commissioned by the BBC, DCMS, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and the Imperial War Museum (IWM) indicates the level of attention that government and national public bodies gave to the initiative. The findings created a form of baseline and then tracked any changes in knowledge and attitudes through follow-on research in 2016 and 2018. The research tested historical knowledge about the causes of the conflict, the politicians involved and the dates of the conflict. The 2013 inquiry revealed a low level of public knowledge about

---

<sup>55</sup> The aims of the First World War centenary programme were:

‘1. To fund projects which focus on the heritage of the First World War and collectively: create a greater understanding of the First World War and its impact on the range of communities in the UK;

encourage a broad range of perspectives and interpretations of the First World War and its impacts;

enable young people to take an active part in the First World War Centenary commemorations;

leave a UK-wide legacy of First World War community heritage to mark the Centenary;

increase the capacity of community organisations to engage with heritage, and to raise the profile of community heritage.

2. To use the Centenary projects that HLF funds to communicate the value of heritage, the impact of our funding and the role of HLF.’ (Bashir et al, 2015, p.3).

<sup>56</sup> British Future is an independent non-partisan think tank engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, opportunity and identity, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain (British Future, 2016, p.2).

the conflict: 'For all the questions posed, "don't know" was the most popular answer' (British Future, 2013, p.4).

The government scrutiny of the impact of the investment in the programme is further demonstrated by specific questions about the First World War Centenary being added to the DCMS Taking Part survey in 2014 (DCMS, 2015b).<sup>57</sup> These surveys offer some useful insights into public attitudes, but what is perhaps more interesting is the extensive canvassing of public opinion by both government and the range of NDPBs which mirrors survey work done on London 2012 through YouGov and Taking Part. The results of the Taking Part survey show that there has been little change in public response to the commemoration of the Great War. In 2014 57% of adults were aware of local or national Centenary events, and 79% were slightly or strongly supportive of the UK commemorating the Centenary of the First World War. These figures had dropped to 52% and 76% respectively in 2017 (DCMS, 2015b; DDCMS,2017c).

### **First World War: then and now**

The HLF's use of a small grants programme to generate heritage-making related to specific historic events or heritage themes was not a new model and built on two previous campaigns. These grant schemes aimed to develop public interest in specific heritage and attract new applicants for lottery funding. The first of these was the HLF's work on the Bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade on British Ships Act in 2007 and the second

---

<sup>57</sup> The Taking Part survey is a continuous face to face household survey of adults aged 16 and over and children aged 5 to 15 years old in England. It has run since 2005 and is the main evidence source for DCMS and its sectors. (DCMS, 2016a)

was the delivery of the local history initiative *All Our Stories*. The third is the First World War Centenary programme.<sup>58</sup>

The Bicentenary programme ran from 2004 to 2007 and made 285 grants. It not only aimed to raise the profile of this important anniversary and confront this difficult heritage but was also intended to improve HLF's connections to the Black, Asian and minority ethnic communities (BAME) which had not previously accessed significant amounts of HLF funding. Grants were made which either supported BAME-led projects or enabled mainstream organisations involved with commemorative events to work in partnership with minority communities, in many instances for the first time. The HLF-commissioned evaluation of the programme found that it had had mixed success in achieving those aims (CulturalBrokers; Alchemy, 2009).

The *All Our Stories* grants scheme was developed in support of the BBC's *The Great British Story – A People's History*, presented by Michael Wood and broadcast on BBC Two from May to August 2012. Making grants from £3,000 - £10,000 available through a simple application process between 2012 and 2014 (HLF, 2015a), 542 projects were awarded a total of £4.5million. To support the *All Our Stories* programme, the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded research support for community groups interested in exploring their heritage through these grants (HLF, 2015a). The same academic co-production model was applied to *First World War: then and now*.

The HLF promoted their First World War programme as 'a chance to understand the war better, uncover its stories and explore what it means to us today' (HLF, 2013a). To encourage groups to apply, the easy application process was emphasised in the guidance: 'Our

---

<sup>58</sup> The £6m allocated for the small grants programme *First World War: then and now* for the four years of the centenary announced in May 2013 (HLF 2013a) was allocated in the first 12 months and a further £4m was announced in July 2015 (HLF 2015b).

application form is really straightforward and we will assess your application within eight weeks' (HLF, 2013a, unpaginated). This HLF initiative sought to engender sentiment about the Great War and prompt and support communities to pursue their own interests in the conflict, reflecting Lowenthal's view that 'Heritage is no longer confined to the rich and the powerful; it belongs to everyone' (Lowenthal, 1994, p.43). The HLF aimed to spread funding for the Centenary across the UK. To support this ambition the presentation of the funding opportunity in Northern Ireland was set in the concept of a *Decade of Centenaries (2012-2022)*, which acknowledged the complexity of the political and military relationships with Great Britain and the need to mark events such as the Easter Rising in 1916 and the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921 (PRONI, 2018).

While HLF was not directly in partnership with the BBC, as had been the case with *All Our Stories*, the broadcaster has produced extensive radio and television programming and resources through BBC History and BBC Schools, linked to the social, political and military history of the First World War. This has created and supported public interest in the conflict (BBC n.d.a) alongside partnering with the IWM to combine their sound archive collections linked to the conflict (BBC, n.d.b). The British Future report of 2016, *A Centenary Shared* confirmed the important role of the broadcaster. For those polled 'the BBC was by far the most likely outlet for information about the First World War, with ten times more people saying that they had seen coverage on the BBC than from any other broadcaster (British Future, 2016, p.22).

The HLF's Centenary programme has had a number of iterations. In 2013, the name of the programme changed from *Remembering the First World War* to *Understanding the First World War* (HLF, 2014b), 'to more accurately reflect our ambitions for Centenary activity' (Brookfield ,2017) and perhaps influenced by the low levels of public knowledge identified in the British Future 2013 report (British Future, 2013) discussed earlier. Following public consultation with stakeholders, the community grants programme was given the title: *First*

*World War: then and now* ‘making the programme seem relevant to today’ (Brookfield, 2017). These changing titles show the development of the HLF’s thinking about its relationship with the marking of the Centenary, which began by encouraging remembrance, but by 2015 was promoting a more nuanced approach, aiming to place the heritage and legacy of the First World War in a contemporary context. Digital material created by the small projects can be submitted to the British Library web archive as part of their special collection series and to the IWM’s Lives of the First World War website, saving the heritage that is being produced by these small grants for the future and ‘leaving a historical record of what has the Centenary meant to people and what has happened’ (Bashir et al 2015, p.4).

Three legacies were identified for the small grants by Karen Brookfield, the HLF programme director for the Centenary, one of which was specifically about heritage production related to the Centenary:

a physical legacy through heritage being better managed and in sustainable condition; a people legacy through knowledge being shared more widely and individuals developing greater skills and a digital legacy to enable future generations to have access to the materials from the Centenary (Brookfield, 2018, p.122).

By March 2015, the HLF had allocated £68.2m to 1155 projects related to the First World War. While much of this funding was for major capital projects, £7m had been awarded to 866 projects in the *First World War: then and now programme* of small grants, representing 75% of the relevant grant applications with a First World War theme (Bashir et al., 2015, p12). The HLF had awarded £77 m to 1,450 projects marking the Centenary by April 2016, of which £8.8m has been spent on over 1000 small grants with successful applications in 90% of local authority areas across the UK (NHMF 2016b, p.61). Overall spending from April 2010 to 1st March 2018 shows that HLF had awarded over £94 m to

more than 1,900 projects and a total of 9.4million people have participated in small grants, which account for 85% of the grants made related to the Centenary (Batty et al, 2018, p.1).

The delivery of all of these projects is supported by five First World War engagement centres in Universities based in England and Northern Ireland, each specialising in particular themes.<sup>59</sup> Working with the Arts and Humanities Research Council on the delivery of the *First World War: then and now* grants programme, the HLF is seeking to build capacity within the community groups, deepen understanding and public engagement and encourage a ‘rich new “citizen history” of the First World War ... to look beyond the obvious’ (Brookfield, 2014, p.41). There was perhaps an expectation, therefore, that this invitation to explore the issues raised by the Centenary would, through ‘the active participation of marginalised voices, vigorously challenge conservative cultural and economic power relations and ask uncomfortable questions about traditional ways of thinking about and doing “heritage”’ (Harvey, 2017, p.110).

By actively promoting grants for the First World War Centenary and the work of the HLF, not least through parliamentary events and supporting MP’s to encourage local applications (Brookfield, 2018, p.120), the HLF raised its own profile while also stimulating heritage production and responding to public interest. This sustained targeted investment in a single historic event, is a new departure for the HLF, but what stories, objects and sites have these projects focused on and what has been explored? An analysis of the small grants made demonstrates that many of the projects have been concerned with local people and the ‘glorious dead’ recorded on war memorials across the country (Bashir et al, 2015, p.15, Batty et al 2018, p.ii). The Centenary and the grants programme revived interest in these complex commemorative sites, which offer both a focus for the performance of rituals to ‘emphasise

---

<sup>59</sup> The centres are located at universities in Birmingham (Voices of war and peace), Kent (Gateways to the First World War), Hertfordshire (Everyday lives of the First World War) Belfast (Living legacies 1914-18: from past conflict to shared future) and Nottingham (Centre for Hidden Histories) (HLF,2014c)

national sacrifice and [to] mask the culpability of authority in the deaths of thousands' (Wilson, 2015, p.455).

These monuments were created to meet the needs of grieving families, record the huge losses of British troops in trench warfare in the First World War. The state took complete control over the remains of the dead and would not return them to the UK (Laqueur, 1994, p.153).

War memorials listing the war dead of the locality, regardless of rank, in villages, towns and cities across the UK became permanent places of public mourning and a visible reminder of the sacrifice of human life for the nation. 'The commemoration of the dead of the First World War was probably the largest and most popular movement for the erection of public monuments ever known in Western society' (King, 1998, p.147) (Figure 2).

Today, it is hard for us to comprehend 'the leap in sheer numbers of those being remembered and those remembering' (Laqueur, 1994, p.159), that the First World War brought about. 'Post-World War I memorials were qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from anything that had gone before' (Gillis 1994, p.10). They remain in prominent sites all over the UK. Consequently, it is not surprising that these places became such a popular theme for community heritage research. The interest in these sites as a focus for Centenary projects (Bashir et al 2015, p.15, Batty et al , 2018, p.48) illustrates the concept of communal heritage value, a value that resides in the views of members of the public, not the heritage expert, demonstrating that 'Commemorative and symbolic values reflect the meanings of a place for those who draw part of their identity from it or have emotional links to it' (Drury and McPherson, 2008, p.31).





*Figure 2:* Macclesfield War Memorial, Park Green, Macclesfield (1921) by John Millard  
bronze and stone

This depiction of a soldier, who has been killed in a gas attack being crowned with a laurel wreath of Victory by Britannia, while the female figure of Sorrow surmounts the monument, brings together images of death, triumph and mourning reflecting the complex responses to the losses of troops in the First World War.

(Source: Photograph by author)



As one grant recipient commented:

‘c.800 people in our borough gave their lives in the First World War and it was important that they were remembered, honoured, and that current residents saw them as people and not just a list of names on a memorial’ (Bashir et al., 2015, p.25).

In 2017, the HLF brought together the academics running the research centres, those appointed by government as special advisors, the Director of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 14-18 NOW staff and others engaged in the delivery of the Centenary programme.<sup>60</sup> The discussion confirmed the evaluation findings of 2015, that despite the open-ended approach outlined in the application guidelines, many of the projects that the centres worked with, which represented 13% of the total funded (Batty et al, 2018, p.20), focused on the fallen soldier, despite 85% of those who were mobilised returning home (Lloyd, 2017).<sup>61</sup> One research centre representative observed that citizen researchers they had worked with were primarily interested in direct ways of connecting with the conflict by ‘looking for people like me’. When this approach was employed by those communities that were based on experience or identity rather than locality, such as young people in care, this revealed hidden histories about the conflict (Lloyd, 2017). ‘Stories to live by’ which demonstrated courage, endurance and sacrifice on the field of battle proved more popular topics for research than ‘stories to live with’, such as the quality of the lives of returning

---

<sup>60</sup> On 4 May 2017, the HLF convened a meeting entitled *Critical Reflections on the First World War Centenary: a roundtable discussion*, at the Imperial War Museum. The author was an invited participant to this event.

<sup>61</sup> The application form offered 11 suggestions of types of heritage that a project might explore including: ‘art, literature, music, theatre, and popular culture focusing on the First World War, either created during the war or in later years; natural heritage and landscapes affected by the war; types of heritage created since the First World War that show its impact on the United Kingdom and people currently living here’ (HLF, 2014b, p.4).

soldiers or ‘tens of thousands of soldiers from across the British Empire [who] were traumatised to the point that they simply could not function in civil society’ (Madigan, 2016).

The research centres found that many of the HLF funded community groups were keen to ‘find my relative’ but there was less interest in setting these findings in international perspectives, such as the numbers of war dead globally, as opposed to just those in the UK, or comparing the experiences of different civil communities, such as the families of Commonwealth soldiers, with those in the UK. This focus reveals the dominant narratives that surround the First World War. Furthermore, it reflects Madigan’s observations that the public discourse surrounding the Centenary in the UK does not confront the difficult heritage of the conflict and ‘tends to suggest that all the mortality during the First World War was on one side’ (Madigan, 2016). This approach ‘overlooks the role of the armed forces of the Allied states who were also responsible for taking lives, such as the 760,000 who died as a consequence of the naval blockade of the German coast orchestrated by the Royal Navy’ (Madigan, 2016).

The choice by many of the groups who elected to apply for funding to explore the First World War through the lens of the people from their locality who died on the frontline reveals a public perception of the First World War that is informed by war memorials and a reverence for the fallen. These locations are evidence of the involvement of members of the public in a global historic event, offering a human connection to direct family and locational links to people living now. As Lloyd observed, ‘the local war memorial has appealed to community groups in part because it offers a template to follow’ (Lloyd, 2017) However, this finding also suggests an unreflexive approach to the understanding of these sites as political constructs, offering a particular official version of the conflict that is dominated by a sense of victory: ‘It was essential to stand behind the victory and the just cause or the bitterness of loss would be unbearable’ (Benton and Curtis 2010, p.55). This position is supported by the findings of the 2013 British Future report which discovered that 82% agreed that the centenary should be

‘an important reminder that we are forever in the debt of those who died ‘while only 19% agreed that this was a futile war of unimaginable slaughter’ (British Future, 2013, p.22-23).

While the impact of information technology on the production of historical knowledge has made military and civilian records more accessible, the findings of the study centres indicate the limitations of ‘history production ... in the hands of the non-specialist, the DIY historian’ (Pinto and Taithe, 2015, p.9). The HLF’s own research demonstrates that in the case of the First World War, citizen history conforms to Harvey’s concept of ‘small heritages’ (2016, p.20) focused on the very local. In the later years of the programme, HLF staff have actively supported more ambitious projects: ‘The Shetland case study for example began with research into the local war memorial in a school but soon – with the encouragement of HLF case officers - developed to encompass a much broader remit exploring the whole of the Shetland Isles’ (Eadson, et al 2017, p.19). This example shows the way in which war memorial projects can offer a starting point for more wide-ranging research and shows the heritage-making role of the HLF at work, encouraging a broader approach.

Only 7% of volunteers on the HLF First World War projects identified as non-White (Brookfield, 2018, p.121) and of the grantees in the 2017 and 2018 evaluations, none of the projects considered in detail were about BAME experiences or applicants. In terms of reaching new people, 46% of applicants already had an interest in the First World War before they applied (Brookfield, 2018, p.121). However, while 65% of groups had previously sought public funding, for many community groups this was the first time that they had undertaken heritage activities (Batty et al, 2018, p.9). The community grants had therefore been successful in generating heritage activity and building capacity and interest in the Centenary. While the programme did not attract significant numbers of applications from

BAME groups, some larger projects have secured funding to explore the experiences of Commonwealth troops.<sup>62</sup>

## **14-18 NOW**

In contrast to the local focus of many of the small grants, the other major HLF commitment in response to the First World War Centenary has been its support for *14-18 NOW*, described as ‘Extraordinary arts experiences connecting people to the First World War’ (14-18 NOW, 2014b). Funded with an initial HLF grant of £5m in 2013 (HLF, 2013b) and a further £5m in 2015, in partnership with ACE lottery funds, this initiative marks a new departure for the HLF as these major grants are funding the production of heritage through arts activity inspired by archives and museum collections. To explore this programme’s contribution to new forms of heritage practice, I have drawn on my own involvement in the development of metrics or forms of measurement for its evaluation and examined in depth four major projects with a strong memorial purpose that were present in the 2014 and 2016 programmes.

Led by members of the team that delivered the London 2012 cultural programme (14-18NOW, 2014a) and based at the IWM, this initiative had three focus points: the Centenary of the declaration of war in the summer of 2014, 100 years after the Battle of the Somme in July 2016, and the anniversary of the Armistice in 2018. The support of *14-18 NOW* by the HLF enabled the commemoration of the Great War through professional arts activity, using heritage resources and sites as a creative starting point, to inform or inspire artistic content or to provide a venue or a backdrop, and offered an alternative approach to state and civic

---

<sup>62</sup> A review of all grants for First World War heritage reveal some larger projects that do explore the global perspective: £488,200 for the United Kingdom Punjab Heritage Association to create a new website *Empire Faith and War: the Sikhs and WW1* (HLF, 2012a) and £50,000 for Community Builders for *Black on both sides: the Black British and Colonial contribution to WW1* (HLF, 2015b).

ritual. All of the commissioned artists were encouraged to use First World War material held in museums and archives as starting points or references for making new work.

Reflecting a practice recognised by Harvey (2016, p.31) as one which ‘turns attention away from revered objects and artifacts and towards an emotional spectrum... needing to provoke in order to get the message across’, the *14-18NOW* programme has taken an international approach and, through its choice of artists and artforms, explored challenging aspects of the conflict, often supporting a revisionist view of the war, spotlighting hidden and contentious histories such as the execution of deserters and the treatment of Commonwealth troops (14-18 NOW, 2016b) and constructing new work based on First World War sites, events, objects, writings or archives.<sup>63</sup>

*14-18 NOW* is a form of cultural enquiry into the Great War producing new forms of commemoration that are different from the state-led ritual that is epitomised by the two minutes silence on Remembrance Sunday. The events that have been organised by the *14-18 NOW* programme, across the four years of the Centenary, have sought to widen public involvement in the marking of the one hundredth anniversary of the First World War, by creating human scale heritage experiences using the arts and encouraging active participation. This is a different approach to remembering those involved in the war and as

---

<sup>63</sup> Described as ‘the official arts programme taking place across the United Kingdom to mark the centenary of the First World War’ (Morris et al, 2015, p.2) the programme supports: ‘contemporary artists from the UK and around the world to explore the resonance of the First World War today. Working with cultural organisations across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, 14-18NOW commissions large-scale special projects. These are selected to encourage people from every community to reflect on how the First World War has shaped today’s world and our attitudes to conflict now’ (14-18NOW, 2014b)

It aims to:

‘Support the creation of rich and stimulating body of new artwork, using first World war heritage as an inspiration for creative and ambitious work.

Work in collaboration and partnership with arts organisations to realise and promote projects.

Engage communities in reflection on the First World War, bringing new perspectives and broadening awareness’ (14-18 NOW, 2014c, p.1).

one audience member commented: 'If you are looking for a new way to commemorate I think something like this, something a bit more artistic, for me I think that hits home a bit more' (Morris et al 2015, p.4). The resulting commissions, some of which were free to access, have modelled new ways of understanding the Great War.<sup>64</sup> Sometimes co-produced with volunteers, they are consumed as arts events or tourist attractions rather than presented as formal civic ceremonies.

I was a member of the team from Morris Hargreaves McIntyre that was commissioned by *14-18 NOW* to assess the programme. Appointed after the first HLF grant was made, I was then excluded from any subsequent discussions at the NHMF and HLF Board meetings. I worked in a different capacity with the funders to establish a framework for the review of the projects. The reporting structure brought together the defined funding outcomes for the HLF and the five goals that guide the ACE and therefore explored both the uses of heritage in the commissioning process and the development of artistic and heritage practice in the presentation of the work, demonstrating the differences in the approaches of the two funders.<sup>65</sup> The quality of the work from the programme that was selected for evaluation was interrogated through peer reviews by arts and heritage leaders and guided by the ACE Quality Metrics (ACE n.d.b). These findings were also supplemented by responses from audiences and participants.<sup>66</sup>

We adapted the ACE framework to include an additional set of heritage metrics devised in consultation with the HLF and *14-18 NOW* and which looked at both audience experience and arts and heritage practice. These were aspects of the HLF's own outcomes framework that were under-developed, demonstrating that funding this type of work was a departure

---

<sup>64</sup> In 2014, of the 30 events, 23 were free (Morris et al, 2015, p.2). In 2016, there were 61 events 42 of which were free (Morris et al, 2017, p.4).

<sup>65</sup> The five goals of ACE are: excellence, for everyone, resilience and sustainability, diversity and skills, children and young people (ACE, 2013).

<sup>66</sup> 10 projects were assessed from the 24 presented in 2014 (Morris et al 2014) and 10 from the 26 presented in 2016 (Morris et al, 2016)

from the HLF's usual practice. Starting with the existing HLF heritage outcomes: 'with our investment heritage will be better explained; people will have learnt about heritage; people will have changed attitudes and /or behaviour; and people will have had an enjoyable experience' (HLF, 2015e, p.6) we constructed specific First World War metrics with a focus on audience experience, commemoration and interpretation.<sup>67</sup>

To further explore the work that the 14-18 NOW programme generated and presented, I now move on to consider four high-profile projects from the 2014 and 2016 programmes that were nationwide in their reach and have a strong memorial purpose. These are: *Letter to an Unknown Soldier* by Neil Bartlett and Kate Pullinger (14-18 NOW, 2014d), *Lights Out* by Jeremy Deller (14-18 NOW 2014d), *We're here because we're here* (14-18 NOW 2016b) also by Jeremy Deller and *Wave and Weeping Window* (14-18 NOW, 2016b), which are part of the *Poppies* installation by Paul Cummins and Tom Piper. Examples of innovative artistic and heritage practice, they all made use of social media in their promotion and dissemination and to enable and encourage a range of public participation. They are considered in detail here to explore the different uses of heritage making for commemorative purposes and the creative use of arts commissioning as part of the heritage production that the HLF's funding has enabled.

*Letter to an Unknown Soldier* by Neil Bartlett and Kate Pullinger was one of the projects that I evaluated, and it was seen as one of the major successes of the 2014 programme because of the scale of public response. A participatory digital project in 2014, it encouraged

---

<sup>67</sup>The heritage metrics created were:

Event demonstrated new ways of interpreting First World War heritage

Event presented audiences with new ways of engaging with First World War heritage

Event contributed to the development of artistic practice in commemorating national moments/events

Event interpreted and explained the history of the First World War in a fresh and engaging way

Event interpreted and explained the legacy of the First World War in an engaging way

(Morris et al, 2018 unpaginated)

individual acts of reflection and remembrance by offering the opportunity to compose the text of the letter that Charles Jagger's (1885-1934) statue of a soldier is reading. The bronze sculpture was originally commissioned as a war memorial to Great Western Railway staff lost in the Great War and is sited on Paddington Station. 22,000 letters were submitted and uploaded to a website (now closed) which had no populist Great War related imagery of sepia ink and poppies. All the letters that were sent in were read and published regardless of the views expressed and in themselves have created heritage about 21<sup>st</sup> century attitudes to the First World War (Figure 3). The strap line for the project was 'a new kind of war memorial made by thousands of people' (14-18NOW, 2014b) and the letters, which have been published as a book (Pullinger and Bartlett, 2014), are also now seen as significant historic material in their own right and stored in the British Library archive.

*Lights Out* marked the centenary of the declaration of war, referencing Sir Edward Grey's statement in 1914 that 'The lamps are going out all over Europe and we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'. The artwork, which was distributed through an app, required participants to switch their lights off at the very hour war was declared. More than 1000 major public buildings were involved in the project. Harvey, reflecting on the commission, commented that '65% of the UK's population was aware of the *Lights Out* public event and more than 16 million actually took part ... But what does such a heritage event actually mean, and what does the participation in the event actually do?' (Harvey, 2017, p.112). His conclusion was that it invoked the idea of 'a national commemoration, but on a specifically individual basis' (Harvey, 2017, p.112). In comparison to the public gatherings at war memorials, this event offered a very personal and private act dependent on digital technology and motivated by an individual interest not a civic sense of duty to attend a ritual defined by the church, the military and the state.



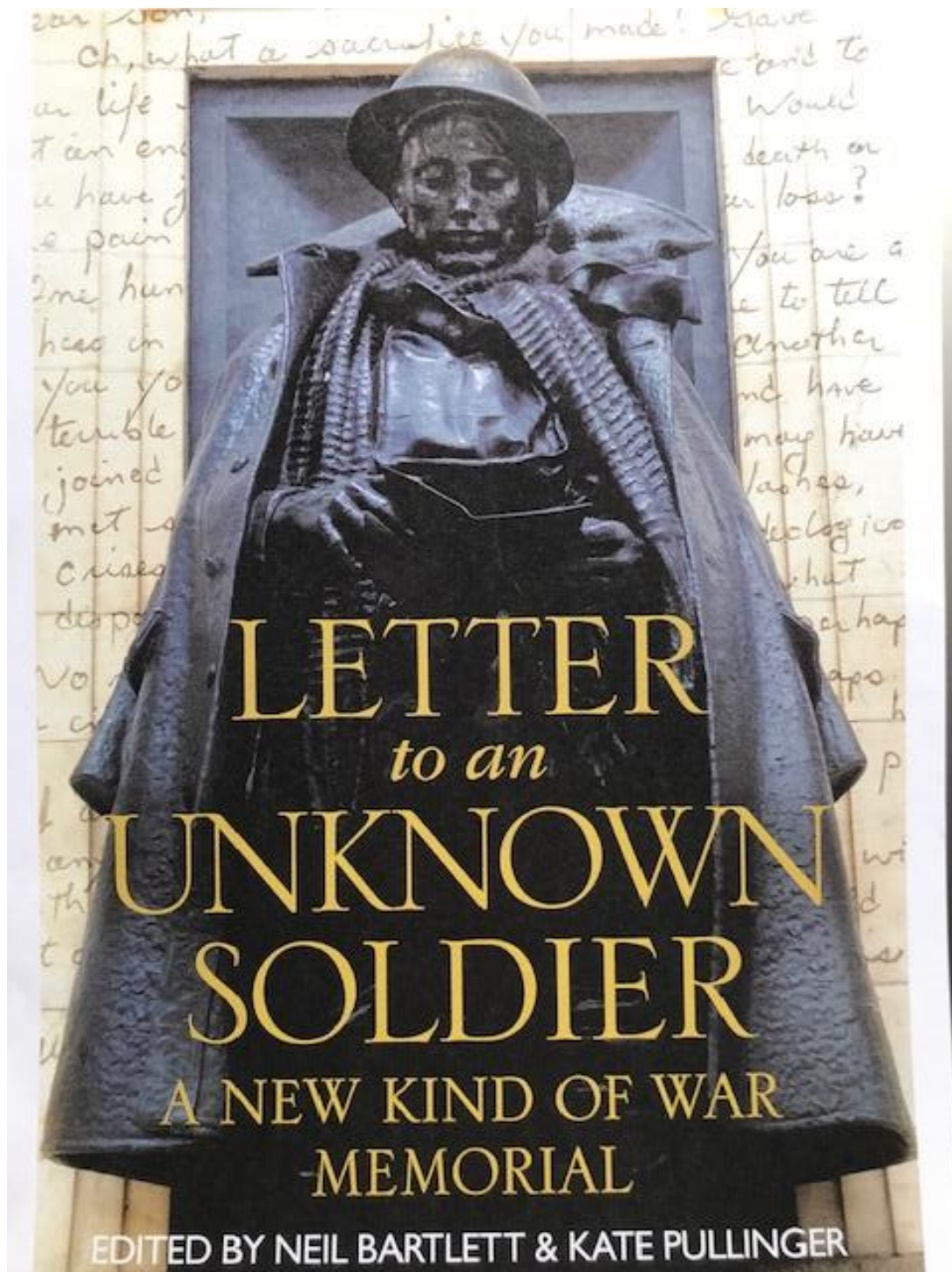


Figure 3: Cover of the book 'Letter to an Unknown Soldier' designed by ©Kate Gaughran, 2014, published by William Collins, London.

The book cover depicts the statue at Paddington Station by Charles Jagger which was the focus of the project, with writing from one of the letters that was submitted to this 14-18 NOW project forming the background.

(Source: Photograph by ©Kate Gaughran)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Kate Gaughran

The other two projects considered here also used social media as a means of distribution, as they disrupted public space and created time-limited photo opportunities. The first example used the poppy, which during the Centenary has grown in significance as a symbol of the Great War and become an 'iconic emblem[s] of the centennial experience' (Harvey, 2017, p.108). This status has been assisted by the reworking and touring of the sculpture installation *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red*. This piece, which was commissioned by the Historic Royal Palaces at the Tower of London, was created by relatively unknown artists, Paul Cummins and Tom Piper. Marking the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 2014, it was constructed from over 800,000 individual ceramic poppies, each representing a British soldier who had died in the Great War. The imagery's associations with the annual fundraising of the British Legion in the lead up to Remembrance Sunday conflated the commemoration of the 'citizen soldiers' of the 1910s with the professional soldiers involved in contemporary conflicts (Harvey 2017, p.114). Planted one by one in the grounds of the Tower of London by volunteers, the last was put in place on 11 November 2014 (14-18 NOW, 2017). Five million people visited the work at the Tower of London and following its completion, with the help of philanthropists such as Dame Vivienne Duffield, it was decided that 'the works of art at the heart of this broader act of memorial should be preserved for the nation' (14-18-NOW, 2017).

In 2015, 14-18 NOW took on the responsibility for a national tour of the *Wave* and *Weeping Window*. These two smaller works were created from the original sculpture, a work that was not commissioned by 14-18-NOW. In fact, in many ways the nostalgic and sentimental ethos of the original art work is at odds with the aims of the Centenary's cultural programme, but the administration of the Poppies tour has enabled 14-18-NOW to maintain a high profile, and has boosted participation figures through its presentation at cultural and heritage sites across the UK over the four years (Figure 4). At the end of the Centenary the two works will be given to the IWM, preserving new heritage prompted by the commemoration.

Installed at so many sites across the UK and offering a dramatic and photogenic spectacle at every location, this work has now become associated with *14-18 NOW*. Each presentation of these sculptures became a tourist attraction in its own right and drew large numbers of visitors wherever it was displayed. The meaning of the original piece has been diluted as the original correlation between the numbers of war dead and the numbers of poppies has been lost in the reworking. The message of the original work has also been weakened through the change of title. While the poppy has become burdened by ‘the weight of a nation’s expression of conflict’ (Harvey, 2017, p.113), through these sculptures it has also become part of a touring decorative spectacle.

The second example is a *14-18 NOW* commissioned work, *We’re here because we’re here* by Jeremy Deller and National Theatre director Rufus Norris. This performance piece was simultaneously presented in many towns and cities on 1 July 2016 (Figure 5.). Taking a temporary First World War memorial on to the streets it involved over a thousand volunteers in the commemoration of the Battle of the Somme:

19,240 men were killed on the first day of the battle in 1916 – the bloodiest day in British military history. ‘we’re here because we’re here’ saw around 1400 voluntary participants dressed in First World War uniform appear unexpectedly in locations across the UK. Each participant represented an individual soldier who was killed on that day one hundred years before (14-18 NOW, 2016a)





*Figure 4: The Weeping Window by Paul Cummins (artist) and Tom Piper (designer)*

This installation was in Hull city centre during Hull City of Culture 2017 as part of the 14-18 NOW programme

(Source: Photograph by the author)



*Figure 5: We're here because we're here by Jeremy Deller and Rufus Norris: Chester Station, 1 July 2016.*

A 14-18 NOW project to commemorate the centenary of the Battle of the Somme.

(Source: Photograph by the author)

Each uniformed volunteer had cards detailing the name and rank of an actual soldier that they could hand to members of the public who tried to talk to them. The participants researched 'their' soldier as part of the preparation for the event and were dressed in historically accurate, specially designed uniforms. Delivered through a partnership with regional theatres, this project involved over 1000 young male volunteers (14-18 NOW 2017). This direct link to individual soldiers interpreted the battle's losses through individual people who died on the day, bringing the statistics down to a human scale. The strangeness of the presence of the 'soldiers' in public spaces created a huge response on social media, distributing images internationally, and the art work won 14 awards for quality of the digital campaign (Morris et al, 2016, p.4).

Taken together, all four projects offered new audience experiences through opportunities to participate in and engage with First World War heritage mediated through the arts. Each one exhibited innovative artistic practice in the commemoration of a national event and in all cases involved the public directly in the creation of new kinds of memorials to mark the centenary of the First World War. These projects offered different, personal ways of reflecting on and marking the Centenary. While these are just four examples from the fifty commissions presented in 2014 and 2016, three out of the four commissions focused directly on the male experience of war and two were specifically linked to the deaths of individual soldiers, reflecting the dominant public discourse of the Centenary relating to the remembrance of the war dead, a theme which is also evident in the community grants programme.

The *First World War: then and now* grants programme and the *14-18NOW* project represent a significant investment of time and lottery players' money into the First World War Centenary, although internationally the level of spending on the Centenary in the UK was seen as comparatively low.<sup>68</sup> They demonstrate the HLF's ability to invest its funds to engender sentiment about this anniversary and to create new forms of heritage practice with a memorial purpose. The lack of any distinct or overarching theme for the commemorations, in comparison to other European countries, has on the one hand revealed government's 'deep insecurities about the exact purpose of the Centenary' (Mycock, 2014, p.117) but on the other, created a wide-ranging programme that has touched on contentious aspects of the conflict.

---

<sup>68</sup> 'Australian spending on the Great War centenary was in the region of Australian \$140 million, a sum that contrasted notably with the UK government's allocation of \$94million' (Mycock et al 2014, p.14)

In terms of achieving the HLF's objectives for the centenary around public understanding and legacy, the evaluation of the first year's *14-18 NOW* programme made significant claims about the impact. It estimated that 1 in 3 of those involved in the 28 projects delivered by *14-18 NOW* in the summer of 2014 felt that the First World War was now more relevant to them (Morris et al, 2015, p.9). Originally expected to reach over 10 million people by 2018 (*14-18 NOW* 2014, p.1), by 2016 it was reporting that 'more than 20 million have engaged with our events' (*14-18 NOW*, 2016, p.2). In early 2018, this figure has already risen to 30 million (*14-18 NOW*, 2018, p.2). While these numbers are impressive, is there evidence that the public understanding of the First World War has changed through these heritage processes?

Looking across the two overarching projects reveals both the local interests of many of those securing small grants, and the potential for creative experimentation with heritage resources, as demonstrated by the artist-led projects of *14-18 NOW*. Both programmes have shown the power of connecting with 'people like me', either through historical research or participation in an event, in order to make sense of this dreadful global conflict. This reflects Harvey's proposition that 'the trajectory of heritage towards the local and even personal' (2016, p.31) is increasingly 'offering greater cogency and value ... to the heritage of those that have been deprived of agency in the past' (2016, p.32) and demonstrates the power of this approach.

The research into general public attitudes to the overall First World War Centenary in 2016 however, does not reflect the effects of the HLF funded projects captured by the evaluation results outlined above. In fact, it reveals that support for the perspective which saw the war as a futile war remained broadly static and had dropped slightly from 19% in 2013 to 17% (British Future, 2016, p.27), despite many of the *14-18 NOW* projects and other cultural programming expressing a revisionist approach to the First World War. This report also points out that 'the army that fought in the First World War looked much more like the Britain of 2016, with soldiers from all over the Commonwealth coming to fight alongside



British soldiers'; however, while 43% felt that the Centenary had brought people across Britain together, 32% did not (British Future, 2016, p. 5). These results may show the impact of a range of events on public opinion such as the EU referendum that were at work during 2016

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the relationship of all three funders to the commemoration of conflict. My findings demonstrate a range of ways in which their work in this heritage field is linked. Traces of Dalton's original vision to use natural heritage to create living war memorials for the dead of the Second World War, through the acquisition of landscape for recreation are still present in the work of the NHMF, which continues to support the transfer of areas of countryside from private to public and charitable hands. While the budget Dalton originally amassed for the purpose has been depleted, the range of heritage used in this way has been expanded over the last 70 years to include cultural heritage. The Treasury-funded grant maker, the NHMF, has perpetuated Dalton's desire to use heritage as a focus for the remembrance of those who have lost their lives in the service of the UK and the more recent policy to prioritise items with memorial character has reaffirmed this commitment. The defence of the nation's heritage is still connected through the NHMF to the commemoration of those who died for their country.

The desire for a new kind of commemoration that moved away from the stone and bronze war memorial was at the heart of the concept for the NLF. This sentiment has been continued in the work of the NHMF and developed by the HLF through its involvement in the Centenary of the First World War, supporting artists' interpretations of heritage through *14-18 NOW* and enabling community groups to determine and realise their own heritage interests in marking the Centenary of the Great War. Interest in the First World War memorials of bronze and stone, that Dalton was keen to move on from, has in fact been



revived by many of the citizen historians whose HLF funded research has refreshed the local relevance of these sites in a way that reflects the First World War historian Jay Winter three-stage cycle in the afterlife of a memorial:

‘the first is its erection and the creation of ceremonies on the site. The second is its place in ritual action and civic routine. The final phase is dependent on whether another generation can make new meaning from the place to prevent it from becoming invisible’ (Winter cited in Gough, 2016, p.217).

The HLF’s First World War Centenary funding represents its largest investment to date in a single historic event and is therefore a significant part of its own history, both as a heritage funder and a lottery distributor. In making this financial commitment to the remembrance of this conflict, it has worked across a range of heritage values. On the one hand the HLF has recognised the intrinsic historic value of securing the future of key First World War sites and objects by working alongside the NHMF and supporting the interpretation of what has been preserved. On the other hand, it has played an instrumental role in enabling and directing much of the heritage production and practice related to the Centenary, generating public interest and building community capacity through the delivery of the small grants programme and the support of *14-18 NOW* offered alternative ways of marking the centenary to those of the state and the church. The HLF can be seen as a major heritage producer and memorial creator for the Centenary. At a time of public spending constraint, without the resources of the National Lottery it is hard to see how this scale and range of projects could have been realised or how the four-year Centenary programme have been could be sustained.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> The 2018 evaluation report for *First World War; then and now* reported that 61% of respondents would not have undertaken a project if HLF funding had not been available (Batty et al, 2018, p. 53).

While the HLF's approach has been complicit with government in stimulating public interest in the Centenary, the explorations of this contested and contentious conflict facilitated by the lottery distributor have taken activity in different directions, reflecting how the conflict is viewed today. The HLF's investment in the Centenary has contributed to the achievement of its own aims and objectives in terms of the distribution of funds to a wide range of people and locations. The funds have encouraged and demonstrated public involvement in and concern for First World War heritage and drawn out hidden histories from the conflict at both a local and national level.<sup>70</sup> The popularity of the small community grants programme has raised the profile of the HLF with local and national politicians, while the support of the work of *14-18 NOW* has offered new ways of interpreting the difficult heritage of the Great War. All of this activity has reinforced the HLF's role as a heritage maker and its funding has produced new material and activity related to the understanding of the First World War, one hundred years after the event. It has therefore, I would argue, been a far more active and effective funder of the commemoration of those who lost their lives in the service of the UK than the NLF and the NHMF, which were founded with a memorial purpose, because it has enabled people today to make their own meaning from both the tangible and intangible heritage related to this conflict.

By actively focusing attention on the Great War, the HLF has developed a concept of a more participatory form of remembrance and heritage production about global conflict. This approach goes beyond the NLF and NHMF practice of the creation of symbolic memorials to the fallen, through the acquisition and preservation of expert-designated heritage considered to be at risk of loss. The HLF's programme has encouraged new ways of using this particular past in the present, creating the conditions for the production of a different kind of heritage

---

<sup>70</sup> The 2018 evaluation of the small grants programme noted that: '72% of projects said that they had located, uncovered or recovered aspects of FWW heritage for the first time' (p.8); 'participants and grant recipients both overwhelmingly reported that projects had successfully challenged preconceptions about the FWW' (p.8); heritage legacy is being created through the recovery and creation of physical heritage materials and digital archiving (p.7) (Batty et al, 2018).

activity linked to the First World War. In marking the ‘centenary to end all centenaries’ (Porter, cited in Mycock et al 2014, p.4), as historian Heather Jones suggests ‘The reality is that there is no simple, clear-cut historical narrative of the British experience of the first world war as either patriotic and just or imperialist and coercive. It was all of these things simultaneously’. (Jones,2014). The totality of the HLF’s investment in marking the centenary reflects many of these conflicting interpretations and demonstrates the active use of this past for a range of social and political purposes.

Having explored one of the ways in which the three funders are connected, I now continue the examination of the links between the institutional values of the HLF and the NHMF, using case studies which focus on the funders’ overlapping roles in the saving of high-profile heritage that is deemed to be at risk. The preservation of heritage of aesthetic and historic importance through its transfer from private to public ownership is central to the purpose of the NHMF and because of the HLF’s much greater spending power, it has also been drawn into this field of activity from the outset. Chapter 3 uses one of the HLF’s first grants, to secure the future of Sir Winston Churchill’s pre-1945 papers, to analyse press and political expectations of the ways in which lottery funding would be spent and to understand the legacy of that funding decision for the new funder. The following chapter considers how the HLF has developed a different approach to saving high profile heritage objects ‘for the nation’, shaping the application process to satisfy its more instrumental approach, and investigates how the objects at the centre of these complex transactions have acquired new meanings during their entanglement with the art market and the funding process.

## **Chapter 3: Two fingers to the Nation? Lottery money and the Churchill Papers**

### **Introduction**

This chapter offers an analysis of the multiplicity of diverse factors that combined to create the scandal that surrounded one of the HLF's earliest funding decisions. It brings state and heritage politics together and explores the legacy of the Churchill Papers decision for the HLF. The study examines the long journey of the pre-1945 archive of Sir Winston Churchill's papers from family and state ownership to the collections of Churchill Archive Centre in Cambridge. It considers how the status and meaning of these documents, which have strong connections to the two World Wars, were changed from a set of historically significant records, into a contentious political issue.

The archive's link to a high-profile political family, and their apparent grasping behaviour, prompted questions in the press about the stewardship of heritage and who decides how the money derived from lottery players' stakes is spent. My findings from exploring the reactions to the HLF award for this acquisition in 1995, outlined below, reveal that much of the political and press comment at the time focused on the financial benefit to the vendors, not the public and heritage value resulting from this grant. This public scrutiny of the award marked a pivotal moment for the NHMF as it brought the HLF into being and commentators questioned the lottery distributor's decision-making processes and the integrity of its governing body in relation to the allocation of this new source of money for heritage.

### **The Churchill Family and the archive**

The starting point for this chapter as a whole is the circumstances of the Churchill family and the intentions of Sir Winston Churchill when he brought the papers together. This context is central to understanding the controversy that surrounded the Churchill archive in the 1990s and the subsequent decision by the family trust to sell, not donate, the pre-1945 papers.

David Cannadine suggests that Sir Winston Churchill could be viewed as the product of a declining aristocratic order. The cousin of the Duke of Marlborough and the elder son of a younger son, Churchill's wealth was never going to be substantial. The young Winston Churchill regularly had to borrow money and request favours from friends and relatives in order to support his extravagant lifestyle and political ambitions; 'although an aristocrat by birth, Churchill was widely believed not to be a gentleman at all' (Cannadine, 1995, p.135).

Earning a living as a journalist and author, Sir Winston Churchill knew the value of his archive and in particular the pre-1945 papers that covered his personal life, political career and his leadership of the country during World War II. Two months before the 1945 General Election, while still Prime Minister, Churchill issued an instruction entitling Ministers to keep 'all telegrams, minutes or documents circulated to Cabinet that they wrote and signed themselves...These must be regarded as their personal property ... To these should be added, in the case of the Prime Minister, correspondence with heads of Governments' (Churchill, 1951, p.644). In July 1946, he established The Chartwell Literary Trust for the papers that he had gathered from his personal and political life to date. The funds received by the trustees for the sale of the copyright on these papers represented a source of income for the Churchill family (Anon, 1990, p.2), while the sales of Churchill's books, such as his war memoirs, made him financially secure for the first time (Cannadine, 1995, p.161). In 1963 a new trust, The Churchill Archive Settlement, was set up to replace the trust established in 1946. This new trust favoured lineal descendants, who were initially Randolph Churchill and on his death in 1968, his son, Winston Churchill MP, and aimed to secure their financial independence (Anon, 1990 p.2).

This examination of the lengthy process that secured the Churchill Papers for the Churchill Archives Centre demonstrates the role of the Establishment, in the form of the Civil Service, in securing the future of this asset as a publicly accessible archive. The Treasury Solicitor's file on the Churchill/Chartwell Papers, held at the National Archives in Kew (TS27/1584), revealed the range of complex issues that surrounded the collection, which is formed from

both personal and state papers. The civil servants' memos and letters from the 1970s, 80s and 90s, document the moments of heightened sensitivity in government about a range of concerns related to the archive. Major issues included the behaviour of the trustees and the Churchill family and queries about the legal title to the state papers held in the trust, concerns about where the archive might be permanently housed and the adherence to the Public Records Office access rules in respect of those papers deemed to be the property of the Crown.

The challenges of the management and preservation of this complex mix of personal and public documents are revealed in a briefing to the Prime Minister in January 1964 (Trend, 1964). This communication, which explores both procedural issues and heritage concerns, was prompted by the anticipated publication of Randolph Churchill's first volumes of his father's biography. It recounts the missed opportunities to recover the official papers from the archive, recording that the request for the return of documents in the 1930s was 'courteously but firmly rebuffed' and that there was a second refusal when the Chartwell Trust was founded in 1946 (Trend, 1964, p.3). However, the difficulties that retrieving the papers would bring and recognition that the recovery of the government-owned material would 'destroy the integrity of a documentary collection which is of unique importance' are also noted (Trend, 1964, p.3). Despite stated concerns that later volumes of the biography by Randolph Churchill might contravene the Public Records legislation on public access and the issues of legal title to government property outlined above, the proposed solutions in this memo appear quite relaxed.<sup>71</sup> Burke Trend, the Cabinet Secretary, recommended 'neither asserting our (rather doubtful) entitlement nor explicitly waiving it. This is illogical and untidy; but I believe that, in the current circumstances it is right' (Trend, 1964, p.4). Trend suggested 'some form of gentleman's agreement' (Trend, 1964, p.6) regarding the control of access. This reflects a trust in the stewardship of the trustees of the Churchill Archive Settlement, who were Lady Churchill, Sir Winston's solicitor and two retired senior civil servants who had worked for

---

<sup>71</sup> Fifty-year rule on the release of documents to the public was amended by The Public Records Act (1967 s.1) to thirty years.

Churchill in his wartime government. As Brazier's study on the ownership of state papers comments, this approach to the security of state papers seemed to assume within the civil service at the time that the 'Queen's government is taken to be carried out by gentlemen, who do not need legally binding rules to ensure that they behave with propriety' (Brazier, 1996, p.70).

In a letter to Trend dated 1971, six years after Sir Winston's death, Sir Jock Colville, one of the trustees, proposed the creation of an archives centre for Churchill College to house the pre- and post-1945 Churchill papers (Colville, 1971, p.3). However, this letter also indicated that Winston Churchill MP, grandson of Sir Winston, would be reluctant to deposit the papers there because if the 'papers go to Churchill College, once they are there neither he nor his heirs could very easily reclaim them and they are in fact the most valuable asset he possesses' (Colville, 1971, p.3). In an attempt to secure the papers for the nation, Colville quotes a valuation from Sotheby's that indicates that in total the archive may be worth in the region of £2m, but given the assumption that half are state papers, Colville suggests that the remainder may be worth £1m. A sum of £100,000 is suggested as a price that the government or a sponsor might pay to secure them and then donate them to the College and 'Winston would have something for releasing his most valuable asset' (Colville 1971, p.3). At the time, there were no obvious sources of public money to fund the purchase. An internal memo from the Lord Chancellor's office dated 11 June 1971 states 'On the question of HMG [Her Majesty's Government] purchasing the Churchill Papers the answer must be I imagine a flat "no". Indeed I cannot think what legal authority we should have as a basis of such a possible purchase' (Thesinger, 1971).

By 1989, the pre-1945 papers were on loan to and housed in the purpose-built Churchill Archive Centre, a building at the heart of Churchill College, Cambridge University, which was funded by private benefactors. However, the prospect of a sale of these papers looked likely as the trustees planned to exploit the value of their asset and, it could be said, do their duty to

derive the greatest return for the beneficiaries of the trust. Sotheby's were sent by the trustees to the Churchill Archive Centre to value the collection (Andrews, 1989). The potential sale resurrected all the unresolved issues from the 1960s and 1970s and the situation was further complicated by the need to ensure public access to the pre-1945 body of material as a whole. This was because exemption from estate duty on the archive had been negotiated on the death of Randolph Churchill in 1968 (Anon, 1990, p.2) and the terms of the exemption required the papers to remain in the UK and assurances that there would be access to the papers for researchers, following the publication of the official biography. An internal memo from Mark Blythe to James Nursaw, The Treasury Solicitor, dated 2 October 1989, notes that the 'matter effectively went to sleep between 1971 or thereabouts and earlier this year'. He also comments on the changes to the trustees 'who until recently were members of the Establishment'. He observed that one of the new trustees had 'latched on to one of the basic duties of a trustee in relation to the trust property...and seems intent on bringing the question of ownership to a head ... the cosy status quo prevailing hitherto has been disturbed' (Blythe, 1989).

In May 1990, it was expected that the Chartwell trustees would make an approach to the government based on 'a preliminary estimate from Sotheby's that the value of the archive would be in the region of £15m' (Andrews,1990). This civil servant queries 'whether (we) should be prepared to pay money for something of which we assert that at least part is ours' (Andrews, 1990) and opines that 'there still seems to me to be something quite wrong about this' (Andrews, 1990). In June 1990, a confidential memo assessed the likelihood of 'considerable political pressure on the Government if there were any proposal to break up the collection or to sell it overseas' and indicates that:

there are no obvious sources of funds for the sale as the British Library would not be able to afford the price requested by the trust, the Public Records Office had no acquisition budget and as some of the papers were less than 50 years old, it would not



fall within the heritage provisions - for example the National Heritage Memorial Fund (Phippard, 1990).

By 1991, a letter from Norman Tebbit MP to Prime Minister John Major about the Archive states that the 'trust must now move to sell (them) in the interest of the beneficiary' and that 'to avoid break up and dispersion...would require a private sale with the State' (Tebbit, 1991).

The Treasury Solicitors file (TS27/1584) from 1992 onwards is closed to public access at the time of writing, but the editorial in The Times on 12 October 1993 (p.9) indicated that an agreement on a sale had almost been completed and NHMF was identified as the potential purchaser. In the newspaper article, the obligation of the trust to obtain as much money as possible for the papers is stressed, as is the threat of a sale to foreign buyers (Murray, 1993, p.5). However, by December 1993, a government press release states that the Attorney General had sought a declaration that the 'relevant state papers' in the archive were the property of the crown and should be delivered up (Brazier, 1996, p.67). Perhaps this was a delaying tactic to prevent the sale, a move to reduce the likely value or maybe an indication of a change of attitude by both parties to 'gentlemen's agreements' that were previously in place.

The HLF application that was made in 1995 to secure the future of the papers was therefore the product of lengthy and complex negotiations over the archive and its value and the lottery fund offered a potential solution to the preservation of the collection as a whole. The new money made available to the NHMF via the HLF provided the NHMF trustees with the scale of funds needed to support the purchase and by 1995 the contents of the archive were at least 50 years old and met the definition of heritage operating within the NHMF at the time. A grant request from the University of Cambridge on behalf of the newly formed Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, for the care and purchase of the pre-1945 Churchill Papers,

was therefore submitted to the HLF and it was considered at the first grants meeting on 21 March 1995 (NHMF and HLF, 1995d).<sup>72</sup>

### **The grant decision and announcement**

The meeting of the NHMF and HLF board that considered the application was chaired by Lord Rothschild, the Eton and Oxford educated financier and philanthropist and resident and patron of Waddeson Manor, a grand country house which is managed by the National Trust. The fourteen trustees were all members of the Establishment, and many had personal interests in historic properties as owners or occupants.<sup>73</sup> The profile of the trustees reflected Patrick Wright's view that the NHMF had '[a] well connected (,) sense of what the nation and its inheritance amount to' (Wright, 2009, p. 42).<sup>74</sup>

Of the £24,732,493 of lottery money that was allocated at the first NHMF and HLF meeting, the grant of £13.25m for the pre-1945 Churchill Papers was the largest award and included a personal donation from J Paul Getty. The archive comprised an estimated 1.5 million documents. The newly formed Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust also received a gift from

---

<sup>72</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust was registered on 6 April 1995 (Charity Commission, n.d.)

<sup>73</sup> Trustees in March 1995: Lord Rothschild (Chair), Sir Richard Carew Pole, Lord Cranthorne, W Lindsay Evans Esq, Sir Nicholas Goodison, Mrs Caryl Hubbard, Sir Martin Jacomb, Lord Macfarlane of Beardsen, John Kegan Esq, Prof Palmer Newbould, Mrs Diane Nutting, Mrs Catherine Porteous, Commander Michael Saunders Watson (NHMF and HLF 1995a, p.2)

<sup>74</sup> Minutes of the National Heritage Memorial Fund: Heritage Lottery Fund Meeting 3 Agenda item 8 Churchill Papers – HLF (95)37

'Trustees agreed that HLF should:

- a) offer the University of Cambridge on behalf of a New Charity, to be established, a grant of up to £12.5million for the purchase of the pre 1945 papers from the Churchill Trustees.....
- b) commit up to £2.25m towards the endowment of the new charity and up to £916,000 for expenditure on a development plan for the archive...
- c) these grant offers would be conditional on an independent Chairman being appointed for the new charity

The minutes also noted that the final £13.25m award included a personal donation from J. Paul Getty KBE

Churchill College of Sir Winston's post-1945 papers that had been donated by Lady Spencer-Churchill and the complete Churchill archive would now be 'preserved in perpetuity and as a single entity' (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.22). The NHMF delayed the public announcement of the first HLF grants until 26 April, to enable Stephen Dorrell, the Secretary of State for the Department of National Heritage to be present (NHMF and HLF, 1995b)

The staff at the NHMF foresaw no problem or controversy in announcing this first set of nine lottery-supported awards that totalled nearly £25m.<sup>75</sup> The press release about the decision, dated 26 April 1995, was headed 'Churchill's papers secured for the nation on Eve of VE Day Anniversary'. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of VE day was on 7 May 1995. Given the memorial nature of the archive, which includes handwritten versions of some of Churchill's famous wartime speeches, this connection with the commemoration of the Victory in Europe during the Second World War must have been seen as a useful link to attract the attention and support of the press and the lottery players for the award.

However, much of the press coverage, across both the tabloid and broadsheet press, was negative. The reaction to the funding decision is exemplified by the title of this chapter, *Two Fingers to the Nation*. This is a quote from the front page of *The Mirror* newspaper on 28 April 1995, which reversed Sir Winston Churchill's victory sign into an insult (Figure 6). The reasons for the poor reception of the decision appear to be a complex mix of issues linked to the perceived inappropriate behaviour of the Churchill family in selling the archive, compounded by the longstanding debate about the legal title to some of the papers. Added to this mix was the negative public profile of the likely beneficiary, Winston Churchill MP.

While the timing of the announcement linked to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of VE day had been seen by the NHMF as a positive attribute, what may have been overlooked was that the local

---

<sup>75</sup> a point confirmed by Georgina Naylor in an interview with the author on 24 June 2013

government elections were just a few days away. This coincidence may well have contributed to the political interest in the decision. In the lead-up to what proved to be a major defeat for the Conservatives in local government polls on 4 May 1995, with the loss of 2000 seats to Labour and the Liberal Democrats (Clements, 1995), the news of the grant came at a time when opposition party politicians would have been actively seeking to score points against the government and sway public opinion in favour of their parties.



Figure 6: The frontpage of the Daily Mirror 28 April 1995

(Source: [https://ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir\\_1995\\_04\\_28\\_001&sr=1](https://ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir_1995_04_28_001&sr=1))

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Mirrorpix ©Mirrorpix'

The criticism reported in the press from Chris Smith, then Shadow Secretary of State for National Heritage, and Paddy Ashdown, the Leader of the Liberal Democrats and other MPs, some of them Tory, about so many aspects of the grant, prompted the Prime Minister, John Major, to clarify in Parliament that what was purchased was the personal papers of Sir Winston and that no lottery money had been spent on purchasing papers that were the property of the state (Major, cited in Brazier, 1996, p.66). One positive outcome of the transaction was that, as a consequence of the HLF grant, the legal action by the Attorney General had been dropped and the state papers were allowed to be transferred to the archive. This decision was justified as being in the interests of keeping the archive intact (Brazier, 1996, p.66).

The lack of attention to the implications of the pre-election period before the local authority elections, known as 'purdah', must have played a part in the politicisation of the announcement.<sup>76</sup> The grant, which had resulted in a prominent political family's trust receiving a large sum of public money for property, some of which appeared to be already owned by the state, turned the Churchill Papers into a political football. Trafford MBC, which formed part of Winston Churchill MP's constituency, was seen as a Tory flagship and was consequently a Labour target in the council elections. *The Times* on 5 May 1995 (p.14) reported Tory Councillors in Trafford directly linking the furore over the Churchill Papers to their losing control of the borough in the local elections the previous day. The language in the press reports frequently blended the act of playing the lottery and the distribution of the money together, referring to the transfer of funds from the have-nots to the haves and of winners and losers. Winston Churchill MP winning the lottery without buying a ticket was the subject of the editorial in the *Independent* on 27 April 1995 (p.18) entitled 'Winners don't buy tickets' and

---

<sup>76</sup> 'For local elections... particular care should be taken over official support, and the use of public resources, including publicity, for Ministerial announcements which could have a bearing on matters relevant to the devolved or local elections.' (Gay and White, 2013, p.1)



'Winstants Churchill', a direct reference to instant scratch card lottery games, was a headline in *The Sun* on 27 April 1995 (p.1).

The negative press reaction to the Churchill family's receipt of lottery money illustrated the deterioration of the relationship between the Conservative party and the tabloids, as successive Tory MPs' financial and sexual scandals undermined the image of John Major's 'Back to Basics' campaign in the early and mid-1990's. The morally populist political culture which the tabloid press, complicit with the Thatcher government, had encouraged (See, 2012) must have contributed to the attacks on Winston Churchill MP, whose financial losses and recent separation from his wife were well publicised (Vine, 1995, p.18). On 27 April (p.18) *The Independent* commented: 'The startling redistribution of wealth from ordinary working people to leading Conservatives is not what most folk expected to happen to money from the lottery'.

The criticism of the grant decision also focused on the lottery distributor and prompted one newspaper to comment that: 'It could not have been a more fiery baptism for the Heritage Lottery Fund' (Davison and Fowler, 1995, p.14). The behaviour of the NHMF/HLF trustees drew comment from David Mellor MP, a previous Secretary of State for the Department of National Heritage, who commented in *The Mail on Sunday*:

'Even if the decision to buy the archives can be justified, to make it the first piece of expenditure of Lottery monies by the National Heritage Memorial Fund was grossly insensitive, smacking of one set of out-of-touch toffs looking after the bank balance of another lot, rather than thinking of the nation as a whole' (Mellor, 1995, p.28).

The lack of the purchase of the copyright of the documents generated by Sir Winston was another point of contention and academics complained of being charged by the word to quote from the papers in the archive (Davison and Fowler, 1995, p.14). Norman Stone,

Professor of Modern History at Oxford commented in *The Times* on April 28 (p.18) that the papers should have been donated, in line with many other senior politicians who in his view had followed a ‘common code of decent practice’.

In *The Independent* on 10 May 1995, (p.21) the journalist Vicky Ward summed up the challenges for the NHMF which she felt had ‘enjoyed a quiet life saving the nation’s past, then along came the Churchill Papers’. While no mention was made of the widespread negative reaction to the grant in the minutes of the HLF board meeting in May 1995, the then Director of the NHMF Georgina Nayler recalled, in an interview with the author, that the NHMF office received hundreds of letters and phone calls from members of the public about the Churchill Papers, asking why their money had been spent in this way (Nayler, 2013). She also confirmed that complaints about the decision were made directly to Camelot, the National Lottery operator. This was seen as a major reputational issue for the National Lottery as a whole which needed to build the confidence of the public in the early weeks of the distribution of lottery funding and required the support of lottery players to succeed both as a business and as a funder of good causes.

### **The legacy of the grant decision**

The allocation of this first set of HLF grants was a significant moment for the funding of heritage and the NHMF’s new role, as lottery money started to be distributed alongside their Treasury-derived funds. Given the considerable experience that the NHMF had had in giving grants for the purchase of heritage, why was the possibility of a negative reaction not anticipated? A review of press coverage of grants made by the NHMF in previous years appears shows no negative reaction to the awards made, even when similar amounts of money are being given to families to settle Capital Tax Transfer bills and pay off heirs’ claims to the estate, such as £13.5m to support the transfer of Kedleston Hall to the National Trust in 1986 (NHMF, 1986, p.7). Press coverage in 1993 of the possible sale of the Churchill Papers to benefit the

family and for this transaction to potentially be funded by NHMF appears to have been presented in a positive light (Murray, 1993, p.5). The findings of my research would therefore suggest that the debate about the ownership of the papers, the timing of the announcement and the political profile of the vendor were the main causes of the outcry.

Commentators writing in anticipation of the creation of the National Lottery hoped that it would enable new approaches to the funding of heritage, 'the opportunity for a break from past funding practices' (Schuster, 1995, p.348). The press portrayed the sense of public ownership of lottery funds as keener than that for tax revenues. According to the *Daily Express* on 27 April 1995 (p.17), those who played the lottery imagined the money would be used for purposes with more evident public benefit and a war veteran commenting on the Churchill paper's decision quoted by John Young in *The Times* on 3 May 1995 (p.11) stated 'Lottery money could be spent in so many better ways'.

The ambition for and expectation of the use of lottery money and a participatory approach to deciding what was funded was articulated by the Labour MP Gerald Kaufman, the chair of the National Heritage Select Committee, writing in the *Daily Express*:

Those responsible for the lottery hand-out should be made accountable to ticket buyers for the grants they provide... we should not have a select group of people at the top doing what they think fit - however worthily and with however much integrity - with money provided by the many more at the base of the national pyramid (Kaufman, 1995, p.8).

An analysis of the defence of the decision provides insight into the values and norms of the NHMF at the time. For the NHMF, lottery money had funded the welcome resolution of the difficult case of the Churchill Papers that had required complex and protracted negotiations.



As Lord Rothschild, the Chair of NHMF, commented, ‘once lottery monies began to flow we had no choice but to pay up or shut up’ (Lord Rothschild, 1996, p.6). However, this justification of the decision demonstrates a use of HLF funds to further NHMF’s interests in the preservation of the heritage of the elite. It contradicts the ambitions for the expenditure of lottery funds for local projects which were outlined by Rothschild in the NHMF Annual Report in the year leading up to the introduction to the lottery (NHMF, 1994).

For the NHMF, the circumstances of the application, prompted by ‘a self-declared impoverished aristocrat seeking to turn his dynastic cultural capital into ready money’ (Rees Leahy, 2007, p 695) was a familiar scenario and the funder’s grants had facilitated many similar transactions. It was the reason for the sale of many heritage assets: ‘an MP, a duke or an earl is as much entitled to dispose of their private property at market value as the rest of us’ (Rothschild 1996, p.7). Sotheby’s valuations and auction results for Churchill material demonstrated that the price paid for the archive at the time was reasonable (Connolly, 1995, p.7). A national tour of a selection of the papers to major cities in the UK, proposed in the application, also created wider public access to the documents. ‘The Papers have not been locked away in Cambridge and forgotten about. A team of archivists is working on the collection and further exhibitions are planned’ (Churchill Archive Centre, 1996).

For civil servants, the Attorney General’s decision on the state papers resolved the outstanding issue of the government documents held within the archive and avoided further work and the potential embarrassment that may have been caused by pursuing their return. The difficulties of asserting legal title to the papers in the archive highlighted a lack of a definition of the term ‘state’ or ‘official’ papers, which had resulted in poor physical control of both the documents and consequently the government information they contained (Brazier, 1996, p.67). This was addressed by the Prime Minister’s statement in May 1995 that ‘in future, material removed...at the end of an Administration should contain no official material other than that which is

already in the public domain' (House of Commons Debate on 4 May 1995, cited in Brazier, 1996, p.74).

For the HLF however, the negativity created by the reaction to the grant decision stuck to its reputation and became derisory shorthand for criticism of HLF decisions or processes. Simon Tait, writing in the Times at the end of 1995, put the Churchill Papers decision together with the large grant to the Royal Opera House made by the Arts Council Lottery the same year, to illustrate poor judgement on the part of the lottery distributors (Tait, 1995, p.34). In 1998, Roy Strong commented, 'how little the public knows of this new leviathan and its workings. Indeed, when a survey was done all that most could throw up was the contentious grant for the Churchill Papers' (Strong, 1998, p.5). Despite the fact that the trustees that made the decision had long since stepped down from office, in 2003, while reporting on the forthcoming sale of the *Madonna of the Pinks* by Raphael, Maeve Kennedy described the Churchill Papers as a 'spectre ... for which HLF had been pilloried' (Kennedy, 2003, p.8). Even as late as 2010, Marcus Binney, writing a critical article about the HLF funding of the Stonehenge visitor centre, said 'the HLF's decision to throw £10m at Stonehenge 'facilities' is the worst since it gave £12.5m to 'save' the Churchill Papers – and put the whole country in a lather of rage' (Binney, 2010, p.119).

Despite the negative press and political comment, the heritage outcome was positive as the NHMF and the HLF, working with government, had stopped the trust from breaking up the archive and selling it. How much 'rage' would there have been had the grant not been offered and the Churchill family trust had gone ahead with the break-up of the archive and sale of the papers that were their undisputed property? The holdings of the purpose-built Churchill Archives Centre would have been depleted and the archive, which contains the primary source material relating to major events in the history of the country, may have been dispersed across public and private owners internationally and the physical link with the state papers broken. The HLF grant for the papers enabled the Churchill Archive Centre to

secure the future of the totality of the Churchill Papers and they were inscribed on the UNESCO International Memory of the World Register in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015). These two major deposits have formed the core of the Archive centre's collection and attracted further deposits from many more high-profile political figures (Churchill College Cambridge, n.d.).

To complete my research into this grant decision, I visited the archive centre in July 2017. A small but striking modern building, it is located at the heart of the Churchill College campus, making it a little difficult for a first-time visitor to find. Located on the first floor above the Sir Jock Colville Hall, named after the senior civil servant who actively fundraised for the building, there are two reading rooms where collections can be accessed. While the originals of documents from other holdings are made available to visitors, only digitised versions of the Churchill Papers are available to be downloaded or printed off on site (Figure 7).

The original Churchill Papers are held in the air-conditioned strong rooms, which are not open to the public. The Director took me into this part of the building and allowed me to see and photograph some of material. Reading handwritten letters from King George VI urging Churchill not to attend the D Day landings in person and risk his personal safety and seeing the copies of telegrams issued by Churchill at critical moments during the Second World War (Figure 8), brought a new perspective to this period of history for me and reminded me of the power of an encounter with the original object. However, for reasons of conservation and security, my privileged access to these documents is not what is on offer to the general visitor.

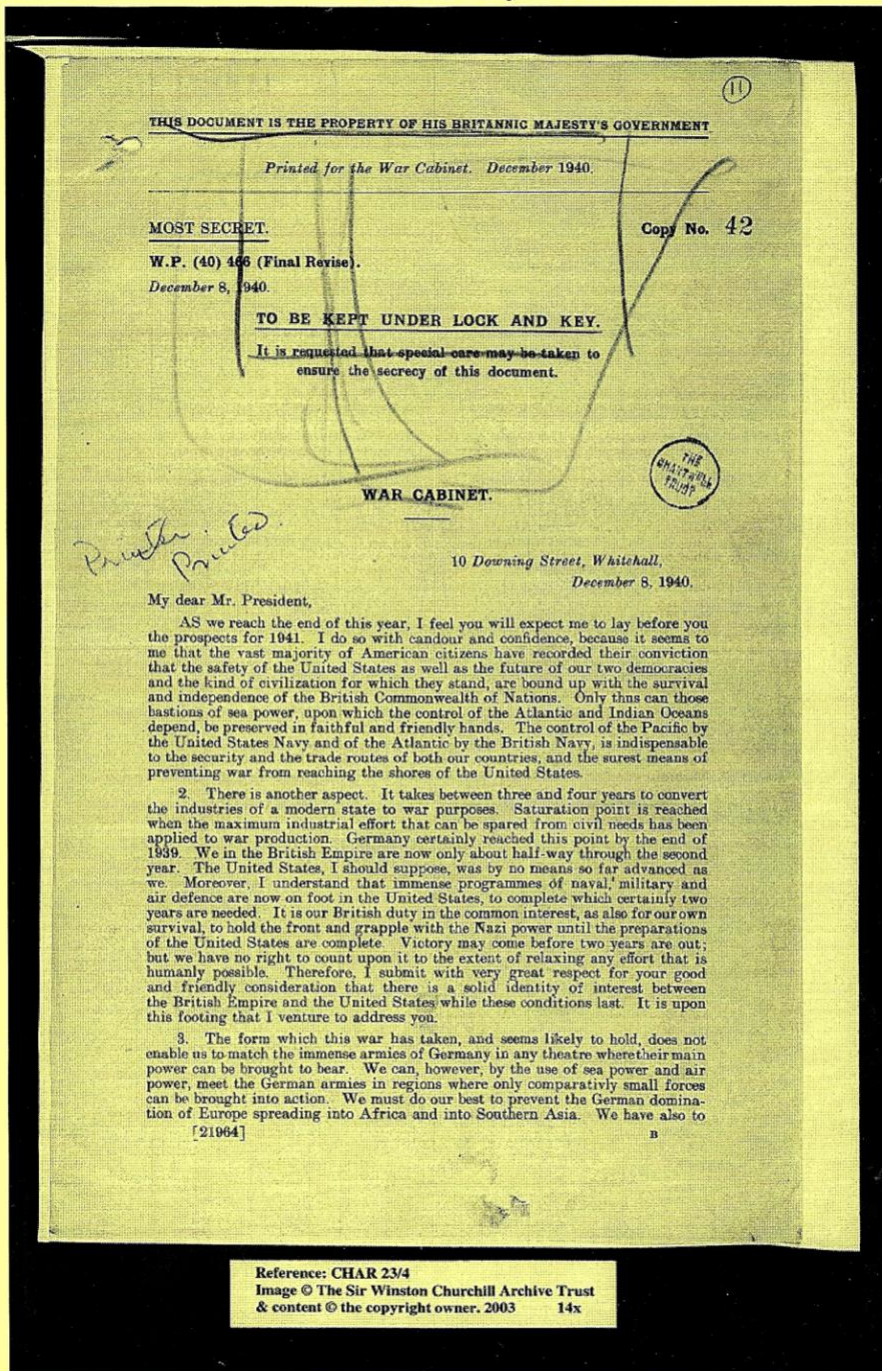


Figure 7: Letter from Sir Winston Churchill to President Roosevelt, 5 December 1940

This document is held in the Churchill Papers archive and was printed at the Churchill Archives Centre. The paper is yellow for security reasons.

(Source: Churchill Archives Centre)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by:

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/>



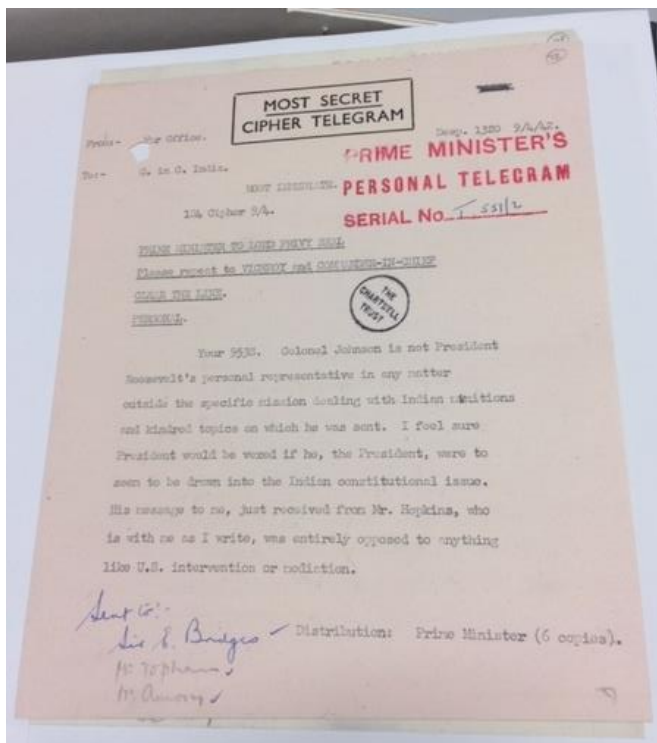
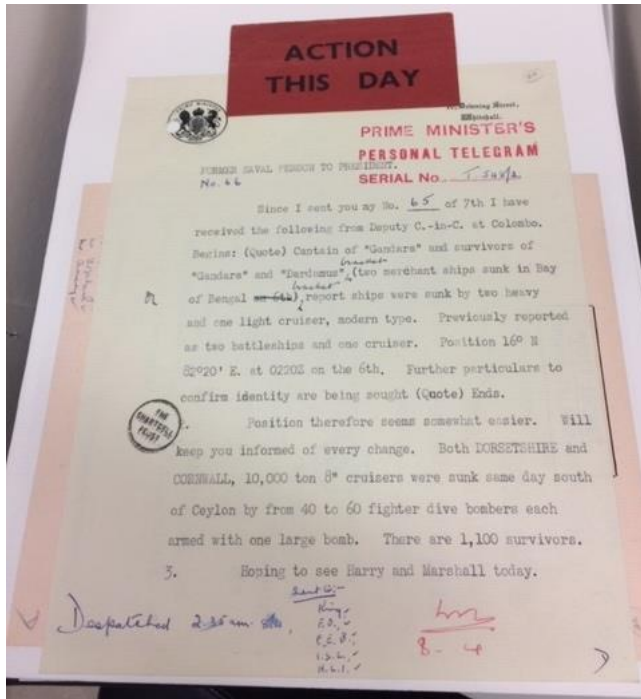


Figure 8: Examples of the original state documents held in the Churchill Papers collection

(Source: the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge) Top image: Former Naval Person to President: Prime Minister's Personal Telegram: no date, Serial no. T548/2. Bottom image: Telegraph from the War office to Commander in Chief India: 9 April 1942, Serial no. T551/2

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by:

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3/>

## Conclusion

The narrative behind the deposit of the complete collection of Churchill's papers at the Archive Centre in Cambridge demonstrates how the meaning of these papers and the reputation of the previous owner and the lottery funder were changed by the multifaceted processes related to this acquisition. Coming early in the life of the HLF, the decision became a focus for a range of debates about the purpose of lottery funds and now provides an insight into the heritage policy and politics at the time. Taking Habermas' view of the public sphere as the realm of social life where public opinion is formed (Habermas, 1989), the Churchill Papers incident offers a lens through which to view the press and political expectations surrounding how these new public funds created by lottery money would be spent and by whom.

The timing of the grant announcement in the run up to the local government elections and Winston Churchill MP's public profile politicised the Churchill family's stewardship of the archive, contributing to a sense of scandal. However, in all of the commentary at the time, there is little reference to Sir Winston Churchill's original

intentions for the archive, which were to create a financial asset for his family, using what could be described as an abuse of his office, through the inappropriate appropriation of state property. This perhaps is the most scandalous aspect of the Churchill Papers, confirming Cannadine's view 'there was something about him...that was not entirely respectable (1995, p.161). The political nature of the archive and its direct links to the lives of those who had lived through the Second World War and the consequent sense of public engagement with the events that the material recorded must have contributed to the adverse comment about the family's decision to sell and not donate the material.

The HLF grant for the Churchill Papers responded to the real threat of the sale and dispersal of the pre-1945 archive. In many ways, the award appears to be a better fit with the purpose

of the NHMF, as a funder of 'last resort', than the aims of the HLF. As one of the first HLF decisions, the trustees were perhaps using lottery money to deal with long-standing, unfinished business that the NHMF was unable to resolve using its relatively modest Treasury resources. This incident illustrates one of the challenges of folding lottery money into pre-existing funding structures, as has been explored by Schuster (1995). His concern was that lottery money would be lost within existing budgets, making it hard to account for; however, what the Churchill Papers incident demonstrates is the challenge for an existing organisation to change its institutional values and seize the opportunity that lottery revenues bring to change practice and not put money into 'the same old black holes' (Appleyard 1993 p.23).

The next two chapters identify two HLF initiatives that I argue are informed by the legacy of the Churchill Papers. The first, which is examined in Chapter 4, focuses on three applications for lottery funds by national institutions that were enabled by a change in the HLF's processes, introduced in 2011, to fast track grants for major acquisitions. These case studies explore how the applicants fulfilled the HLF's priorities to derive both heritage and public benefit from the awards and the resulting heritage practice that this created. The ways in which this programme differs from the NHMF's support for the purchase of works of fine and decorative art are also examined. The second, outlined in Chapter 5, explores the introduction of capital grants for urban parks. This funding scheme, which was announced in 1995 in the wake of the Churchill Papers grant, channelled millions of pounds of lottery money into local authorities. Supporting an aspect of everyday heritage that had been overlooked and neglected by its owners, this study looks at the challenges and outcomes of the longest running targeted HLF grants programme.

## Chapter 4: Heritage values and financial values

### Introduction

This chapter examines the HLF's role in enhancing and safeguarding museum collections and the complex negotiations that lie behind securing the future of major works of art at risk of loss. Using three high profile case studies of acquisitions by national institutions in the 2010s, this research builds on the exploration of the Churchill Papers decision in Chapter 3. It looks in detail at the framing of proposals and appeals to raise funds to purchase these works of fine and decorative art, and how the announcement of the subsequent funding decisions and the delivery of related projects was managed. Rees Leahy describes transactions of this kind as 'a complex nexus of aesthetic, cultural, financial and political issues' noting the 'entangled relationships forged between artworks, individuals and institutions through which both market and cultural value are produced' (Rees Leahy, 2009, p.135). This research considers how, in the 2010s, the meaning of these works of art were changed by their 'forays into the commodity sphere' (Kopytoff, 1986, p.83) and their passage through the funding system.

Tate's purchase of Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* (1831) in 2013, The National Portrait Gallery's (NPG) acquisition of Van Dyck's *Self Portrait* (c.1640-1) and the appeal to save the Wedgwood Collection, which both took place in 2014, represent the HLF's only awards of over £5 million for acquisitions that were made in 2013 and 2014. Each study explores the distinctive cultural biography (Kopytoff, 1986) of the object or collection that led to their availability for purchase, each national institution's approach to raising funds and the role of the HLF in the transaction. These requests for funding were enabled by the change in HLF policy on the management of grants for the purchase of works of art, which revived the 'fast track' route through the application process (NHMF 2011a, p.3).<sup>77</sup> This

---

<sup>77</sup> The HLF's fast track process for items of portable heritage enables swifter decisions to respond to items that come on to the market at short notice with tight deadlines. A different



research compares the policies and values of the NHMF and the HLF and how they inform decisions on grants for acquisitions. The study also explores how this new HLF policy decision goes beyond merely saving heritage deemed to be at risk and examines whether the approach of the HLF to funding these purchases demonstrates a shift away from ‘the patrician, object-based and narrowly expert driven attitudes inherited from the NHMF’ (Hewison, 2009, p.106) and encourages new heritage practice by national museums.

Can the success of these bids for funds be interpreted as evidence of the dominance of ‘a powerful cultural elite’ (Jancovich, 2015), which privileges the intrinsic values of heritage, or is the way that these requests for funds are made evidence of the HLF encouraging new ways of working that realise the instrumental value of these works of art? Rees Leahy observes that these objects can have multiple definitions when they enter the market as: ‘an economic good...an historical art masterpiece, an aristocratic heirloom and a prized museum exhibit’ (2009, p.139). How does the rhetoric surrounding these art objects change as they move from being heritage at risk, to being ‘saved for the nation’, primarily by the HLF’s funding? Are the social and economic values constructed around the objects by the applicant to secure lottery money carried through into their new identities as part of a national museum collection?

Finally, I briefly consider how acquisitions are presented as something that every museum visitor could contribute towards. How are lottery players’ financial contributions to this activity acknowledged and how does this compare with the treatment of other individual donors, such as the members of the Art Fund? Does creating opportunities that enable people to play an active role in saving art for the nation fulfil HLF’s stated interest in ‘identifying and caring for what is valued collectively’ (HLF, 2012b, p.10)? To set the context

---

form of this process was in place when HLF first began and some of the acquisitions made are described on p.156 (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p. 23)

for the three case studies, I begin with a brief overview of the UK government's complex relationship with the private owners of portable heritage that is considered by experts to be of outstanding quality, and some of the measures that have been put in place both through legislation and the work of charitable trusts such as the Art Fund and the National Trust to retain work in this country and where appropriate encourage and fund its transfer into public collections.

### **The defence of the nation's heritage**

Why is the UK protective of its portable heritage? David Lowenthal's suggestion that that 'Heritage never means more to us than when we see it inherited by someone else' (1998, p.169) may well offer part of the answer. Gillman's observation that in every century there are countries that for economic, political or cultural reasons are a source of heritage objects and there are those that are market nations, which have the resources to purchase (2010, p.68), while a simple model, is also relevant here. His proposition that the roles of nations change over time, in terms of the supply of or demand for heritage objects, is demonstrated, for example, by the collections of many UK country houses. These were often formed from purchases made in Europe by aristocrats on the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century or acquired when art works came on to the market due to the upheaval of the French Revolution or the Napoleonic Wars (Conisbee, 2003, p.26). At this time the UK's wealth made it one of the market nations. However, by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the growth in the wealth of the USA and parts of Asia and the sale of art works by the same UK aristocratic families to meet death duties, downturns in income and rising repair bills, had turned the UK into a source nation for other countries, 'as we ourselves had treated the Continent during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries' (Witt, 1911, p.13). The purchasing power of the country's museums struggled and continues to struggle to compete with that of international public and private collectors and many of the UK-owned works that come on to the market are exported abroad (Bailey, 2003, p.45). As Rees Leahy observes,

‘Notwithstanding the panoply of measures that are now in place, the narrative of heritage is still continuously and necessarily reinvigorated by crises of dispersal and acquisition’ (1999, p.206).

The private or corporate owners of these prized objects that have been inherited or acquired through family or business connections have choices about their disposal. They may decide to donate to a public collection or take advantage of tax incentives via the Cultural Gifts scheme, a Private Treaty sale or Acceptance in Lieu arrangements with museums.<sup>78</sup> The Churchill Papers episode, discussed in Chapter 3, demonstrated that for those who choose to or have to sell works, the assertion that ‘the public at large has a legitimate concern about the disposal of such items’ (Gillman, 2010, p.148), is not always welcome. This kind of attention is not just focused on high profile political families such as the Churchills. As Viscount Coke said when he sold a set of European drawings from the collection at Holkham House, in order to finance improvements on his estate in the early 1990s, ‘I took a lot of flak from the heritage lobby, selling the country’s silver, you know. How come they’d suddenly become the country’s property?’ (1993, cited in Gillman 2010, p.175)

---

<sup>78</sup> ‘The Acceptance in Lieu scheme enables UK taxpayers to transfer important works of art and other important heritage objects into public ownership while paying Inheritance Tax, or one of its earlier forms. The taxpayer is given the full open market value of the item. The Cultural Gifts Scheme opened in early 2013 and enables UK taxpayers to donate important works of art and heritage objects to the nation during their lifetime. Donors receive a tax reduction based on a set percentage of the value of the object they are donating – this is 30 per cent where the donor is an individual and 20 per cent where the donor is a company ... Private treaty sales - if a heritage object is sold on the open market, the vendor may be liable to Capital Gains Tax and Inheritance Tax. However, these tax charges are not incurred if an owner sells the object by Private Treaty to a body (e.g. a museum or gallery) listed under Schedule 3 of the Inheritance Tax Act 1984. Qualifying heritage objects include any previously granted conditional exemption or an item which would qualify as of pre-eminent importance. This dispensation was extended in April 2009 to Corporation Tax on companies’ chargeable gains. This is an attractive tax exemption because it offers a sweetener to owners to encourage them to offer such objects direct to museums. This is known colloquially as the ‘douceur’ under which the benefits of the tax exemption are shared. The vendor receives the amount that he or she would have received at the agreed market value, net after tax, but also receives a douceur (usually 25 per cent) of the tax that would have been chargeable. The purchaser normally pays what would have been paid under normal arrangements, less a proportion of the tax (usually 75 per cent) that would have been chargeable.’ (DCMS 2014, p.67)

For the acquiring institution, working towards the purchase of a high-profile work of art is a complex process. Some donations or sales of works are the result of long-term loans to a museum and can be brokered privately. However, if the owner cannot be persuaded or cannot afford to donate a work of art, it may be possible to work with them and their agents to negotiate the best price for the museum through a Private Treaty sale. This is a tax efficient transaction for the vendor and will keep the work away from the unpredictable market place, as was the case with the sale of Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*. Other items like the Van Dyck portrait go straight to the market through commercial galleries or the saleroom. Dealers and auctioneers are at the centre of the art market and a key part of the acquisition process, bringing relevant works to the attention of museums. As Pearce observes:

The essential paradox of the art market in all its manifestations is the notion that 'high culture' - that is, work which is by definition honourable and sacred - can be the subject of commercial transactions conducted for profit and within the ethic of the market place, (2003, p.381)

The perceived failure of national museums and the government to deal with the loss of art previously owned by families in the UK to public and private collections overseas led the establishment of the National Art Collections Fund (NACF), now known as the Art Fund, in 1903. Its creation was supported by the belief that 'great works of art, if saved for the national collections, could inspire English artists, educate the public, and confer international standing' (Cannadine, 1990, p.69). A membership organisation, the Art Fund exists to raise money to support acquisitions for museums. In general, it works alongside museums and the HLF to secure works for public collections and in rare instances, such as the Wedgwood Collection, actually becomes the purchaser.

The National Gallery's *Enquiry into the Retention of Important Pictures in this Country and other matters connected with the National Collections* (National Gallery, 1915), led by Lord Curzon and later known as the Curzon Committee Report, provided evidence of the high rate of export of works of art from the UK to both the USA and Germany. The National Trust Act of 1937 and the creation of the Country Houses Scheme, which enabled the transfer of historic properties and their contents to the NT in lieu of death duties, and the extension of the scope of the NLF in the 1950s to include the contents of country houses as, discussed in Chapter 1, also contributed to attempts to stem the flow of heritage out of the country.

In 1952, the Waverley criteria, operated by the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest (RCEWA) were established by the government to assist in the retention of works of art in the UK. By then 'the haemorrhaging of national treasure was considered to have reached a state of unprecedented emergency' (Wang, 2008, p.228). The RCEWA exists to ensure 'the UK's export controls are aimed at striking a fair balance between the need to protect the best of our national heritage, the rights of owners and the encouragement of a thriving art market' (DCMS, 2017a, p.4). However, in the 2010s, this sense of loss of the UK's heritage through export is still evident in the Export Review Committee reports:

Private collections in the UK had become the prey of American and German collectors and it was apparent that many were being depleted and important works of art sold abroad at prices in excess of anything that UK public collections or private buyers could afford (DCMS, 2014, p.72).

The process of the export deferral of an object is complex and requires the case for retention in the UK to be made by experts and for this evidence to be supported by advice from commercial dealers (DCMS, 2014, p.77). The three Waverley criteria act as the framework for the debate on each of the small number of objects on the market that have been proposed

by the staff of national museums to be of museum quality. The accompanying narratives in the RCEWA Annual Reports present the expert opinion supporting the export stop. The prospective purchaser can offer evidence that makes the case against the imposition of a temporary export stop. These submissions are then judged by the RCEWA. The one-page summaries of the evidence and the judgment are published in the RCEWA annual report.<sup>79</sup>

The RCEWA annual reports are campaigning in tone, detailing the fate of every one of the export stopped objects, noting those that were acquired by public collections in the UK and those for which, after a period of deferral, a licence was issued. Recording the association with this country and stating the country of destination reinforces the sense of the loss of these heritage objects that were previously located in the UK. However, while this process played a part in the NPG's acquisition of the Van Dyck *Self Portrait* discussed later in this chapter, a high proportion of the works that are export stopped are not prevented from leaving the country at all, as no-one comes forward from the UK to purchase them. In 2013/14 the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest reported that only 8 of the 24 objects considered for deferral of export licences were 'saved'.<sup>80</sup> Worth £13.85m, they represented only 17% of the total value of the objects that were export stopped (DCMS, 2014, p.15). This statistic can be interpreted as evidence of the limited purchasing power of UK museums, even with NHMF and HLF support, but could also be said to reflect the volume of high-quality heritage material from private collections that is on the market in the UK and that many export stopped objects are not priorities for public collections.

---

<sup>79</sup> The membership of the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest comprises academics, dealers and former museum directors (DCMS, 2014, p.8)

<sup>80</sup> In 2013/14, 8 items were exported to the USA (7 plus the Van Dyck which was withdrawn from the process were saved from export to the USA) and 8 were exported to Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Lichtenstein, Luxembourg, Russia and New Zealand (DCMS, 2014)

## **The contrasting approaches to acquisitions of the NHMF and the HLF**

Describing itself as ‘the national fire engine’ (NHMF 1981, p.1), the NHMF aims to come to the rescue of heritage that has been determined by experts as outstanding and is deemed to be at risk of loss. In the 1980s the NHMF saw its role as ‘alleviating the difficulties of owners of large historic houses and the owners of other important parts of the heritage’, who were sometimes selling art works in order to fund repairs to their historic properties (NHMF, 1981, p.11). As ‘the fund of last resort, when all other possibilities were exhausted’ (NHMF, 1981, p.4), the NHMF, financed by an annual grant from the Treasury, has also been supported by occasional additional awards from the Treasury for major purchases, such as the additional £25m that NHMF secured in 1985 for the purchase of three historic houses (NHMF, 1986, p.7).<sup>81</sup> NHMF grants can help save export-deferred material, where a museum wishes to purchase it; however, in 2013/14, while NHMF spent £6.4m on acquisitions (DCMS, 2014, p.65), none of the export-deferred items in that year that were bought by museums in the UK were supported by grants from the NHMF or the HLF.

When the NHMF became the distributor for National Lottery funding for heritage in 1994, there was an assumption by many in the art world (Burlington Magazine, 1999, p.3) that the HLF budget would provide much more money for the acquisition of works of art by public collections. In its first full year of operation, the HLF did fund three high profile acquisitions. One of these was a £3m grant that was made to the National Gallery of Modern Art in Scotland, for the Penrose Collection of Surrealist Art. The other two awards were given to the National Gallery in London: £8m was given for Seurat’s *The Channel of Gravelines* (1890) and £5m for Durer’s *St Jerome*. The Seurat received special mention in the HLF annual report, as it was returning to Britain, having been exported eight years previously (NHMF and HLF 1996, p.10). These grants, while straying into NHMF territory, enabled large sums

---

<sup>81</sup> Kedelston Hall, Derbyshire, Nostell Priory, South Yorkshire, Weston Park, Shropshire (NHMF, 1986, p.7)



of lottery money that were rapidly accumulating in the NHMF accounts to be allocated quickly. The return of the Seurat and the subsequent purchase of *Whistlejacket* (c.1762) by George Stubbs by the National Gallery, supported by an HLF grant of £8.26m (NHMF and HLF, 1998, p.14) alongside the £7.68m given to the National Galleries of Scotland for Botticelli's *The Virgin adoring the sleeping Christ child* (HLF, 2000b, p.3), were perhaps in Anthony Thorncroft's mind when he wrote in the Financial Times on 5 April 1999:

When the national lottery was launched, Lord Rothschild, who had been appointed chairman of the Heritage Lottery Fund, was ecstatic. With millions pouring in each year to shore up the heritage, no longer would the country face the steady erosion of its artistic treasures abroad. He envisaged the day when he could go to a Sotheby's auction in New York and, with the fund's chequebook, actually repatriate lost works of art to the UK (Thorncroft, 1999, p.10).

A review of the annual reports for the late 1990s and early 2000s suggests, however, that major art acquisitions were not identified as a major priority in the early years of the HLF. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, the New Labour administration, elected in 1997, distanced itself from the concept of heritage which was 'associated with the reactionary Heritage Industry that had flourished under Mrs Thatcher' (Hewison, 2014, p.77) and required that 'the distribution of Lottery funding for heritage projects was...harnessed to government policies for the management of cultural access, education and diversity' (Rees Leahy, 2007, p.705). The targeted grant programmes that were introduced for urban public parks (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.9), as outlined in Chapter 5, regional museums (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.10) and town centre high streets (Shipley and Reeve, 2004), channelled lottery funds into local authority owned and managed heritage assets.

In the 1990s and, even today, the NHMF needs to make the case for its continued support and differentiate its role from the lottery distributor. In 1995, NHMF trustees stated that 'the

primary fund for the acquisition of important parts of the country's heritage should remain the Heritage Memorial Fund' (NHMF, 1995, p.61). The NHMF continues to be the fund of last resort for most acquisitions, as demonstrated by the support of the partnership between the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Gallery in London to purchase of Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* in 2008.<sup>82</sup> The case was and still is made to the Treasury every year to find grant funding for the NHMF 'to save to save some of our most-loved treasures from being lost forever' (NHMF n.d.a.), despite the millions available from the HLF.<sup>83</sup>

One high profile exception to this division of responsibilities between the NHMF and the HLF during the 2000s was the purchase of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* by the National Gallery. This contentious acquisition was supported by an HLF grant of £11.5m, announced in July 2003 (Rees Leahy, 2007). The approach was made to the HLF, not the NHMF, to fund this purchase was because an NHMF grant was not possible at the time. Following the exceptional £17.5m grant for the historic house Tyntesfield in May 2002, 'the largest single award in the NHMF's history' (NHMF, 2003, p.2) the NHMF had insufficient funding to meet the National Gallery's request for the Raphael, as the NHMF grant from Treasury for 2002-2003 was only £5m.<sup>84</sup> The request for HLF funds for this painting, which was considered in a competitive round of lottery grants, had to be framed in the context of the lottery distributor's 'objective of widening participation in both the production and consumption of heritage practices' (Rees Leahy 2007, p.695). The associated project that toured the painting to galleries around the country created a model that was replicated when the HLF's new approach to acquisitions was introduced in the 2010s.

---

<sup>82</sup> In 2008, £10m was granted from the NHMF endowment for Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* (1556-1559), jointly purchased from the Duke of Sutherland by the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Gallery London (NHMF, 2008)

<sup>83</sup> The NHMF grant in 2014/15 was £5m (NHMF, 2015b p.29). The HLF's income the same year was £391m (NHMF 2015b, p.4).

<sup>84</sup> This explanation of the reason for the National Gallery's application to the HLF for the funding for the Raphael, due to the lack of available NHMF funding, was given to me by Vanessa Wells, Senior Grants Officer for the NHMF, while I was consulting the archives at the NHMF and HLF London office on 18 April 2016.

The decision by the HLF to review its policy on supporting major purchases in 2011, which took place after New Labour lost power, was, in part, a response to the continuing decrease in national museums' acquisition budgets. This began in the early 1990s and has been a significant factor in the UK's declining purchasing power. Government changes in the terms of grant in aid to national museums in 1993, removed specific allocations for acquisitions from the funding provided. In 1982/3, the five major national art museums received a total of £7,897,000 for purchases; in 2002/3, when museums had more choice over how to spend their grant aid, only £855,000 was allocated from government grants for acquisitions (Bailey, 2003, p.48), due to the need to redirect funds to meet increased running costs. These reductions, combined with rapid increases in the price of work in certain parts of the art market, made the NHMF funding look increasingly inadequate.

Funds were needed to 'catch not only the important and cheap, but the important and expensive' heritage items that came on to the market (Gillman, 2010, p.144). The time required to prepare and to process a full two-stage HLF application did not deliver the quick grant decision needed to purchase works going to auction, being offered through a private treaty sale or available under a time-limited export ban. This was recognised by the introduction of new HLF procedures in October 2011, when a change in policy enabled museums to take a fast track approach within the heritage grants programme for funds to support a major purchase (NHMF, 2011a, p.3). The Export Reviewing Committee welcomed this change in policy (DCMS, 2014, p.11).<sup>85</sup> The fast track system did not require museum applicants to create a detailed activity plan for the interpretation and display of the work as

---

<sup>85</sup> '[we] welcomed the Heritage Lottery Fund's change to its acquisitions policy in October 2011, making it simpler for organisations to acquire portable heritage when having to respond to tight deadlines. We have continued to see the benefits of the Heritage Lottery Fund's generous approach, which has enabled interested institutions to be in a position to make a matching offer to purchase a number of export-deferred items in recent years' (DCMS, 2014, p.11).

part of their proposal, recognising that the purchase may be a work or collection on long-term loan and already built into permanent collection displays.<sup>86</sup>

The NHMF and the HLF share the same governance and administration and while I was a trustee, all funding decisions for the two funders took place in the same board meetings. A brief analysis of the application forms of the NHMF and the HLF reveals their very different approaches. An application to the NHMF focuses on the intrinsic value of heritage and requires the artwork to meet their three essential standards. The first is the importance to the national heritage. The second, that it is of outstanding interest through rarity, quality, association or designation. The third is evidence that it is either at risk of loss or has memorial character in relation to conflict or loss of life in the service of the UK (NHMF n.d.b.). Information is also required on the cost, evidence of financial need, given the NHMF describes itself as a fund of last resort, and arrangements for public access. The NHMF staff then commission reports from experts drawn from museums, academia and commercial dealers about the object's compliance with the NHMF criteria and takes their views on the sale price. These reports and the application are reviewed by an expert panel and recommendations are then made to the trustees and considered at monthly NHMF/HLF board meetings.

In comparison, a fast track application to HLF for the purchase of an art work looks for different evidence as it is made using the generic heritage grants procedure. As well as establishing heritage importance, based on the applicant's evidence and the risk the heritage faces, the request must also be set in the context of the three sets of HLF outcomes related to heritage, people and communities (Appendix 2). Applications for over £2m must meet at least one of the four heritage outcomes, at least one of the five people outcomes and at least one of the five community outcomes. Applications for over £5m must meet more than one of

---

<sup>86</sup> Applicants now demonstrate how the acquisition fits with its current and planned activity programmes rather than producing a separate activity plan (DCMS, 2012, p14).

the outcomes in each category. Risk assessments in terms of the delivery and sustainability of the outcomes must also be completed (HLF 2015e, p.6). The application will be considered against other heritage grant submissions being made at the time.

Following the change of HLF policy in 2011, total spending on acquisitions by HLF rose from £0.69m in 2010/11 to £16.31m in 2013/14 (DCMS, 2014, p.65).<sup>87</sup> Until 2018, heritage grants were a two-stage grant process, with a Round One pass providing funds for project development and a Round Two application confirming the costs of the project and funding its delivery (HLF 2015d, p.9). Fast track acquisition grants went straight to Round Two, bypassing the project development phase and ensuring swift access to the funding if they are successful. The following exploration of this process through the three selected case studies shows the practical and theoretical challenges that these applications for grants present and the tensions between cultural and economic values attributed to these the objects. I now move on to examine three grants of £5m and over that came to the Board in 2013 and 2014 when I was a trustee.

### **The Case Studies: an overview**

These three case studies represent the only applications to the HLF for acquisitions of £5m or above that were made in 2013 and 2014. In each case, the HLF funded the majority of the cost of the purchase. All are linked to a national museum and have significant intrinsic heritage value in terms of their historic importance and aesthetic quality. The Van Dyck and the Constable were direct purchases by the National Portrait Gallery and Tate respectively, while the Wedgwood collection was bought by the Art Fund and then gifted to the V and A, which then loaned it back to the Wedgwood Museum.

---

<sup>87</sup> 15.8m of this sum was for the Tate purchase of Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*

The narratives of potential 'loss' that inform these applications demonstrate Hewison's assertion that threat is not only a ubiquitous trope of heritage discourse, but a defining characteristic (1987, p.73), thus transforming these objects into heritage causes. The types of loss that would have resulted had these works not been acquired by a museum include the threat of loss of access to works for the purposes of research and public display, should they be sold to private owners or exported abroad, and the dispersal of archives and collections built up over centuries. The generation of sentiment about the significance and heritage value of these works is expressed at different points in their journey from their previous owner to a national museum collection. In each of these case studies, the purchase rescues the art works from actual or potential entanglement with the art market. The HLF requires the delivery of instrumental heritage value from their grants and in each of these three applications, the expenditure of public money on moving these objects into public ownership is supported by a promise of increased public access in the future. Alongside the exploration of the tensions that exist between heritage and market values during these transactions, this research examines if new heritage activity related to these objects has been stimulated through the HLF's requirements and whether that approach been sustained.

All HLF applications require evidence of matching funds. In each example, the acquisition has been secured by additional grants from charitable and corporate donors and through individual giving via trusts and the funds raised from museums visitors and Art Fund members. This money, which demonstrates credible but limited public support, combined with HLF grants, has made the purchases possible and provided evidence that these items have importance and value for some people today. The case studies also look at how the historic significance and contemporary relevance of the objects was presented to make the

case for their support. The headings of each section are taken from the titles of each application as recorded in the summary minutes of the relevant NHMF board meetings.<sup>88</sup>

### **Case study 1: Aspire (Constable's 'Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows')**

This Constable painting (Figure 9) was on free-to-access public display at the National Gallery for thirty years. It was on long-term loan from the Ashton family, who then decided to sell the work.<sup>89</sup> The family founded one of the longest-lived textile companies in Hyde, a town on the outskirts of Manchester, known as Ashton Brothers and Co (Tameside Metropolitan Borough, 2016). The Ashtons owned the painting for over 150 years. Samuel Ashton bought it from Agnew's in 1850 for £600 (Agnew, 1967, p.17). The death of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Ashton of Hyde in 2008 prompted the sale of the work by his descendants.<sup>90</sup>

The opportunity to buy the picture from the family through a Private Treaty sale prevented it from being put on the open market and potentially sold at a higher price, while offering tax advantages for the vendor. While there are significant numbers of Constable's works in the collections of the National Gallery and the V and A, Tate made the case for being the logical buyer, as the 'the home of British art' (Tate, 2013) and having existing holdings of forty-seven of Constable's landscapes. Tate stated that the sale of the painting on the open market and its possible export would represent a loss to gallery goers.

---

<sup>88</sup> The summary NHMF and HLF Board minutes are an edited version of the record of the monthly meetings and are available on the HLF website for 12 months after the date of the meeting and then via a Freedom of Information request.

<sup>89</sup> The owners of high value artworks approach public galleries to arrange loans as this relieves the owner of the need to insure the picture and can have tax advantages. Galleries are very selective about what they will accept on loan.

<sup>90</sup> Artist's sale 1838 where bought by Ellis; William Taunton by 1843; Christie's, May 1846 where bought in; Christie's May 1849 where bought by R Ought; Samuel Ashton 1850, bought from Agnew; by descent to present owner; Tate 2013 (Art Fund 2013b)





Figure 9: *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*, (1831) John Constable

(Source: Tate Gallery, London)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by Tate Images/Digital Image © Tate, London 2014

This application was considered by the NHMF board on 23 April 2013. A grant of £15.8m, representing 65% of the eligible costs, was awarded for the support of the *Aspire* project, which had a total cost of £24,273,000 (NHMF, 2013a, p.5). The summary minutes of the meeting describe the work and record the decision as follows:

Tate Britain sought funding to acquire *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* by John Constable (1776 – 1837), one of the most celebrated British landscape painters. Constable's vision and representation of his native countryside had become bound up with the national identity and this painting was considered to be a masterpiece. Tate would own and be responsible for the painting which would be shared in perpetuity

with four partners: National Galleries of Scotland, National Museum Wales, Salisbury Museum and Colchester and Ipswich Museums. An associated activity programme *Aspire* would establish a national network for Constable studies.

The Board agreed that the acquisition was a high priority for support (NHMF, 2013a p.5).

Tate's request for funds for the purchase of the painting was wrapped into a project entitled *Aspire* (Tate, n.d.a). The costs presented in the HLF application included both a contribution to the acquisition of the painting and the engagement programme for the identified partners, giving them privileged access to the work. Each partner's plans for presenting the painting in a different context were outlined in press releases announcing the purchase (Tate, 2013). They included exploring Constable's relationships with other landscape artists and were supported by a network offering academic research opportunities and public education activities looking at both art history and sense of place. When the application was presented at the board meeting, while I was not present for the discussion due to a conflict of interest, I recall that I was out of the board room for only a short amount of time. As the minutes record, it was the only Second Round application considered at the meeting and was therefore not in competition with any other bids to that element of the budget on the day (NHMF, 2013a, p.5).

National Galleries Scotland and National Museums Wales displayed the painting with the work of other major landscape artists such as William McTaggart, Richard Wilson and J.W.M. Turner. The Salisbury Museum, which was chosen as a partner because of the painting's subject matter and the time Constable spent in the city, presented the work as the centrepiece of an exhibition exploring the depiction of the cathedral over five centuries. Ipswich and Colchester Museums, the fourth member of the partnership, were selected because of their significant holdings of Constable's work and the artist's relationship with

Suffolk. All the plans for sharing the work appear to be aimed at an existing gallery audience, focusing on the historic and aesthetic value of this major work by a well-known British artist.

Tate presented the *Aspire* model as a different way of sharing its collection. The purpose of a network focused on Constable was described as raising the profile of the artist and of historic painting to ensure their continued relevance (Tate, n.d.a.). This new partnership, albeit with a traditional art historical approach, sits within a range of national partnerships that Tate has developed with other galleries in the UK that encourage new and innovative practice, such as Plus Tate, the Great Art Debate and Artist Rooms (Tate n.d.b.). These programmes offered enhanced access to Tate collections and expertise, networking opportunities and other support, under the umbrella of Tate National. This section of Tate embraced all of the gallery's activity out of London including Tate Liverpool and Tate St Ives. The networks presented a powerful model of collaboration and connection across the UK by this national gallery, while also asserting Tate's leadership of the art galleries sector in the UK.

The provenance of the painting and its historical and aesthetic importance were not at issue during the grant making and fundraising process. One of a series of monumental 'six-footer' canvases, even Constable himself was proud of the picture: 'I have done wonders with my great Salisbury... I have no doubt of this picture being my best now...' (cited in Tate, 2013). This was the scale he reserved for his finest compositions and the paintings with which he wished to make a great impact in the crowded hang of the Royal Academy exhibitions. The painting was described by Tate as 'the most visually spectacular of all the "six footers", the most loaded in meaning' (Cheshire, 2013) as it depicted the cathedral under a cloud, a metaphor for the difficulties that the Church of England was experiencing at that time.

The picture appears to have had a smooth journey from its previous owner to Tate's collections. The Private Treaty sale saved the work from the art market. The Art Fund provided a grant of £1m, which included a contribution from the Wolfson Foundation. The

charity's role in constructing the fundraising package was low profile, as there was no public appeal for the work. Tate also secured a major donation from the Manton Foundation towards the purchase which, through its founder Sir Edwin Manton, had long standing connections both with Tate and Constable (Telegraph, 2005).

The emphasis on the national importance of the work, in the press and public announcements about the acquisition, may have also been prompted by the scale of the award. The largest HLF grant ever given for a painting to date (HLF, 2013c), the decision appears to have attracted no negative press coverage (Hamilton, 2013; Vincent, 2013). This positive attitude to the purchase maybe attributable to the skills of the marketing and PR staff at Tate and the Art Fund and lessons learned by the HLF from the debates around the grant for the *Madonna of the Pinks* in 2003 (Rees Leahy 2007). Unlike the Churchill Papers grant in 1995, the stewardship of this heritage item, following its long-term loan to a public collection and the enrichment of a member of the House of Lords, the Lord Ashton of Hyde, through the sale, were not raised in any of the press coverage about the acquisition or the HLF grant towards it.

The price of the picture could be presented as relatively good value for money. While it had a sale price of £33.1m, with tax concessions, the owners, through the London fine art agents Robert Holden Ltd, had offered the picture to Tate for £23.1m (Tate, 2013). Had the picture gone on to the market it was estimated that it would have sold for about £50m. If there had been an international buyer, Tate would have had to try to match this market price during the export deferral process, to prevent its export. Furthermore, had it been bought by a private buyer, who intended to keep it in the UK, it may have been lost from public view after thirty years on free-to-access display.

When the sale was agreed, Tate announced on their website 'Constable masterpiece saved for British public' (Cheshire, 2013). Quotes from both Tate and the HLF, which were included in

this press release, emphasise the saving of the work from loss through export and constructed a narrative linked to national identity to defend its purchase. ‘Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows is one of the great masterpieces of British art. I am extremely grateful to the owners who have worked with us while we have raised the funds to ensure the painting remains in the UK’, said Sir Nicholas Serota, Director of Tate. While Dame Jenny Abramsky, Chair of the HLF stated ‘It is unimaginable that this particular painting might have ended up anywhere other than in a UK public collection’ (HLF, 2013c). The ‘Britishness’ of the picture was highlighted by Stephen Deuchar, the Director of the Art Fund and previously the Director of Tate Britain, in the charity’s press release about the acquisition: ‘Constable’s Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows is a British icon’ (Art Fund 2013b). These sentiments appear aligned with NHMF’s concerns to save national treasures, rather than the more instrumental values of the HLF. The contribution of lottery players to creating the funds for the HLF grant was not mentioned.

I visited the Salisbury Museum in September 2016, to see how Constable’s painting was being presented in the city. The museum is located in an historic property, The King’s House in the Cathedral Close. Most of the rooms in the building are domestic in scale. There is an £8 charge for entry, but the ticket is valid for 12 months. The Constable exhibition entitled *Constable in Context: Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows in perspective*, took place at Salisbury Museum September 2016 – March 2017. At the site, the exhibition was well promoted with banners outside the building. The museum’s Director stated that ‘At Salisbury Museum the opportunity to see the painting and then ‘step out into the canvas’ will be an unforgettable experience.’ (Salisbury Museum, 2016b).



The SALISBURY  
**MUSEUM**

[www.salisburymuseum.org.uk](http://www.salisburymuseum.org.uk)

As John Constable's epic painting *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows*, 1831 returns to Salisbury, we are proud to present.

**Big Draw**  
October Half Term  
Talkaoke:  
**The Sky's the Limit!**

**Tuesday 25 October**  
10am-12.30pm  
and 1.30pm-4pm

Talkaoke -  
Pop-up chat show  
Create your own Constable Sky  
Storytelling  
Museum Trail

Activities are suitable for all ages

**Constable's Country**  
**Under Fives Friday**  
with **Suzie Gutteridge**  
Arty fun for little ones!

**Friday 14 October**  
10am-11.30am  
Suitable for 2-5 year olds  
Babies welcome

Normal admission charges apply  
All Museum tickets are valid for 1 year  
£8 Adults, £4 Children

The Salisbury Museum is an independent charity 289850

*Aspire*

heritage lottery fund  
LOTTERY FUNDED

Art Fund

Detail from *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* 1831  
John Constable (1776-1837)  
© Tate, London 2013

Purchased with assistance from the Heritage Lottery Fund, The Manton Foundation, Art Fund (with a contribution from the Wolfson Foundation) and Tate Members.

Figure 10: Flyer from Salisbury Museum illustrating Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadow (1831) John Constable oil on canvas and promoting the exhibition

(Source: The Salisbury Museum)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by ©Salisbury Museum



The presentation of the work, as the centrepiece of an exhibition of images of the cathedral, seemed appropriate to this museum of local history, and celebrated art works from four centuries that had been inspired by the building. The exhibition was accommodated in a range of rooms that were scattered through the permanent displays. Beginning with some of the earliest depictions of the cathedral in engravings by Wenceslas Holler (1607-1677) the show ended with modern representations of the cathedral by Denis Creffield (b.1931) and Leon Kossof (b.1926). Examples of the building's use on posters to both advertise railway excursions and to promote Second World War propaganda demonstrated the ways that the symbolism of the building had been appropriated for a range of cultural and political uses.

The Constable painting was presented in the largest exhibition room and fixed to a false wall which had two CCTV cameras focused on the work and the visitors. Hung low, it had considerable presence, filling the wall of this relatively small space. Next to the work was an interactive encouraging the visitor to look more closely at the detail of the work. Offering information in Welsh and English, this device had been made to cater for every venue on the UK tour. Other items in the same room were a scale model of the cathedral and engravings made by David Lucas (1802-1881) at the time the painting was first shown, to distribute and popularise the image. The gallery was not very busy, but an invigilator was present in the room at all times. This person was a volunteer and was very enthusiastic about the exhibition. Public events organised during the exhibition included walks to the Meadows, the painting's location, and *Rainbow* a photographic competition (Salisbury Museum, 2016b) (Figure 10).

The *Aspire* pages on the Tate website define the national network for Constable studies as the partnership between the tour venues, their display of the painting either in the context of their collections or the location and the related public activity programme and describe the



project as ‘groundbreaking’ (Tate, n.d.a).<sup>91</sup> The web pages offer some resources for visitors and schools, but there was no link to the promised new academic research. This has been carried out by a Tate curator, the Dean of the Cathedral and academics from Oxford, Birmingham and Nottingham Universities but is located in the *In Focus* section of the Tate’s website and is described as being prompted by the acquisition rather than commissioned via the *Aspire* partnership (Concannon, 2017).

### **Case study 2: Sir Anthony Van Dyck: Acquiring and sharing his last Self Portrait**

The NPG’s successful HLF application in 2014 was the conclusion of a lengthy complex negotiation over the purchase of a previously unseen work for a national collection. This contrasts with the Tate example, which focused on keeping a well-known work on public view. Entangled in the art market for over five years, the value of this Van Dyck painting fluctuated and the status of the picture as national heritage and as heritage at risk was challenged by the NHMF and then confirmed by the RCEWA and the HLF. Van Dyck’s last self-portrait, which was painted in Britain in about 1640, had been owned by the same family for over three hundred years and only exhibited in public on two occasions. Despite its lack of long-term presence in a public cultural institution, the impact of the work of Van Dyck on British portrait painting and his relationship with King Charles I were highlighted by the NPG as significant factors in establishing this relatively unknown portrait’s intrinsic importance to the country’s heritage (MacLeod, 2015).

This painting had a long and complex journey from its private owner to a national collection and was the subject of both a failed NHMF application and a successful HLF one, demonstrating the funders’ different responses to the changing status of the work. The

---

<sup>91</sup> The painting which was shown at National Museum Cardiff (March-September 2014), Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich (February 2015- January 2016), Oriel y Parc, St David’s in the summer of 2016 and the Salisbury Museum (September 2016-March 2017) and following its display at the National Gallery of Scotland until March 2018 it returned to Tate Britain.

analysis of the applications for funding to secure the acquisition of the picture demonstrates the differences and similarities of the NHMF's and the HLF's funding policies, when applied to the same painting, the range of expert opinion about the picture that was expressed at different points in the process, the complexity and subjectivity of art market pricing, and the operation of the export licensing system. Some of the matching funding for the picture was raised through a joint NPG and Art Fund appeal, which tested and demonstrated its significance for the public.

The oval Van Dyck *Self Portrait*, (Figure 11) set in a magnificent frame, is an arresting image. The finely painted face of the artist stares out of the picture. He appears to be turning away from his canvas to look at the viewer. The artist's clothing is much more loosely painted than the face. Opinions on the reasons for this difference in style range from the idea that this part of this picture was the work of another hand (Sewell, 2013), to them being a visual reference by the artist to the act of painting (MacLeod, 2015, p.22). In 2009, the painting was loaned by the then owner, the Earl of Jersey, to the Tate Britain exhibition, *Van Dyck and Britain* (Hearn, 2009). This was only the second time the picture had been seen in public, the first being the National Portrait Gallery exhibition *Van Dyck in England* in 1982 (Millar, 1982). After the 2009 exhibition, it was sent to auction, entering the market following its presentation in a prestige exhibition at a national museum.<sup>92</sup> With a reserve price in the auction catalogue of £2-3m (artsy, n.d.), it was purchased from the Sotheby's sale, by Philip Mould, the art dealer, in partnership with Alfred Bader, the dealer and collector, for £8.5m (Nairne, 2016).

---

<sup>92</sup> Acquired by Lord Newport, 1682; Richard Graham; acquired by Francis Child, 1712; by descent to Robert Child; by descent to Lady Sarah Sophia Fane; by descent in the collection of the Earls of Jersey; Jersey Trustees; Sotheby's, 2009;



*Figure 11: Self Portrait (c.1640) Van Dyck*

(Source: National Portrait Gallery)

*Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by © National Portrait Gallery, London.*

Mould and Bader offered the painting to the NPG and Tate for £10 million (actual cost £9.3m after discount) (Nairne, 2016). The two galleries jointly approached the NHMF for £5.5m in April 2010, having identified matching funds from their own budgets, the Art Fund and other potential sources. The summary minutes of the NHMF/HLF board meeting that considered the request for NHMF funds are as follows:

The National Portrait Gallery and Tate sought a grant of £5,500,000 (59% of eligible costs) to acquire, in equal shares, a self-portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck. The self-portrait, painted around 1640, was one of only three Van Dyck self-portraits known to have been completed whilst he was working in England in the service of Charles I.

The Board recognised the portrait's importance, quality and beauty. They observed, however, that an award of £5,500,000 would use up nearly all the NHMF budget for 2010-11. An award of a lesser amount would not enable the acquisition to proceed: the applicants had stated that the full amount requested was needed and confirmed that NHMF was being approached as a fund of last resort. In view of these considerations, the application was rejected on the grounds of insufficient funds' (NHMF 2010, p.3).

These minutes do not record the views presented by the expert assessors drawn from both the art market and the museum sector, who were engaged by NHMF to review the picture. According to Sandy Nairne, then Director of the NPG, and my own memory of the application, expert opinions were varied with regard to the painting's quality, condition and price. In the context of the NHMF's criteria, there were concerns about the mixed painting styles within the work and the relatively high price. It was also argued by the NHMF assessors that as there are sixty-eight examples of the artist's work already in public collections, including twenty-nine which are portraits, that the acquisition of the work was not a priority.

As the painting had been privately owned for the past four hundred years, one of the challenges for the NPG was to establish its status as heritage at risk, given the painting was not well known to the public. Would its possible sale to a private buyer, should the NPG and Tate have failed to acquire the work, represent a genuine loss to the heritage of the nation, if it had only been displayed in public twice? Although these points were made in the expert advice presented to the board, debated at the meeting and fed back to the applicant as reasons why the painting was not funded by the NHMF (Nairne, 2016), they were not recorded in the publicly available summary version of the minutes.

The picture remained with Mould and Bader until September 2013, when it was sold to a buyer who wanted to take it to the USA. The buyer made an export licence application to RCEWA and the price for the painting, shown on the export licence application, was £12.5m (DCMS, 2014, p.36), representing an increase in value of £3.2m in three years. Despite earlier misgivings about the painting expressed by some of those consulted about the NHMF application, the RCEWA's advice from the Director of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery stated that 'this self-portrait was one of the finest intimate works from the artist's time in this country and was a profoundly impressive demonstration of the artist's ability to combine character and confidence' (DCMS 2014, p.36). This expert adviser believed that the work met the first two Waverley criteria, 'on the grounds that it was so closely connected with our history and national life, that its departure would be a misfortune, and that it was of outstanding aesthetic importance'.

The RCEWA decided that it met all three criteria, adding that 'it was of outstanding significance for the study of seventeenth century painting and in particular the portraiture of Sir Anthony van Dyck' (DCMS, 2014, p.36). The applicant offered no case against the deferral of the export licence. The export licence was deferred initially for three months. This was later extended to six months. With the export licence deferral in place and, as a

consequence, the picture's at-risk status confirmed, the NPG sought to acquire the portrait once again, and as part of its fund-raising strategy approached the HLF as a sole applicant. The NPG had until 20 July 2014 to raise £12.5m and prevent the picture's export. The NPG's application to the HLF via the fast track process was considered in April 2014.

The publicity surrounding the public appeal and NPG's plans to acquire the work was generally positive, but the acquisition was not without controversy. As Rees Leahy observes: 'High profile and contentious art acquisitions...invariably produce rhetorical deadlock between their protagonists and critics' (2009, p.138).

While Andrew Roberts in *The Spectator* stated, 'We'd be Philistines to let it leave the country' (30 Nov 2013, p.26), Brian Sewell, the art critic for the *Evening Standard* used the rapid increase in price to ask, 'Why should we save Van Dyck's selfie'. He criticised the export licence process as a means of inflating the market and, like some of the original NHMF advisers, queried the quality and authenticity of the picture. 'Is it possible that Van Dyck painted no more than his face and rather shorter hair, and left posterity an unfinished portrait, to be completed by another painter?' (Sewell, 2013).

In conversation with the author, Sandy Nairne (2016), the former director of the National Portrait Gallery, compared the NPG's approaches to the NHMF and the HLF for funding for the Van Dyck *Self Portrait* from an applicant's perspective. His observations revealed the NPG's interpretation of the different attitudes to heritage represented by the two funding bodies in action. From his perspective, the NPG's NHMF application for £5.5m, towards a sale price of £9.3m, was focused on the work's intrinsic importance, its artistic quality and its art historical significance and its contribution to both the Tate and NPG's collections. In contrast, the request to the HLF by the NPG for £6.3m towards a £12.5m price, was constructed as a major project that included a national tour and formed part of a high-profile public fundraising campaign with the Art Fund. The HLF proposal took a far more instrumental view than the NHMF and detailed proposals for engagement with national



audiences including the display of the painting at galleries all over the UK, as the centre of bespoke exhibitions on the theme of portraiture (Nairne, 2016).

The Art Fund's role in this acquisition was also key and was used as evidence in the HLF application of public support for the painting. Prior to the decision on the HLF grant for the work, a joint Art Fund and NPG Van Dyck *Self Portrait* public appeal with a dedicated website ([www.savevandyck.org](http://www.savevandyck.org)) was announced on 25 Nov 2013. This initiative was presented by the Art Fund as 'giving us the opportunity to raise the funds needed to keep it in the UK, in a public collection, so that everyone can enjoy it' (Art Fund 2013a). In the video that accompanied the campaign (Art Fund 2014c), Sandy Nairne emphasised the painting's intrinsic value, as the only one of three self-portraits of Van Dyck likely to come on the market and the last self-portrait that he painted before his death, 'using the language of connoisseurship to justify the expenditure of public money on art purchases' (Rees Leahy, 2009, p.138). Nairne's narrative highlights the picture's importance to the collection, as it would be joining the distinguished collection of artists' self-portraits owned by the NPG. Running alongside this serious art historical presentation about its historic and aesthetic value, was an energetic, populist thematic strand to the fundraising campaign, which presented the painting as the ultimate selfie.<sup>93</sup>

The selfie idea was promoted via a social media campaign encouraging everyone to participate in an online project by submitting their own selfies pasted into the elaborate Van Dyck frame, thus raising awareness of the appeal and encouraging donations. This creative approach to the public fundraising campaign, defining the importance of the Van Dyck in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in both an art historical and digital context, reveals 'the mixed economy of cultural management, that accommodates connoisseurship and populism, exclusivity and diversity, incongruity and contradiction' that Rees Leahy identified in her study of Raphael's

---

<sup>93</sup> Selfies are self portraits that are made with a mobile phone



*Madonna of the Pinks*, (2007, p.699). There is a marked similarity between these two awards as the imagery of the Raphael, which was acquired by the National Gallery with an HLF grant of £11.5m towards a total cost of £22m in 2004, (Rees Leahy, 2007, p.709) was taken out of its religious context and the artist's depiction of a mother and child used to connect with young mothers during its tour across the UK. The HLF can therefore be seen as the catalyst for the instrumentalisation and commodification of both the Raphael and the Van Dyck in the name of meeting the HLF's grant criteria and securing matching funds. However, these different interpretations of these pictures can also be presented as attempts to broaden the appeal and relevance of the two works and justify the public funding of their purchase.

In March 2014 the export licence application for the Van Dyck was withdrawn. It was recorded by the RCEWA that 'the potential purchaser who had contracted to buy the painting for £12,500,000 had informed the vendor that they were no longer prepared to complete the purchase' (DCMS, 2014, p.36). The picture was then offered to the NPG for £10m, £2.5m less than the private purchaser had intended to pay (Art Fund 2014b). This fluctuation in price over a matter of months, reflects the unstable nature of the art market that these publicly accountable institutions have to work with. As Velthuis comments, 'Whereas art works are unique and incommensurable objects, market exchange and monetary requirement reduce their unique value to mere numbers' (2007, p.25). This lowering of price had been accomplished through behind the scenes negotiations and special pleading by both NPG and the Art Fund (Nairne, 2016) and demonstrates the observation by Philip Hook of Sotheby's that art is 'of no definable value. It becomes worth what you can persuade somebody to pay for it' (2014, p.288) or conversely what you can persuade someone to sell it to you for.

The evidence of national support created by the public appeal, while relatively small in scale in terms of the population as a whole, was highlighted in the application to the HLF using a

map of all the geographical locations of those that donated and agreed to give their details. It showed a national spread of donations across the whole country, justifying the proposed national tour of the painting and the NPG's request for national funding.<sup>94</sup> I recall that this information was presented to great effect at the board meeting, when the grant was decided. The figure of 10,000 individual donors having given to the 2014 appeal was constructed from a careful calculation of a combination of donations made in the gallery donation boxes and online donations made via the website or through the Art Fund (Nairne, 2016). Clear proof of public interest across the UK, albeit at a modest financial level, was important in the presentation to the HLF, which at the time, like ACE, was reflecting on its scale of investment in London following the findings of the GPS culture report, *Rebalancing Cultural Capital* (Gordon et al, 2013). The findings of this report, which had been published in October 2013, included widely publicised claims of a significant bias towards London-based lottery spending and that by their calculations, while only 32% of London households played the lottery, 39% of all lottery spend was made in the capital.<sup>95</sup>

As Stephen Deuchar explained, 'during the campaign to raise money for the Van Dyck self-portrait in 2013-14, the possibility of HLF funding on the one hand, and the potential of a public appeal on the other, were mutually reinforcing: the public was incentivised to donate by hearing (from the Art Fund) that the extent of their giving could encourage commensurate generosity from the HLF (the April grant decision came at the end of the campaign), and the NHMF/HLF trustees were, in the event, reassured by the enthusiastic public response that any grant from them would be in synch with wider public opinion' (Deuchar, 2015). The charity was therefore able to offer its members and other interested parties active participation in saving an artwork.

---

<sup>94</sup> Tour venues: Margate, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Edinburgh and London

<sup>95</sup> *GPS Culture* comprising Christopher Gordon, David Powell and Peter Stark, three veterans of the UK arts funding system, produced this controversial and contested report using their own resources.

At the board meeting in April 2014, there were only two Second Round applications: the National Army Museum's capital project and the Van Dyck. Both applications were funded. The summary minutes of the NHMF/HLF board meeting (NHMF, 2014c, p.3) do not record any of the efforts that the NPG had made to broaden the picture's appeal through its link to the selfie, nor do they recognise the national fundraising efforts. From the minutes it appears that the decision hinged on the status of the painting, the export bar and the proposed national tour:

The National Portrait Gallery sought funding to acquire Sir Anthony Van Dyck's self-portrait - of about 1641 - and deliver associated interpretation and learning and participation opportunities. The internationally important portrait had been export stopped due to its outstanding importance and significance to British art. The application had been accepted as a fast track application because the export bar would be lifted in July 2014. A three-year touring programme would be delivered in six museums and art galleries across the UK.

The Board awarded a grant of £6,343,500 (61% of eligible costs).

Deuchar commented when the Van Dyck was purchased: 'Art lovers and museum goers around the country are the real heroes of the hour, helping to unlock the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund and other major donors' (Art Fund 2014b). The contribution of lottery players was not mentioned in the announcement of the grant, despite their stakes having contributed the largest sum.

For the NPG, the appeal was remarkable in its success, securing sixteen major donations from individuals, trusts and foundations alongside contributions from the public (MacLeod 2015, p.6), a demonstration of the standing and connections of the gallery as much as the importance of the painting. Nairne (2016) noted that the John Donne portrait, bought through a Private Treaty sale and supported by the NHMF and the Art Fund in 2006, had

only attracted 700 people to make a donation. This apparent change of behaviour by the public could be interpreted as evidence of the growing power of social media campaigns and on-line fundraising techniques or perhaps it showed a different attitude on the part of the museum visitor in the 'Age of Austerity' atmosphere of the 2010s. The Secretary of State for Culture Media and Sport commented on the public funding raised: 'I was particularly touched by the £1.44 million raised by individuals, demonstrating that the generosity of the British public is seen at its finest when iconic national treasures are at risk of being lost' (DCMS, 2014, p.5).

Looking across the NPG's approaches to NHMF and HLF, the original application to NHMF, purely for the purchase, was for £5.5m, while the successful application for the project to HLF, which included the purchase of the picture, was awarded £6.3m. This was £200k less than the original request to the lottery distributor of £6.5m (NHMF, 2014c, p.3). This final lower figure was the result of the success of the appeal and other fundraising activity. The national tour of the painting added another element of public value to the HLF grant, but in the end acquiring the picture via the HLF route cost the nation an extra £800k. However, despite the price increase, this can be seen as a successful heritage outcome in terms of preservation and public access. The picture was saved from export and came into a public collection where it would be cared for, researched, conserved and made available to the public. With Art Fund and HLF support, it was toured around the country, enabling many more people to see it in towns and cities in England and Scotland.


I viewed the painting on two occasions. The first time was at the NPG, prior to its purchase, when it was still a 'heritage cause', with a collection box in front of it. The second was when I visited the exhibition centred on the Van Dyck at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery *Turning to See* in June 2016. Here the painting was the centre of an exhibition of portraits and life drawings drawn from both Birmingham and the NPG's collections, selected by the Midlands-born conceptual artist John Stezaker, with the support of four curatorial advisers


from the two galleries. He used the picture as a starting point for an exploration of portraiture which he defined in the exhibition leaflet as ‘investing dead matter with living presence’, asserting that ‘work comes alive when the artist turns away from the task’ (Birmingham Museums 2016a).


A number of complex themes informed his choice of work, including mythological tales of transformation such as Orpheus and Eurydice and the use of the mirror and reflection in portraiture, as implied by the Van Dyck composition and literally used in Helen Chadwick’s work *Vanity* (1986), which was included in the display. The concept of portraits as masks was also explored in this modest exhibition of 32 mainly small-scale portrait works, many of them by major artists such as Burne Jones, Bomberg, Auerbach and Freud and including some of Stezaker’s own collage portraits made from found images which are sliced up and overlaid to make new faces.

While the exhibition was well publicised on the gallery’s website, buried in the centre of the building in Gallery 15 and poorly signposted, this did not seem to be a major show for Birmingham. This exhibition felt low key and offered a serious, academic, thematic, art historical display on the genre of portraiture, influenced by Stezaker’s artistic perspective and interests. The Van Dyck was prominently featured in the publicity, but for me the show included the Van Dyck rather than centred on it (Figure 12). The display had none of the innovative playfulness of the selfie campaign and felt like a missed opportunity to take forward the inclusive approach of the NPG and thus realise the HLF’s aim that ‘more people and a wider range of people will be engaged with heritage’ (HLF, 2015e).



 MUSEUM & ART GALLERY  
BIRMINGHAM





**TURNING TO SEE**  
FROM VAN DYCK TO LUCIAN FREUD  
Curated by John Stezaker  
28 MAY – 4 SEPT 2016 • FREE ENTRY

Acquired for the nation in 2014, Sir Anthony van Dyck's last self-portrait takes centre stage in this striking exhibition exploring the concepts of physical and metaphorical turning in portraiture.

This is the first ever exhibition curated by West Midlands born and internationally renowned artist, John Stezaker, who takes Van Dyck's dramatic turned pose as his starting point to create a spectacle of turning in the gallery.

From Rembrandt to Picasso, *Turning to See* showcases major loans from the National Portrait Gallery alongside highlights from Birmingham's collection and new work by Stezaker.


[birminghammuseums.org.uk](http://birminghammuseums.org.uk)  Birmingham Museums

Figure 12: Flyer for *Turning to See*, an exhibition at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

(Source: Birmingham Art Gallery)  
Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by © National Portrait Gallery, London and Birmingham Museums

### Case study 3: Wedgwood Museum Collection

The Wedgwood Collection is on display in a dedicated museum on the Wedgwood factory site. It is part of Staffordshire's social and industrial heritage. The ceramics company is both a household name and a local employer. The collection became at risk as a consequence of its forced sale by the Pensions Protection Fund, a statutory industry body set up by the government to compensate individual pensioners in the event of a company insolvency.<sup>96</sup> This collection of over 80,000 items, is 'one of the most important industrial collections in the world and a unique record of over 250 years of British ceramic production' (World of Wedgwood, n.d.). It was threatened with removal from the HLF-funded Wedgwood Museum in Barlaston and dispersal through sale at auction. Its archive is recognised by UNESCO through inscription into their UK Memory of the World Register (UNESCO, n.d.). 8000 ceramic samples and fine art works by Stubbs and other leading artists of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are also held within the collection.

The saving of the Wedgwood Collection demonstrates the HLF's role in the acquisition of a heritage asset held within a complex international corporate environment, not as in the two previous examples, an aristocrat's estate. The collection also has a different heritage character to the paintings considered above, and a stronger industrial and design history dimension and communal heritage value. The company, despite its current international ownership, still continues to employ local people to produce some hand-finished pottery in Barlaston. This acquisition demonstrates the brokering role of the Art Fund and presents a new development for the charity in its relationship with the HLF, as it was involved in

---

<sup>96</sup> Until 2014, the Wedgwood collection was the major asset of the Wedgwood Museum Trust, which inherited £134m of pension debt as a result of the UK subsidiary of Waterford Wedgwood Plc going into administration in 2009. The debt transferred from the company to the Trust because the two had been linked through a shared pension fund. Although the PPF, absorbed the pension liability, it had a duty to claw back as much as it could from the sale of assets and one of these was the museum collection (Art Fund, 2014d).



campaigning to save the collection and then took the lead in making the HLF application. It managed the overall fundraising to save this collection from sale and dispersal and then safeguarded its future by facilitating the transfer of its ownership to a national museum.

While this was the first time that the Art Fund had made a direct approach to the HLF, there have been other examples of the charity acting as the purchaser, then donating the work to a national museum, such as the Rokeby Venus entering the National Gallery's collection in 1905 (Pezzini, 2016, p.358). For the HLF and the Art Fund, the Wedgwood application had another dimension, as the collection was and is still housed in an HLF funded, purpose-built Wedgwood Museum in Barlaston (BBC, 2004), (Figure 13) which was awarded Art Fund Museum of the Year prize in 2009. If the collection had been sold, the museum would have closed. The events that led to the saving of the Wedgwood Collection show how money from HLF and others, alongside political support, were mobilised by the Art Fund to save Wedgwood's history and heritage from dispersal and loss.

The negotiations about the fate of the collection lasted for four years. Questions were asked about its future in the House of Lords in 2010 (BBC, 2010a). In December 2011, the High Court ruled that the Wedgwood Collection was an asset of the Wedgwood Museum Trust and that it should be sold in order to repay some of the debt owed. This decision was challenged, but in March 2012, the Attorney General upheld this ruling (Wedgwood Museum, n.d.). The public appeal led by the Art Fund to buy the collection in its entirety and save it from dispersal began on 1 September 2014. Championed by the local MP for Stoke on Trent, Tristram Hunt, who had previously been an NHMF /HLF trustee, the plight of the collection also



*Figure 13: The interior of the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston.*

(Source: Photograph by the author)

received attention from the Minister for Culture, Ed Vaizey (BBC 2010a) and other high-profile people associated with ceramics such as Eric Knowles from the Antiques Road Show (BBC, 2011b).

A grant of £5m was given to the Art Fund by HLF towards the £15.75m required for the funding package. Unusually, the fast track award was made in principle in July 2014 (NHMF, 2014a, p.4), two months before the public appeal was announced in the September, strengthening the message that the public's role in this instance was to bridge the final funding gap. The grant was then confirmed, in the light of the outcome of the Art Fund's fundraising appeal, in November 2014. The amount was also notionally increased by a board

decision not to claw back the previous grant of £5.8m for the 2004 museum redevelopment. This sum would have been due to the HLF as a repayment of the capital grant, had the Wedgwood Museum closed, and could therefore be counted in the calculations of funds secured (Art Fund, 2014d).

The published summary of the minutes of the NHMF/HLF board decisions gave no insight into the length and complexity of the negotiations around the saving of the collection, the success of the public appeal, or the role of the Art Fund, nor did it record the decision not to claw back the previous grant of £5.8m (NHMF, 2014e, p.9)

The National Art Collection Fund (The Art Fund) sought funding towards the acquisition of the Wedgwood collection and to provide the collection with a sustainable future at its current home at the Wedgwood Museum in Barlaston, Staffordshire. This internationally important collection of ceramics, fine art, personal and company documents, pattern books and mechanical objects told the story of Britain's industrial revolution to the present day. It represented the best documented single factory collection in the world and included paintings from internationally renowned painters such as George Stubbs. The Wedgwood Museum was an award winning HLF funded museum.

The Board awarded a grant of £5,000,000 (32% of total eligible delivery costs).

The deadline for purchase by the Art Fund was 30 November 2014. Had the money not been raised, the collection would have been sold in separate lots at Christie's and dispersed. In anticipation of the sale the collection had been valued and catalogued by the auction house and this supported the calculation of the cost of the acquisition for the HLF grant application.

The Art Fund chose to lead this application and launch a public appeal in partnership with a private charitable trust that matched all the public donations pound for pound. It was estimated that 9000 people gave an average of £80 each, with 60% of the individual donations coming from Art Fund members. £2.74m was raised in just one month. Major contributions from companies with local links such as JCB, which gave £100k and the £250k donation from the charitable foundation linked to the bookmakers Bet 365 (BBC, 2014; Art Fund, 2014d) reveal the local and popular engagement with this appeal. Press coverage included quotes from current or past Wedgwood workers expressing concerns, ‘I just want it [the museum collection] to have a good owner’ (BBC, 2012). On completing the sale, the Art Fund gave the collection to the V and A, in order to safeguard its future in a national museum. The museum then loaned it back to the Wedgwood Museum Trust.

Once the collection had been saved by the Art Fund and its future secured through the V and A’s ownership, the Fiskars Group, the company that now owns the Wedgwood brand and operates the Barlaston production site where the museum is located, announced a £34m refurbishment programme, supported by the government’s Regional Growth Fund. This investment created the World of Wedgwood and included another redevelopment of the museum which is located within the complex (Sullivan, 2015). This new direction demonstrated the instrumental role of the collection as both a source of local heritage and pride, and its status as a key part of the global Wedgwood brand and the tourist economy of the area.

I visited the World of Wedgwood in June 2016. The factory and the museum are now combined into one building, joined together by a new extension. The landscaped grounds and large car park lead to a central entrance staffed by receptionists in smart corporate outfits collecting admission charges and offering visitors a self-directed factory tour and/or a museum visit. The factory tour, with bi-lingual signs, in both English and Japanese, prohibiting photography, offers a high-level view of the automated manufacturing process of

the early stages of manufacture by mainly male operatives, from raw clay to the first firing. The second stage of the tour allows visitors on to the factory floor, to walk past the decorators. Mainly female, these workers apply surface decorations of clay, print and paint on to the most expensive ranges of Wedgwood porcelain, which are the ranges produced on site by the small skilled workforce. Throughout this part of the visit a bell tolled. At the end of the tour I discovered that the 'bell' is the noise of a man striking each plate with a wooden stick to check that it is sound, something that must have happened in the factory since the day production began.

Much of the mass production of Wedgwood is now done abroad. The small number of workers at the factory are almost part of the museum collection, retained in Barlaston to sustain the connection with the ceramics heritage of the area and emphasise high quality British craft production and consequently encourage sales in the flagship shop adjacent to the factory. At the end of the factory tour there is an opportunity for visitors to get their hands dirty and throw a pot on a wheel, with some assistance. This communicated to visitors in a direct way the manual skill required to make fine porcelain goods.

The museum next door has no staff to welcome or interact with visitors. Instead an 'Icon guide' to the displays is given out with every entry ticket. It highlights 36 objects from the vast collection that are on exhibition and each one is described in one or two sentences. There are interactives and some audio and video interpretation. Everything is cased and much of it appears to be fixed, with little facility for temporary or changing exhibitions. I got no sense that this was a living and breathing institution that expected to encourage repeat visits or make meaningful connections with the local community.

The commodification of the collection and its management is evident from the offer of access to the curator through 'discovery packages' graded at bronze £35, silver £55 and gold £95 (World of Wedgwood, n.d.). With an entrance charge of £10 for the museum and no season

ticket option, the museum offer appears to be aimed at day trippers, coach parties and given the bilingual notices, Japanese tourists. Encompassing both the social and design history of the company and the personal history of Josiah Wedgwood, it is a comprehensive presentation which takes the visitor from the beginnings of the company through to the designs and products made in the present day and then leads the visitor into the museum shop. The shop has no publications about Wedgwood or postcards of the collection. All that is on sale is a small selection of jasperware and some ceramics with Eric Ravilious designs. The highly priced pottery being made in the Barlaston factory is for sale in the flagship shop, which can be accessed without visiting the factory or the museum and is located next to the Wedgwood Tea Emporium and Tea Rooms.

The site feels like a 21<sup>st</sup> century iteration of Hewison's concept of the Heritage Industry (Hewison, 1987). It is a commercial visitor experience, dedicated to 'manufacturing heritage' (Hewison, 1987, p.9). At the back of the flagship shop is an education room, managed by another smartly dressed member of staff who offers visitors the chance to design a decoration for a piece of china which can then, for a fee, be fired and glazed and sent to back to you. The Dining Hall, another building on the site which houses the café, displays images of the factory workers drawn from the archives. This is not a subject that is dwelt on in detail in the museum, which is more focused on what is produced, with an eye on sales. The Factory Shop in the complex sells discounted Wedgwood and Doulton glass and ceramics. When I was there a couple were examining every item for sale and checking where it was made. This prompted me to do the same and I found very few items that were produced on site or even in the UK. While the collection has been saved, it is hard to see how this new iteration of the heritage of Wedgwood is fulfilling the HLF criteria. I wondered if this version of the museum would secure an Art Fund Museum of the Year award today.

The success of the fundraising appeal for the collection and the, in effect, £10.8m contribution from the HLF prompted Will Gompertz, the BBC's arts correspondent, to raise the issue of the role of the individual lottery players in this project (Gompertz, 2014):

‘After a generous donation from the Heritage Lottery Fund helps save the Wedgwood Collection for the nation, isn't it time for the punters who buy tickets week in, week out to get some thanks? ... It is featured on the HLF's website, but then there's not so much as a nod towards all those millions of individual ticket buyers that made the purchase of the collection possible’.

His observation raises a pertinent question about the status of lottery players in all three acquisitions. For example, while the Wedgwood Collection is not expected to tour, Art Fund members get free entry to the museum with their National Art Pass, which comes as part of their membership package. In 2016, the Art Fund encouraged visits to Barlaston in another way, offering a two-night break in the Potteries with guest lecturers and including a visit to the Wedgwood Museum and a tour with the museum's Director (Art Fund, 2016). In contrast, players of the National Lottery were offered no preferential treatment, specific acknowledgement, or free admission from an institution that has benefitted from their stakes.

The Art Fund is dependent upon its members for its core income and regularly acknowledges their individual support; while the HLF also relies on the support of individuals, it has no direct contact with the people who provide the lottery stakes that fund the organisation. Relationships with the lottery players are managed centrally by the National Lottery Publicity Unit (NLPU) run by the lottery operator, Camelot. So, while Will Gompertz’



question is a valid one, the formal connection between HLF and lottery players, in terms of individual grants, is weak both internally and externally.<sup>97</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Looking across all three case studies, the changing and increasingly distant relationship of the Treasury to the saving of UK portable heritage is noticeable. In the 1980s, the NHMF reported to the Treasury and negotiated a number of additional grants to support specific purchases (NHMF, 1985, p.8). However, with the establishment of the Department for National Heritage in 1992, later renamed and reorganised as the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1997, the direct links of both the national museums and the NHMF with the Treasury were broken.

The National Lottery Commission, which is responsible for the national lottery is a Non-Departmental Public Body sponsored by the DCMS and the lottery distributors, such as HLF, have always sat within the DCMS, with no direct link to the Treasury. The links with Treasury were further weakened by the devolution of culture to the four national political administrations in the UK, even though lottery funding for heritage is still treated as a UK-wide issue. The consequence of these changes, the concept of the Big Society introduced by the Coalition government (BBC, 2010b) and the opportunities afforded by social media to create communities of interest (Shirky, 2009, p.301) appear to have encouraged more of a self-help mentality around the heritage cause of major acquisitions and this is underpinned by the contribution of lottery players' stakes through the HLF.

---

<sup>97</sup> Since writing this chapter, it is interesting to note that Camelot, the lottery operator, has changed its attitude to lottery players. With falling revenues and increasing competition from the Postcode lottery and the Health Lottery, the players of the National Lottery are now regularly thanked and credited in all communications (HLF n.d.c., HLF, 2017a, Figure 16). The HLF has also experimented with a week of free offers to National Lottery players at 400 heritage attractions during 11-17 December 2017 on production of a lottery ticket or scratchcard (HLF, 2017e)

This chapter has explored the complex relationship of the HLF with the commodification of fine and decorative art both in terms of its association with the transactions related to high value acquisitions and the requirements of its funding policy. The three case studies examine the issues arising when the HLF supports museums wishing to engage with private owners, who seek to realise the value of their assets. On the one hand the HLF's funds enable works to be purchased for public collections and consequently valued for their social and cultural significance, removing them from the volatile market place. On the other hand, the lottery distributor's funding guidelines require a clear demonstration of public benefit and public interest which can encourage a particular kind of heritage making, alongside evidence of other financial and in-kind support. This challenges applicants to describe and present their proposed acquisitions in emotive ways, littered with superlatives and soundbites, commodifying art as a heritage cause to be fundraised for. In order to make the case for saving these works 'for the nation' to both to HLF and in the public sphere, the presentation of the works at the application stage needs to embrace both their art historical importance and their appeal to a broad audience.

The processes and networks required to raise money to transfer works from private to public ownership highlight the interface between the unpredictable art market, the vendor and the role of the HLF as an accountable public funder. This contrasts with the position of the Art Fund, an independent charity that exists to support museums to make acquisitions. This organisation builds relationships between potential individual philanthropists and donors, trusts and foundations, to meet fundraising targets for purchases. The relationship between the HLF and the Art Fund is mutually beneficial. The success of both the Van Dyck and the Wedgwood Collection Art Fund appeals supported the potentially sensitive matter of the HLF making grants for two extremely expensive art acquisitions by demonstrating public interest in them both. However, I was surprised to see how little of the complexity surrounding the grants and their agreement was captured in the summaries of the board minutes that are available as the public record of the decision. The loss of the details of

fundraising appeals and evidence of public support for the works however modest, hides the efforts that had been made to secure these acquisitions for the nation.

In the difficult financial climate of the 2010s, regional museums welcome the prestige of the association with national museums and the attraction of works by well-known artists, offered via tours that are subsidised by the HLF and the Art Fund. The national tours of the Constable and the Van Dyck demonstrate the ambiguous status of these paintings as 'both a relic of dynastic cultural capital and as a trophy of the production of national heritage' (Rees Leahy, 2007, p,700), while the commodification of the Wedgwood Collection and its museum by its host has monetised every aspect of its presentation.

The assumption that location in a museum will provide a safe place for the works in perpetuity 'available to all and forever' (MacLeod, 2015, p.7) is challenged by the exceptional example of the Wedgwood Collection, where ownership by the museum trust, which went into administration along with its parent company, actually forced the sale of the collection by the PPF. Sales of high-profile objects from local authority public collections such as the Egyptian statue of Sekhema, which, having been in Northampton's museum, was sent to auction at Sotheby's on 9 July 2014 by the local council (Moore, 2014), now challenge the relative safety of museum collection status. As public funding for local authorities has contracted in the 2010s, as a consequence of the political ideology of the Coalition and Conservative governments, the sale of high-value items from museums' collections may become more commonplace.

The joint efforts of the Art Fund and the HLF through their funding policies have provided the resources and the encouragement for London-based museums to widen public access to these acquisitions through exhibition tours, which bring works that have been saved to the attention of interested lottery players and to the Art Fund's 122,000 existing members, while encouraging new members to join (Art Fund, 2016). This requirement to work nationally has

encouraged a different view of what it means to be a national museum and developed the meaning of the term ‘saving works for the nation’, a phrase so regularly used by the Art Fund and the HLF in the context of high-profile purchases, by creating access for regional museums and their visitors to these artworks in ways that were negotiated between the national and regional institutions.

This chapter has traced how the futures of three high profile works have been secured by their relocation into national collections, which has saved them from loss and dispersal. Taken together, £31.9m of lottery players’ stakes was spent on the three acquisitions, which had a combined value of £48.76m. This money went to the family of a member of the House of Lords, a London art dealer and his art collector business partner and the Pensions Protection Fund. The careful management of the announcements by the applicants and the funders and the role of partners in demonstrating public support for these three transactions did not attract the kind of negative attentions of press and politicians that had been experienced with the Churchill Papers announcement, which had taken place in a different political context, nor did they attract the level of contentious debate that surrounded the *Madonna of the Pinks* ‘HLF grant.

I now move on to consider the programme for urban public parks which was set up in response to accusations of elitism, prompted by the Churchill Papers grant (Harding, 1999). Chapter 5 examines the lottery distributor’s relationship with local government and in particular how it has championed a different kind of heritage through funding the refurbishment and restoration of parks. By nurturing public support and involvement in local heritage and creating a methodology to recover the history and design of these important and inclusive public spaces, the study considers the impact of the HLF championing of these sites and which, unlike works of art, require ongoing investment, not just a single grant, to secure their future.

## Chapter 5: A walk in the park?

### Introduction

This chapter examines the HLF's work with historic urban parks and explores the lottery distributor's relationship with this local authority-owned heritage. This study identifies the combination of internal and external factors that came together to make parks a deserving heritage cause for the HLF in the mid 1990s. It considers how the HLF's first strategic funding programme, prompted in part by the need to rehabilitate the image of the HLF following the perceived scandal of the Churchill Papers grant, demonstrates a significant change of direction for the HLF.

Presenting a different kind of heritage at risk scenario to that of the museum-quality objects, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, many of these sites have been and still are undervalued and neglected by their council owners and are wilfully damaged by their users. Reviewing key moments in the HLF's approach to its investment in parks over two decades (1996-2016), this study explores the way in which the aesthetic and communal heritage value of parks was made evident through the HLF's policies and grant-making frameworks and the challenges that this new approach presented to both to the funder and the applicants.

The parks programme highlights the dual role of the lottery distributor in the regeneration as well as preservation of these sites and heralded a new partnership with local councils, which when taken together are one of the largest owners and stewards of the country's heritage. As new versions of parks funding have emerged over the last two decades, how has the HLF's partnership with the Big Lottery Fund (BLF), which has jointly funded the Parks for People programme since 2006, prioritised the social benefits of volunteering and investment in parks in areas of deprivation and increased the emphasis on heritage

outcomes for people thus reflecting the original intentions of the original founders of public parks? <sup>98</sup>

The HLF's behaviour as a heritage champion for urban parks, a role which it does not perform for the other heritage sectors it funds, is also explored in this chapter. <sup>99</sup> By organising the UK Public Parks Summit in 2012 and producing the State of UK Public Parks reports in 2014 and 2016, the HLF highlighted the consequences of cuts in local authority spending on parks in the 2010s (HLF and BLF, 2012; HLF, 2014a; HLF, 2016a) questioning the budget priorities of local government. In the difficult public spending environment of the 2010s, has the HLF fulfilled its mission to make 'a lasting difference to heritage and people' (HLF 2012b, p.10), in relation to parks and can it safeguard the improvements achieved through this programme to date?

### **Making the case for HLF investment in parks**

Why were parks considered to be at risk in the last decade of the twentieth century? In theory, the care and maintenance of these public amenities is already provided for by their local authority owners and funded through local and national taxation; however, by the 1990s, many parks were in a poor physical state, as a result of decades of underinvestment. 'In the Victorian era parks were at the forefront of urban developments; today, they are often an afterthought at the bottom of the political agenda' (Greenhalgh and Worpole, 1995, p.3). Non-statutory status and a low asset value within local government accounts can make parks a low priority for investment.<sup>100</sup> Local authority reforms in the 1970s and 1980s undermined

---

<sup>98</sup> The Big Lottery Fund (BLF) exists to help communities and people most in need (BLF, n.d.a) The Parks for People scheme is promoted on both websites (BLF, n.d.c; HLF 2013d)

<sup>99</sup> UK Public Parks Summit was led by the HLF and the BLF and held on 25 October 2012 at the Royal Geographical Society in London (HLF and BLF, 2012)

<sup>100</sup> 'The asset value of most parks on the local authority balance sheet is £1. This is because 'many of them were never "bought" in the traditional sense, so there is no relevant historic cost. For instance, many parks that are now managed by local authorities have been publicly owned common land for centuries. Many others began as the gardens of large houses and

the status and skills base of parks departments and weakened the understanding and appreciation of the historic design of the sites and the management requirements of the complex constructed living landscape of parks.<sup>101</sup> As Harding (1999) and Conway and Lambert (1993) noted, these factors, combined with the effects of vandalism, led to the removal of historic features, inappropriate repairs and additions, inadequate maintenance of the physical infrastructure and the general deterioration of many public parks.<sup>102</sup>

Many urban parks have direct links to historic country houses and their settings. In some cases, they share the same designers, for example, Joseph Paxton laid out Birkenhead Park (Taigel and Williamson, 1993, p.84) and worked on the Duke of Devonshire's gardens at Chatsworth (Taigel and Williamson, 1993, p.123). In other instances, the country house and its estate were given or sold to the local authority and became the local art gallery and park, such as the Grade 1 listed Heaton Hall and park in Manchester (Historic England, 2017). However, despite these aristocratic connections, in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the

---

were then bequeathed to the local authority or sold for a nominal sum so that they could benefit the local community in perpetuity' (CABESpace, 2009, unpaginated). This can make parks a low priority for investment in comparison to other assets such as buildings, which have a market value.

<sup>101</sup> The Bains Report into local government management and structures (Department of the Environment, 1972) took dedicated stand-alone parks departments into large multidisciplinary Leisure Services sections. Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) was first introduced for construction, maintenance and highways work by the Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980. It was extended to other manual services, such as refuse collection and ground maintenance, through the Local Government Act 1988. Sports and leisure management was added as a further defined activity through secondary legislation in 1989. The Right to Buy legislation was introduced by the Housing Act of 1980 (1980, c1). This legislation established a legal right for almost all secure tenants of three years' standing and applied to almost all properties where the landlord was a council, new town, non-charitable housing association or other public sector body. This led to 'the dereliction or boarding up of park lodges as councils became afraid to let them to park workers' (Harding, 1999, p.8).

<sup>102</sup> 'petty vandalism of vulnerable public assets is and always has been fairly constant. Features in parks are attacked routinely as are bus shelters and telephone boxes....Historical research in lottery applications shows that acts of vandalism were common from the date parks opened' (Harding, 1999, p.9)



awareness of the need for funding for public parks, compared to the framing of the case that was made for the preservation of the historic house, was markedly different.

During the 1970s, as previously discussed in Chapter 1, the plight of the country house had been championed by their well-connected, aristocratic owners, through the Historic Houses Association. Their campaigning helped to ‘transform the architectural heritage of the aristocracy from a minority interest to a cause with significant popular appeal and support’ (Adams, 2013, p.1) and influenced the establishment and purpose of the NHMF (NHMF, 1981, p.3). In contrast, prior to the publication of the independent research and advocacy reports by Conway and Lambert (1993) and Greenhalgh and Worpole (1995) in the early 1990s, the slow decline in the quality of parks, a public amenity invented for the urban poor and open to everyone, (Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.2) appears to have been interpreted as a local management issue, not a national heritage crisis.

Local authorities were silent about the declining condition of the parks in their care. There was no dedicated government-funded development agency for parks to set standards, disseminate good practice and make the case for funding to central and local government. Viewed as an element of council provision of open green space and defined as a civic not a cultural asset, parks were seen as marginal to the work of EH.<sup>103</sup> EH’s protection of parks was weak and few parks were listed on their register of Historic Parks and Gardens.<sup>104</sup> Conway and Lambert (1993, p.16) described the confusing status of parks as ‘heritage limbo’.

---

<sup>103</sup> ‘in 1995 the total English Heritage budget for registered historic parks and gardens was £200,000’ (Lambert, 2015, p.4)

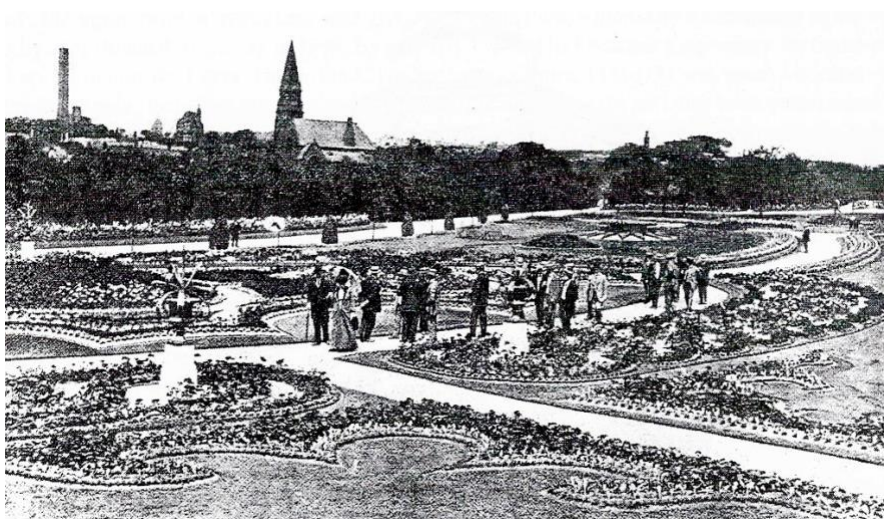
<sup>104</sup> ‘English Heritage (now Historic England)... has never issued any kind of policy or practice advice on public parks’ (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.43). The HLF’s Parks Needs Assessment in 2001 found that ‘inclusion on the English Heritage Register of parks and Gardens of Special historic interest has no impact on a park’s condition’ (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.24).

The parks lobby emerged in the 1990s in response to over two decades of poor management and stewardship by local authorities that had taken their toll on parks provision.<sup>105</sup> Evidence of the neglect of parks as a heritage and civic asset was gathered through two reports which took different standpoints. The first, *Public Prospects: Historic Parks under Threat* (1993) by Conway and Lambert was commissioned by the Victorian Society and the Garden History Society and was prompted by the Review of Royal Parks. Celebrating the importance of parks in landscape design history and recognising how the aesthetics of the aristocratic private estate had been reinvented for urban dwellers, Conway and Lambert used images to highlight the social and heritage value and innovation of the original designs. They illustrated the report with images of parks in their heyday, as recorded on vintage postcards and archive photographs (Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.20). Scenes of complex planting and picturesque features were contrasted with images taken in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century that showed park buildings and structures undermined by vandalism and the poor quality of the environment, following the loss of the original elaborate planting schemes and decorative flowerbeds (Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.15) (Figure 14 and Figure 15). The authors called for parks to be restored to their historic design, in order to fulfil their original purpose, as valued public places of recreation (Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.27).

In contrast, *Park Life: Parks and Social Renewal* by Greenhalgh and Worpole (1995), funded by the left wing think tanks Comedia and Demos, looked at the future of parks from the perspective of current needs. Anticipating the election of the New Labour government in 1997, in this report, parks were positioned as central to urban regeneration by providing green space for inner city residents. Towns and cities were a key policy area for the incoming administration (Department for Environment Transport and the Regions, 2000). In contrast

---

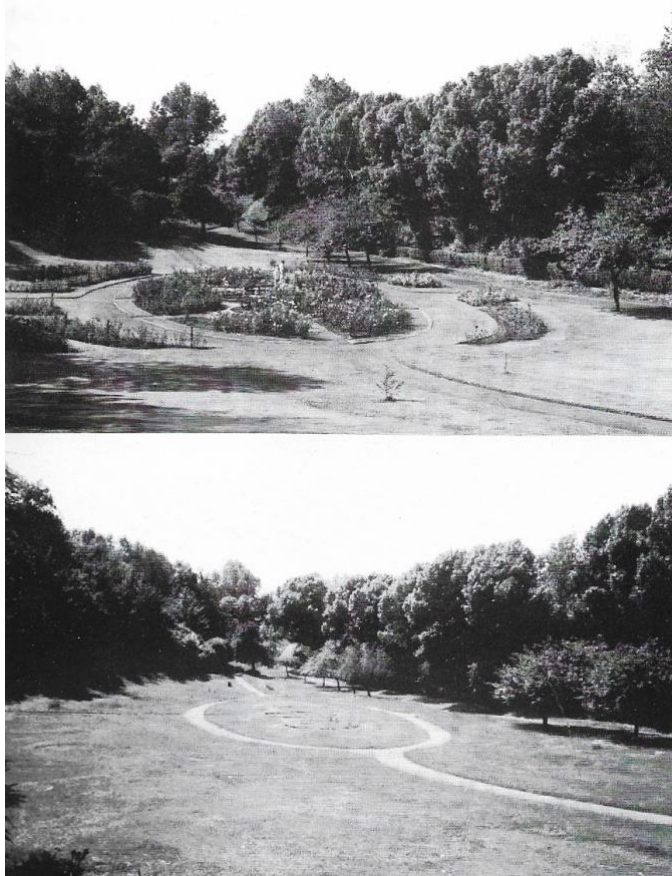
<sup>105</sup> The Public Parks Assessment conducted by the Urban Parks Forum and funded by the HLF in 2001 found that the 'loss of individual features and facilities traditionally associated with historic parks is widespread and alarming with up to 75% loss of some historic features and losses in the region of 25% for basic visitor facilities such as toilets and cafes' (Urban Parks Forum, 2001, p.6)



*Figure 14: The Parks Committee visit to inspect the Summer bedding in Phillips Park, Manchester, 1913*

(Source: Public Prospects, Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.20)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by The Victorian Society and The Garden History Society



*Figure 15: Phillips Park, Manchester. Two views, 1985 and 1993: the floral display vanishes*

(Source: Public Prospects, Conway and Lambert, 1993, p.15).

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by The Victorian Society and The Garden History Society

to *Public Prospects*, the report focused on people. Having consulted with park users at several sites over the summer of 1994, Greenhalgh and Worpole presented quantitative and qualitative evidence of use and user demographics alongside descriptions of how visitors of all ages valued these sites: 'Parks are often a source of continuity and "sense of place" in a rapidly changing urban scene' (1995, p. 3). This report's recommendations called for contemporary solutions to the public purpose of parks, including the sale of parkland to fund new facilities for the remaining sites, arguing that 'not all open space is sacrosanct' (1995, p.5).

Their findings suggested that the neglect of parks indicated that they had lost their relevance for users, quoting one interviewee's view that 'Parks have gone out of fashion' (1995, p.19). The report proposed that parks needed to be rethought. Drawing on examples of European and American 20<sup>th</sup> century park design, Greenhalgh and Worpole observed that 'there is now an urgent need for innovation, for a better understanding of the current role of parks and for more insight into the potential of parks to meet new needs' (1995, p.66). Both documents called for government attention and funding to support and develop this valued but degraded public service and *Park Life* made a specific recommendation that 'Urban parks should be considered as suitable sites for investment from Lottery funds' (1995, p.8).

There is some evidence that the NHMF trustees planned to invest lottery funds in parks from the outset. An article in the Guardian published on the day before the first lottery draw on 19 November 1994 lists inner city parks as possible future beneficiaries of HLF funding (Ellison, 1994, p.13). In the Annual Reports of NHMF from the same period, the trustees indicate that they expect lottery money to fund 'smaller projects that are close to people's hearts and will enhance their everyday lives' (NHMF, 1994, p.3). While this statement indicates an intention to do something new with the funds and to spread the benefit of lottery money beyond the traditional recipients of NHMF funding there is no specific mention of parks. However, it can also be interpreted as an attempt to clearly differentiate between the roles of

NHMF and the HLF in order to safeguard the continuation of the NHMF's annual grant from Treasury. The 1995 Annual Report reinforces this idea, suggesting that 'lottery money will be distributed to the widest benefit of those from whom it comes – the players of the National Lottery' (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.23). The minutes of an NHMF/HLF meeting on 6 and 7 January 1995 noted that 'several slides of important public parks in states of deterioration' were shown and that trustees discussed the problems of continuing care and maintenance once parks were restored; however, there is no mention of a specific scheme to address this issue (NHMF and HLF 1995c) Evidence therefore suggests that while parks were an item on a list of potential priorities, they were not necessarily the first.

The first public announcement of the HLF's investment in parks was made by Lord Rothschild during an interview with Michael Durham, which was published in the Observer on 21 May 1995:

Inner city parks, including the big nineteenth century open spaces, are tremendously important. This is one area of our popular heritage where we can really make a difference to people's lives. City parks will become a major theme and we will welcome bids from local authorities with imaginative ideas for their regeneration (Durham, 1995, p.3).

The timing of this statement was significant because in the Spring of 1995, the funder was still in the throes of a major public relations disaster, following the negative press reaction to the Churchill Papers grant decision just a few weeks before, discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>106</sup> This declaration by the Chair of the HLF confirmed a new direction for the lottery funder, focusing on popular heritage and working with local authorities. In his description of HLF's plans for parks, Lord Rothschild used new language in relation to heritage, framing the

---

<sup>106</sup> The HLF grant for the Churchill papers was announced on 26 April 1995. (HLF, 1995)



funding of parks in terms of regeneration, not preservation. He described the activity that the HLF could encourage and emphasised the broader social and economic role played by parks. Focusing on the future, not the past, he highlighted the life-changing outcomes for people that could result from lottery investment in parks, as opposed to promoting the historic importance of what was being saved. In presenting this case for investment, no mention was made of the poor stewardship of parks by many local authorities that had led to their deteriorating condition and the consequent need for lottery money.

Evidence from two former members of HLF staff indicates that, in part, the impetus for the HLF's specific attention to parks at that moment was directly linked to the Churchill Papers debacle. Stewart Harding, seconded to the HLF from the Countryside Commission in April 1996 (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.10) to set up the Urban Parks programme, credited the 'public disquiet over the perceived elitism' of the HLF's grant for the Churchill Papers (Harding 1999, p.14) as the reason for the prioritisation of parks for grant support. Anthea Case, the Director of the HLF from 1996 to 2003, quoted in the Parks Agency's report *Parks Reborn* report (Harding and Lambert, 2002), also highlighted the influence of the Churchill Papers and revealed other strategic reasons for choosing parks as a focus in the early years of the HLF, including the influence of the *Park Life* report:

First, the HLF put on a brave face, but in 1996 it was still reeling from the controversy over its grant to the Churchill papers. In that context urban parks, as a possibility raised by Lord Rothschild, looked democratic. Secondly, in those early days, Lord Rothschild and the board of trustees were conscious of being in a very crowded pool with a number of well-established sharks circling and wanting the HLF's money. Parks on the other hand, appeared to be a pool without such sharks. Finally, HLF had been convinced of the state of urban parks, for example by reports such as *Park Life* (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.6).

The narrative of the NHMF and HLF Annual Report of 1995/96, while reflecting on the HLF's first full year of operation, looked to the future and presented a case for HLF's choice of parks as its first programme of targeted investment in what was in effect a new heritage practice. The language and the examples used sought to establish the heritage credentials of parks. Lord Rothschild justified the HLF's move towards a broader definition of heritage beyond fine art and country houses by demonstrating the historic importance and public popularity of these sites. His use of language reflects aspects of Fairclough and Fairclough's analysis of political discourse as 'argumentation about what is to be done' in the context of the 'divergent interests and values' (2015, p.3). Asserting that parks represented heritage at risk, the chair of the HLF stated that 'Public parks have been disgracefully neglected over the past two decades', despite being visited by an estimated '8 million people a day' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.9).<sup>107</sup> Lord Rothschild goes on to describe the regenerative effects of the recent restoration of Central Park in New York (NHMF, 1996, p.9) and demonstrates Britain's international reputation in park design by citing Birkenhead Park as the original inspiration for the Manhattan site.

Achieving 'fairer geographical distribution' of lottery funds (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.9) was another stated expectation of this programme and Rothschild completes this section of the annual report with a quote from John Ruskin: 'The measure of any great civilisation is its cities and a measure of the city's greatness is to be found in the quality of its public spaces, its parks and its squares' (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.9). In the same document, Lord Rothschild also outlined the HLF's interest in other civic spaces, heralding the Townscape Heritage Initiative, which was launched in 1998 (NHMF, 1998, p.74). This second new programme enabled strategic investment in listed buildings on high streets in partnership with local authorities and private owners of commercial property (Shipley and Reeve, 2004). These two grant schemes not only broadened the HLF's heritage agenda but also created a

---

<sup>107</sup> This attendance figure was not backed up by any referenced research.



new and different set of relationships for the HLF with local government and everyday heritage.

This targeted approach to funding was deliberately adopted by the HLF to stimulate certain types of applications and to 'reach areas where it could make a crucial difference' (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.7). Enabling investment in areas with no other eligible heritage assets, the scheme challenged Hesmondhalgh's assertion that 'lotteries often seem to be used to fund activities undertaken and consumed primarily by higher social-economic groups' (Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.101) and evaluations of the parks programmes have demonstrated a wider range of users than other HLF projects (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014). The parks programme also provided a way of overcoming the policy direction from government in the early years of the HLF, which forbade the soliciting of applications (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.53). The HLF's intensive work on the creation of the parks scheme brought the HLF closer to the complexities of the stewardship of local government heritage assets and uncovered the fundamental problems with the funding and management of parks that had contributed to their demise.

The *Urban Parks Programme* challenged the traditional heritage status quo by investing in a public amenity, which until the publication of *Public Prospects* (Conway and Lambert, 1993) had not really been considered to be heritage and its historic importance had been underestimated (Harding 1999, p. 11). Layton-Jones points to the 'professional snobbery [on the part of academics and heritage agencies such as English Heritage] directed towards Victorian parks which meant that they were 'abandoned to uninformed development and neglect' (2014, p.60), She observes that '(w)hile buildings conservation became increasingly professionalised, parks conservation was misfiled as unskilled labour' (Layton-Jones, 2014, p.61). Lord Rothschild emphasised this in his speech in May 1997, announcing the first round of HLF grants: 'For far too long the urban heritage of public spaces has gone unrecognised. These parks are a fundamental part of our working, everyday heritage and are

as much a part of modern life as the conservation of the past' (Rothschild, cited in Harding and Lambert, 2002, p14). The HLF was therefore required to construct and deliver this new funding scheme for a type of heritage that had not attracted external funding before. What new ways of working did the lottery distributor adopt in order to stimulate demand for funds and monitor delivery and how did both staff and trustees and local government respond?

### **Introducing new heritage practice**

The introduction of a funding programme for the restoration of public parks created many challenges for both HLF and local government, in terms of their own respective expertise and dispositions. Recognising the status of parks as heritage in the mid-1990s was a new challenge for both the HLF's trustees and the staff, as their previous experience was rooted in the country house heritage focus of the NHMF. As Hewison observed, 'for a time the patrician values of the National Heritage Memorial Fund ...appeared to dominate its offspring' (2014, p.79). The NHMF exists to save cultural and natural heritage with a market value that is at risk of loss to the country from destruction, export or sale into private hands. The case for heritage investment in parks and its actual delivery, is more complex. The 'unloved bastard of the great heritage landscapes' (Lambert, 2015, p.4), parks present a different type of heritage cause. They are inclusive, well-used, everyday amenities, but in many cases, they have not been treasured by their democratically elected and relatively well-funded owners and have been abused and vandalised by some of their users.

Investing in these civic assets was a very different exercise from the funding of acquisitions for national museums or the National Trust, where a grant supports the purchase of objects or sites and secures their future in the ownership of an organisation dedicated to safeguarding heritage. Working directly with local government, which is politically driven and has a wide range of non-heritage related statutory responsibilities, on securing the future of living landscape was less familiar to the HLF and despite the warm words of

intention in the 1995 Annual Report, the HLF's initial approach to this popular heritage was described by Tim Smit, as being 'like a duchess in fear of meeting a wino in an alley' (Smit, 2000, p.107).

The Urban Parks Programme was launched in January 1996 at Weston Park in Sheffield by Lord Rothschild (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.9), less than 18 months after the first lottery draw in November 1994. The first HLF thematic grants scheme, it 'was launched into a strategic void and the HLF effectively became the lead agency [for parks] overnight' (Harding and Lambert 2002, p.5). The guidance for the scheme was created by a Parks Advisory panel and informed by the Park Life report. Both Hazel Conway and David Lambert, the authors of Public Prospects, were members of the panel, along with leading academics and landscape designers and a representative from ILAM, the Institute for Leisure and Amenity Management (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.6).

A major challenge for the HLF in delivering this scheme was its capacity to undertake the development work and the administration required. According to the Annual Report for 1995/96 there were only 22 staff working for the HLF (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.5). In April 1996, Stewart Harding was seconded from the Countryside Commission to act as a coordinator and adviser for the Urban Parks Programme. By January 1997, in response to the demand, he had built up a team of ten additional staff to manage the 400 enquiries made by potential applicants and to undertake the processing of the subsequent applications (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.10).

One of the challenges of working with these sites was that many councils, when constructing strategies for securing newly available lottery funds, had not even identified parks as potential beneficiaries (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.11). The HLF also had to devise criteria to determine heritage quality in a local context, requiring applicants to make the case for the heritage value of their park 'by virtue of its history, design or social significance'

(HLF, 1996b, p.4). Applications were also required to ‘demonstrate evidence of community support’ (HLF, 1996b, p.4). This was a new departure for the HLF. While the NHMF stated from the outset that it could not define heritage (NHMF, 1981, p.2) and that this judgment was in the hands of the applicant, it did and still does rely on the assessments of the reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, the listing of buildings, the designation of landscape and the connoisseurship of staff and trustees for guidance on national heritage merit. For parks, very few of which were nationally designated, the new advisory panel had to make these assessments.<sup>108</sup> By responding to the specific character of parks, the HLF challenged heritage conservation practice, and accepted plans to re-create original features lost through neglect and vandalism ‘where there is sound historical evidence’ (HLF 1996b, p.5), as an element of an application. The programme also highlighted the HLF’s interest in the economic and social values of heritage by requiring that ‘[a]pplications should evaluate the future role of the park within the urban environment, including its social and economic context (HLF, 1996b, p.4).

This grants programme represented major changes for members of the heritage establishment engaged in the work of the HLF. As Lambert recalls:

in pursuit of regeneration, the HLF funded new playgrounds, toilets, cafes and community buildings. I can bear witness to the bafflement around the table of the advisory panel and indeed the board, when confronted with such items – not only did experts ask whether Victorian public parks were really heritage at all, but they also reacted with bemusement to the notion of spending on what they considered at best peripheral to the business of conservation (Lambert 2015, p.5).<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> The Annual Report of 1995/1996 lists two Expert Panels, one for Museums Libraries and Archives and another for Historic Buildings and Land alongside Advisory Panels for Places of Worship and Parks (NHMF and HLF, 1996, p.6)

<sup>109</sup> This lack of understanding of parks within the HLF governance was also the case when I was a trustee. For many trustees, parks are not a focus of their expertise. Detailed knowledge of many aspects of the heritage that the HLF funds such as museums and historic buildings

The parks programme forged new partnerships with local government and enabled more HLF awards to be made in deprived areas where there were few other eligible heritage assets. This reflected the New Labour government's 'overriding thrust ... to embody both social and economic goals in all forms of policy' (Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.108), by supporting work on regeneration and encouraging participation through volunteering. The targeting of parks was also the only HLF funding that directly benefited children, through the renovation and renewal of play areas. In 1998, the government issued new policy directions for lottery distributors requiring 'the promotion of the public good, the knowledge and interest of children and young people and reducing economic and social deprivation' (HLF, 1999). The Urban Parks Programme proved useful to the HLF in this context as 'when the HLF managers cast around for evidence that they met any of these requirements [in 1999] they found to their relief that...the Urban Parks Programme had already spent £5m on play' (Lambert, 2015, p.5).

---

are specifically represented in the skill set of trustees and committee members. However, while I was on the board (2009-2015) and sat on both the Northern Ireland and the North West of England committees, there were no members who had first-hand knowledge of running municipal parks.

The directors of local authority cultural services departments who became HLF trustees and had overall responsibility for parks came from disciplines such as libraries, youth work or museums, not horticulture. With the shrinkage of local authorities over the 2010s, even directors of cultural services departments would now be hard to locate as those activities have been subsumed into community services and environment directorates. Throughout my board membership, trustees with any specialist natural heritage knowledge and skills were in the minority, comprising only one or two of the fifteen member board. They were knowledgeable about the management and conservation of natural landscape, not the operation of the artifice of nature that is a public park.

This lack of direct experience of running parks is mirrored by the most senior staff within the HLF national office at director and deputy director level, none of whom are parks and landscape specialists. There is a small specialist landscape and parks staff team of three who form part of the Strategy and Business Development Department. However, at a regional level, where grants are assessed and processed, only one Head of Region had had direct experience of running parks prior to joining the HLF. This lack of working knowledge in all areas of the organisation mirrors the position of these sites in local government.

## **The grants programme**

The booklet of additional guidance issued for applicants to the *Urban Parks Programme*, which had to be read in conjunction with the existing HLF funding guidelines (HLF, 1996b), included flexibility around the ways in which the required 25% partnership funding could be achieved either through the applicant's contributions of material, calculating the monetary value of volunteer time or by undertaking to support new or additional running costs, once the scheme had been completed (Harding and Lambert 2002, p.7). The scheme prioritised the funding of things that had been undermined by years of underinvestment, such as land drainage improvements and the reinstatement of railings to secure sites after dark. These elements, along with a commitment by the applicant to ten years of continuing care and maintenance, had to be addressed in applications, before the introduction of new features, such as visitor centres or new play areas would be considered (Harding 1999, p.14). All of these requirements endeavoured to secure the future of the parks that were funded.

In the first year of the Urban Parks Programme, 186 applications requesting a total of £227m were received (Harding, 1999, p.14). These submissions not only demonstrated evidence of need, but also provided an insight for HLF into the varying levels of heritage landscape and horticultural competence within individual local authorities. The applications were assessed by the HLF Parks Team and the Parks Advisory Panel and benefitted from advice from the statutory agencies: English Heritage, Cadw and Historic Scotland on the historic landscape, before being presented to the HLF trustees. The restoration of public parks was a new discipline stimulated by the HLF funds and informed by work on country house estates. The lessons 'learned in the restoration of polite landscape (historic parks and gardens in private ownership) were applied to great effect in the restoration of public parks' (Harding 1999, p.15) as 'the local authorities' retained landscape architects...were seldom trained or experienced in the restoration of historic landscapes (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.12).

The first round of grants to parks was carefully managed. Mindful of the Churchill Papers legacy and the media attention to the launch of the scheme, along with concerns not to create negative publicity from disappointed, unsuccessful local authorities, it was decided that the 146 applicants that submitted what were judged to be relatively weak proposals would be asked to withdraw their applications in advance of the board's final decision. They were given detailed feedback on how to improve their submissions (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.13). Therefore, in that first round, which was funded from the 1996/1997 budget, (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p. 23) but announced on 15 May 1997, just after the New Labour government had come into power, the 40 schemes that were presented to the board of trustees were all awarded a grant and in all £58m was allocated.

Many of the largest awards were in the north of England and went to parks that were established in the decades that Conway and Lambert describe as 'the golden age of park building, which stretches from the 1840s to the 1910s...a phase of social and garden history as important as the great era of private 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape parks' (1993, p.2). The history of the sites that received some of these large grants, demonstrates the range of ways that municipal parks came into being and their links to historic house landscape, wealthy industrialists, aristocratic families and local history. This historical research, required for every HLF-funded parks project (HLF 1996b, p.9), established the intrinsic aesthetic importance of these parks, setting them in the context of gardening history through their links to private estates and to historically significant landscape designers. <sup>110</sup> These histories,

---

<sup>110</sup> Some of the first HLF funded parks were founded by learned societies, such as the Botanic Gardens in Sheffield. This site, originally designed by Robert Marnock, received £5m. This was the highest grant awarded in 1997 (NHMF, 1997, p. 23). Completed in 1836, it was initially only regularly accessible to shareholders and subscribers in the botanical society. Encountering financial difficulties, the site's ownership was transferred to a charitable trust in 1898, which introduced free entry for all. After the Second World War, management was passed to Sheffield Corporation (Sheffield Botanic Gardens, n.d.).

Other parks began as private enterprises. £3.3m went to Buxton's Pavilion Gardens which was opened in 1871 (NHMF, 1997, p.27). Designed by Joseph Paxton and Edward Milner, using land given by the Duke of Devonshire, its creation was prompted by the arrival of the railway in Buxton in 1865 and it was set up and run by the Buxton Gardens Company, the



often constructed or confirmed as part of the restoration plans required by the HLF, reveal the breadth of intrinsic and instrumental heritage value and importance of these publicly accessible sites. They provide an insight into the efforts made by local authorities in the earlier part of the twentieth century to secure, create and maintain parks for residents and visitors, often purchasing privately owned sites to maintain public access and amenity.

Following the first round of applications, the HLF strengthened the process by insisting that each submission was accompanied by a professionally produced historic landscape survey and restoration plan. The HLF funded 75% of the costs of these documents, as they were considered essential to understanding the intrinsic heritage significance of the sites (Harding, 1999, p.15). Once these detailed plans became part of the application process, they revealed the uninformed decision-making by local authorities during the previous decades that had undermined many historic designs. The replacement of historic structures features and furniture with utilitarian vandal proof alternatives was a common occurrence. Another frequent challenge was the numbers of trees that had been added to parks having been left over from other later landscaping projects. As they grew, the trees physically disrupted the

---

gardens and the entertainment complex which developed within them were acquired by Buxton Corporation in 1927 (The Pavilion Gardens, n.d.).

Many parks in the original batch of awards had been in local authority ownership from the start. Lister Park in Bradford received £3.2m (NHMF, 1997, p.45). In 1870, a local industrialist, Samuel Cunliffe Lister, sold the land for this park to the Bradford Corporation for less than the market value. It was laid out by Simpson and Alle and was opened to the public in 1904, following the completion of Cartwright Hall, a purpose-built art gallery and museum that was erected on the site of the original Lister family home (Historic England, 1999a).

A £2.7m grant was given to Mowbray Park in Sunderland (HLF 1997, p.23). The borough of Sunderland acquired this site in 1854 from the Mowbray family as part of the development of the railway. Designed by gardeners who had worked for Lord Londonderry and the Duke of Devonshire, it opened in 1857 with a second adjacent site added and opened to the public in 1866 (Historic England, 2000). £2.3m was awarded to Alexandra Park in Oldham, which was designed by William Henderson on land purchased by the local council using a government scheme that created work for cotton workers who were unemployed during the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War. It opened in 1865 (NHMF and HLF, 1997, p.23).

original design, blocking vistas and isolating areas of parks, making them feel unsafe (Harding, 1999, p.15).

Writing about the Urban Parks Programme three years into the scheme, Harding observed that ‘there was convincing evidence that the overwhelming problem facing parks is lack of money’ (1999, p16). Layton-Jones supported this view and asserts that this issue dates back to the poor financial models that underpinned the foundation of many parks. She points to examples in Bradford and Manchester where all the money raised for these parks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was spent on the purchase of the land and layout and none was reserved for future care and maintenance (Layton-Jones, 2016a, p.15). The powerful political donors of land and money to parks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century failed to ensure the creation of legislation to make the parks that they established a statutory public service and thus ringfence annual funds from central government for their on-going support, ‘the financial legacy of the so-called ‘heroes’ of the Victorian parks movement, was rather less impressive than their statues might lead us to believe’ (Layton-Jones, 2016a, p.15).

The projects the HLF supported encouraged councils not only to invest in capital works but also to increase revenue spend. This approach was challenged as contracts were drawn up for the first Urban Parks Programme grants and local authorities’ solicitors were reluctant to commit themselves to future spend in terms of long- term maintenance (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.15), an early indication perhaps that this might not be a sustainable approach and that securing long term investment in parks by others may be a challenge.

The HLF’s own financial commitment to parks was subject to change. £75m was allocated for the programme in 1997-98; however, this was later revised down to £49m in October 1997, despite representations by the Parks Advisory Panel. The reduction was due to the growing demand for funds from all of the heritage sector (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.16). In December 1998, there was an overall reduction of funds to the five existing lottery

distributors, in order to create the New Opportunities Fund, the sixth lottery-funded good cause. In response to this, led by a new Chair of Trustees, Dr Eric Anderson, the draft of the HLF's first strategic plan proposed a reduction of funding for parks from £30 million in 1998-99 to £11 million in 2001-02 and stated that beyond that date the programme would be drawing to a close (Kennedy, 1999, p.4). This decision, which could be interpreted as a lack of internal support in the HLF for investment in parks, was revisited by trustees during the public consultation on the strategy and the potential loss of the dedicated parks programme was averted.<sup>111</sup> Evidence of continuing need was supported by a Select Committee looking at parks in 1999, which commented 'we have inherited an infrastructure of parks of priceless value and their documented and visible decline represents a wasted opportunity of tragic proportions' (Department of Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs, 1999, p.181).

In October 2000, a second iteration of the parks scheme, the Public Parks Initiative, was proposed for 2001/02. Changes to funding guidance included the inclusion of publicly funded Country Parks, many of which had historic features. These sites were often located outside of urban areas (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.29). The third version of the funding for the programme was Parks for People, launched in 2006. This was distinguished from its predecessors by being jointly financed and promoted by the Big Lottery (BLF), which offered funding for parks in England, bringing the social benefits of the scheme even more to the fore (NHMF and HLF, 2005a, p.1).

---

<sup>111</sup> Three years after the scheme had been launched, it was reported to the Board of HLF trustees in January 1999 that since the start of the programme, a total of 433 applications, requesting £429m in grants, had been received and that £108m had been approved in grants for 85 projects and £1.5m had been spent on 120 restoration plans. 60 new parks posts had been created and parks in 38 of most deprived districts had received grants to the value of £64m (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.23). Annual rounds of grants continued and by September 2000, over £211m had been spent on 140 projects and 133 restoration plans (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.29).

From 2006 to 2012, the BLF provided 20% (£5m) of the annual funding for the operation of the HLF programme of £25m. From 2013, the BLF's contribution increased to £10m per annum for parks in England (NHMF, 2013c, p.11) creating an annual fund of £30m. The *Parks for People* programme was also promoted on the BLF's website, bringing it to the attention of a wider range of people (BLF, n.d.c). The BLF's involvement in the decision-making through officer and trustee attendance at committee and board meetings, brought added weight to the people and community aims of the parks programme, such as taking account of the proximity of sites to areas of deprivation and the quality of the engagement of volunteers. The relationship between the two lottery distributors recognises the multi-disciplinary nature of parks, but viewed from my perspective as a trustee, engagement with the BLF felt quite formal and distant. While BLF staff and trustees were active in the grant-making process and the BLF's expertise with communities was recognised, their skills were not directly utilised to inspire and inform the work of the HLF on its people and community-focused priorities in parks and other programmes.

The *Parks for People* evaluation report commissioned by the HLF in 2013 measured how funding for parks made a difference and generated the production of heritage by encouraging people to engage with their local park. Marking the first 6 years of the Parks for People Programme, it looked at the data from the grants scheme and eight in-depth case studies, to explore what the programme had achieved against the intended outcomes of the HLF's third strategic plan.<sup>112</sup> Between 2006 and 2013, there were 265 applications, of which

---

<sup>112</sup> The third HLF Strategic Plan *Valuing our heritage: Investing in our future* ran from 2008-2012. Its aims for parks were:

- access to a well-designed public park maintained to Green Flag Award standards;
- opportunities to learn about the heritage value of their park;
- opportunities to take an active part in managing and using their park (Baggot et al, 2013, p.14)

The outcomes were:

- Increasing the range of audiences,
- Conserving and improving the heritage value,

135 were successful. £254m was awarded to those projects (Baggot et al, 2013, p.2). The review drew on information collected from grantees on an annual basis, project evaluation data, and the results of a survey sent to all 135 projects. 8 projects that were considered to be exemplars from across the UK were looked at in detail.

Through analysis of applications and monitoring information received from grantees, the findings demonstrated that the parks programme had met many of the heritage priorities that HLF had identified at the start of the programme. 87 buildings and 215 historical features were restored, and 28 buildings were removed from the Heritage At Risk register.<sup>113</sup> The quality of stewardship had increased as 83% of parks in the programme did not have management plans prior to the HLF investment, but were now developing and implementing them (Baggot et al, 2013, p.2). It also demonstrated that 50% of the Parks for People funding had gone to the 20% most deprived areas in the UK and findings suggested that the biggest increases in satisfaction with parks was in deprived areas (Baggot et al, 2013, p.1).

Based on the information provided, it was reported that the funded parks saw marked increases in visitor numbers of up to 103% at individual sites (Baggot et al, 2013, p.128). The number of volunteers had increased from 3400 to 6500 in just three years, with the highest numbers of volunteers being recorded in the more deprived areas (Baggot et al, 2013, p.2). Targets for training staff and volunteers in a range of skills were exceeded. Natural and cultural heritage gains were evident. Half of the projects had also carried out habitat improvements or species diversification projects.

- 
- Increasing the range of volunteers,
  - Improving skills and knowledge through training
  - Improved management and maintenance

(Baggot et al, 2013, p.16)

<sup>113</sup> Historic England's Heritage at Risk Register identifies those historic structures most at risk of loss from neglect, decay or inappropriate development (Historic England, 2017)

Amongst all of these positive outcomes in the *Parks for People* evaluation report, including the assertion that the programme had ‘changed people’s lives’ (Baggot et al, 2013, p.107), there were signs that councils were struggling to maintain their commitments. The researchers saw evidence that the HLF funded volunteer programmes were being seen as support to counter falling local authority budgets (Baggot et al, 2013, p.106). There were also indications that the growth in activity and engagement might not be sustained. The expanded staffing structures that had been funded initially by the HLF as part of these capital projects and were key to achieving the scale of improvements and benefit were at risk of not being maintained beyond the life of the grant (Baggot et al, 2013, p.108).

The value of the investment in parks from the perspective of the public was explored in the *20 years in 12 places* impact survey, commissioned by the HLF in 2014 in partnership with Britain Thinks, a market research company. The views of 4,300 people about projects that HLF had funded were sought. Given the positive results in relation to the HLF’s investment in parks revealed by this research, a supplement to the report *The Parks Story* (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014) looked at these findings in more depth. This further analysis reported that of all the HLF programmes, ‘Parks have the greatest impact on residents’ quality of life’ (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014, p.9) and that ‘parks projects have the highest levels of awareness and engagement amongst the public’ (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014, p.6). The findings also confirmed that park use was 50% higher across all the social classes when compared with other heritage projects that HLF had funded (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014, p.15). Despite the positive perspectives of these findings in terms of social benefits, parks were omitted from another major review that was commissioned by the HLF to look at 20 years of individual projects with a value of over £5m, from the viewpoint of their project managers and directors (1994-2014) (HLF and BOP Consulting, 2015). This report did not include any parks, as the funding ceiling for the parks programme is £5m and so the opportunity to include the voice of those who delivered some of the most socially impactful HLF funded projects was, perhaps inadvertently, missed.

The HLF-commissioned studies considered above suggest that parks projects deliver the highest returns in terms of perceived public value and engagement, offering free to access, everyday heritage amenity. However, in terms of levels of spend on this aspect of the HLF, the annual grant allocation for parks has remained broadly the same since 2006 and is relatively small compared to HLF's overall annual spend. In 2014, the £20m that HLF awarded to parks was from a total sum of grants contracted of £453m (NHMF, 2015b, p.4). The grant making process has uncovered some of the tensions created by the mix of heritage and social benefits that parks funding seeks to deliver and tested both the commitment of staff and trustees and their local authority owners to this newly defined type of heritage. The HLF encouraged a funding model for parks which increased running costs and required additional on-going revenue investment from the local authority. During the New Labour administration, when local authority spend was increasing, this appeared to be a sustainable model and a way of encouraging councils to value these sites. However, this approach has been challenged by the difficult public spending environment of the 2010s.

### **Heritage at risk again?**

The HLF has championed parks as a heritage cause for over twenty years and as has been demonstrated, engagement with parks has also enabled the lottery distributor to allocate funds to areas of deprivation and invest in free-to-access sites that encompass both cultural and natural heritage. This final section looks at how successful this intervention into the turbulent environment of local government has been, in terms of both raising the profile of the heritage and social value of parks and achieving the aim to make a lasting difference to heritage and communities.



During the 2000s, HLF's interest in parks raised their political profile and prompted attention from national government as Liz Forgan, Chair of HLF from 2001 to 2008, commented at a national conference on the Future of Historic Parks in 2001:

Without this innovative investment from HLF... we firmly believe there would have been no Select Committee on public parks in 1999, no recognition of parks in the Urban White Paper 2000, no Minister appointed or Green Space Task Force in 2001 (quoted in Harding and Lambert 2002, p.32)

Parks had a place in a new view of culture emerging in the 2000s, encouraged by the concept of cultural planning and strategy introduced by the New Labour government as a local authority responsibility through the Local Government Acts of 2000 and 2002 (Gilmore 2004, p.5). As Lambert observed, parks were embraced in revised approaches to heritage:

'The dawn of the millennium also saw a number of heritage organisations such as English Heritage (Power of Place), the HLF and the National Trust re-assessing and reframing conceptions of heritage significance and value in more progressive, democratic ways. And it was notable how for the first time, public parks were being included, indeed showcased, in new policy documents such as EH's Power of Place (EH, 2000) and HLF's Broadening the Horizons of Heritage (HLF, 2002)' (Lambert, 2015, p.7).

During the 2000s central government spending on local authorities increased year on year, from £82 billion in 1999 to £173 billion in 2010 (UK Public Spending website, cited in Hesmonhalgh et al, 2014, p.101). The status of parks looked set to improve through two developments in 2003. The first was that the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister's report *Living Places: Cleaner Safer Greener* recommended that statutory status for parks should be considered (2003, p.32). The second was that a government-funded agency for green

space, a specialist unit of CABA (the Centre for Architecture and the Built Environment), was established. Its remit was 'to bring excellence to the design and management of parks and public space in our towns and cities' (CABESpace, 2003). Its priorities were 'to enable a strategic approach to green space, promote best practice in public space management, develop policy and research, to provide training for the sector and build an evidence base' (CABESpace, 2003).

In the 2010s the political environment changed. CABESpace was abolished by the Coalition Government's 'bonfire of the quangos' in 2011.<sup>114</sup> This loss of sector leadership meant that the HLF became central to the monitoring, developing and championing of the whole parks sector. In 2012, the HLF led the *UK Public Parks Summit* to raise awareness of the achievements to date and the increasing threat of cuts to parks budgets through the Coalition Government's public spending constraints. In the same year, the HLF took the unprecedented decision to employ a fulltime monitor, to track the condition of all parks that had received HLF support and to bring any deficiencies in management to the local authority's attention, securing an agreement to a timetable for improvement.<sup>115</sup>

The reports on *The State of UK Public Parks* (HLF, 2014a, HLF, 2016a) were commissioned by the HLF to track the fortunes of public parks in an increasingly challenging public funding environment. The papers have a range of purposes: highlighting the HLF's investment in everyday heritage; defending the gains made to date; providing evidence for campaigning groups such as the National Federation of Parks and Green Spaces and challenging central and local government funding decisions. These documents represent exceptional activity on the part of the HLF. No other aspect of the heritage that the HLF

---

<sup>114</sup> 'The Government has announced that its "bonfire of the quangos" is on track to save the taxpayer GBP2.6 billion. Cabinet Office minister Francis Maude said that 106 of the more than 900 bodies in existence at the general election have now been axed. Mergers have cut numbers by a further 80' (Institute for Government, 2012).

<sup>115</sup> This action was agreed by trustees on 26 June 2012 (NHMF, 2012c).

funds has been championed in this way. These publications are the findings of independent researchers using evidence drawn from anonymised returns from local authority staff and Friends of Parks groups. Harding's description of the condition of parks in the mid-1990s and the observations in the State of the Parks reports in the 2010s, are almost interchangeable:

'the last 20 years have seen a massive decline in their fortunes. Everything about public parks has got worse' (Harding 1999, p3)

'but all is not well with the UK's public parks. Most are owned and maintained by local authorities and increasing competition for council funding means that many face an uncertain future (HLF 2014a p.1)

'the renaissance of our public parks that has been underway for 15 years is fast coming to an end. It appears that the condition of many parks has now reached a tipping point when they are expected to fall back into a state of decline and neglect' (HLF 2016a, p.11)

The calls for action in both of the *State of UK Public Parks* reports (HLF, 2014a, p. 14; HLF, 2016a, p.22) are about: local authority leadership, partnerships, working with communities and volunteers, developing new models of funding and collecting data (HLF, 2014a, p14; HLF 2016a, p. 118). They echo the points made in the 1990s *Public Prospects* (Conway and Lambert, 1993, p. 27) and *Park Life* (Greenhalgh and Worpole, 1995, p.8) reports.

For many local authorities, the cuts in central government grants, restrictions on raising council tax and demographic changes indicate that by 2020, many councils may be unable to meet even their statutory duties (Brindle, 2012). The expected increased spending requirements of adult and children's services alone are predicted to be greater than total

projected local authority budgets. Deprived areas where need is greatest have been hit particularly hard. Between 2010 and 2016, annual council spending in Liverpool, one of the most deprived areas in the country, was reduced by £390 per head (Crewe, 2016, p. 8). The same author notes that Middlesbrough, which has the highest proportion of deprived households, was required to save £146m between 2010 and 2020 (Crewe 2016, p.8).

In response to the worsening position of local authority spending on parks, the HLF and the Big Lottery sponsored a research project by Nesta, entitled *Rethinking Parks* (Nesta, 2016). As parks faced cuts of 60% or more (Nesta, 2016, p.6), the project experimented with a range of new business models to assist with the financial sustainability of parks. 11 pilot projects were selected from over 200 applications. This response from the sector demonstrates both recognition of the need to find alternative models and an appetite for discovering ways to protect parks for the long term (Nesta, 2016, p.11). The findings of *Rethinking Parks* presented a range of new approaches to saving and making money, such as turning previously mown lawn into meadow and planting more perennial rather annual plants in flowerbeds to reduce labour costs. Other projects tested opportunities for raising income through working with businesses or acting as training providers and explored the transfer of parks management to voluntary groups reflecting the ‘increasing emphasis on running public sector cultural institutions as though they were private businesses’ which has been observed by McGuigan (2004, p.238)

All of the pilots that sought to raise money rather than save it proved challenging to deliver, revealing the complexity of raising funds, the limits of voluntary capacity and the inexperience of local authority departments of working in an entrepreneurial way. The lack of credible outcomes was another barrier: for example, while there is ‘clear evidence of the benefits of parks for health, there is not yet a quantifiable case for health trusts to invest’ (Nesta, 2016, p.21). Finding funding for parks was described by one participant as ‘the

experience of navigating a maze' (Nesta, 2016, p.39) and the built and landscape heritage of the parks was not at the heart of any of these projects.

The findings of this action research programme, published as *Learning to Rethink Parks* (Nesta, 2016) demonstrated that in many cases parks are not able to articulate the funding opportunities they had to offer in an effective way and that the case for parks as a good cause for businesses, charitable trusts or members of the public to donate to, had not really been made as yet. The lack of success of these projects is no doubt compounded by reducing staff numbers 'For many parks managers the time-consuming process of compiling grant applications, or even applying for Green Flag status, is no longer practicable' (Layton-Jones, 2016b, p.11).

None of the results of *Rethinking Parks* offered a complete solution to declining local authority funding and maintaining HLF grant aided parks to a Green Flag standard: <sup>116</sup>

'Rethinking Parks has not produced a silver bullet ... But with 45% of parks owners considering selling or transferring them because they cannot continue to fund them, it's vital that parks managers are supported to test what will work best to sustain these free green spaces' (Nesta, 2016, p.3).

On 11 July 2016, the Communities and Local Government Committee launched 'an inquiry into public parks to examine the impact of reduced local authority budgets on these open spaces and consider concerns that their existence is under threat' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2016). The inquiry published its findings on 11

---

<sup>116</sup> The Green Flag award was introduced by the Keep Britain Tidy Campaign in 1997 and is used by the HLF to monitor standards in the parks it has invested in, which are required to apply for Green Flags status for 7 years following completion of a Parks for People project. Decline is already being seen in the North West, with a 22% reduction in the number of parks and green spaces achieving the Green Flag Award standard since 2011, despite the fact that the overall number of places achieving the standard has risen by 29% across the UK (Green Flag Award, 2016).

February 2017 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017). It recognised that parks are a 'treasured asset' and 'central to the lives of their communities' (2017, p.3). This view was supported by the large response to the call for evidence that included 900 tweets, a petition signed by over 322,000 people and 4000 emails campaigning against the privatisation of parks (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.7). Specific mention was also made of the number of responses from children and young people (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.9). However, the Local Government Association, 'the voice of local government' (Local Government Association, 2017), the body which represents the owners of most of the public parks in the country, submitted no evidence to the inquiry.

The inquiry focused on three questions: why do parks matter, what challenges are facing the parks sector and how can we secure a sustainable future for parks? These are questions that the HLF has been exploring since the UK Public Parks summit in 2012. In considering the challenges facing parks, the contribution of the HLF's research was acknowledged and quoted in the report (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p11) and its investment in parks was recognised (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.36), although its funding partner, the BLF, was not mentioned. Some witnesses raised concerns about HLF funding. The Town and Country Planning Association stated that the 'focus on heritage and history meant less attention to park's role in the future of towns and cities, echoing the tensions of the two advocacy reports in the 1990s. Reluctance to sign up for HLF projects, because of a concern about maintaining future maintenance commitments, was cited for local authorities as an issue (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.37), while Newcastle City Council, which has cut 97% from its parks funding, called for 'a change in emphasis from funding bodies to revenue' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.37).

The HLF's own evidence recognised that their funding policy of encouraging the development and maintenance of flagship parks had unintended consequences at times of limited public spending. It accepted that maintaining Green Flag standards and the increased revenue costs in HLF funded parks were depriving other locally important but lower profile parks and playgrounds of resources and challenging democratic decision making on the allocation of council funding (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.36). This approach of singling out examples of the highest quality works well in relation to other aspects of HLF's work such as investing in individual works of art and listed buildings, but its effectiveness in relation to parks in the 2010s was both challenged externally (Layton Jones, 2014, p.72; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017 p.30) and recognised internally through the evidence given by the HLF itself to the inquiry (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.37). As Layton-Jones commented in her report on parks for the Gardens Trust, *Uncertain Prospects*, 'while Sefton Park (a recipient of HLF funding) has flourished, the nearby Newsham Park has continued in a downward spiral' (2016b, p.14).

The increasing reliance on volunteers and the ways that their contributions were masking the effects of cuts was highlighted in the inquiry's findings and the limits of their capacity in taking overall responsibility for sites were recognised. The report on the inquiry cautioned that 'to see volunteer development as part of a process of civic disengagement is to court disaster' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017, p.50). This view was supported by evidence from the history of the management and ownership of parks that were originally established by companies or charitable trusts, which reveals that many were sold or donated to the local council because their previous owners were in financial difficulty. As Layton-Jones, in her evidence to the enquiry on behalf of Historic England, asserts: 'the current owners of parks need to be aware not just of the history of their design, but also the history of their management' (2016a, unpaginated). This raises the issue of how the funding for the maintenance and management of parks will be organised in the future and the HLF's



role to date in encouraging particular solutions through their funding regimes. The evidence outlined above shows that in 2017, many parks are at risk again. While there was political support for and attention to the inquiry, there has been little action or change arising from it. The silence of local government in the national debate is also telling.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter offers an analysis of the reasons for the creation of the HLF's first dedicated targeted grants programme and considers its influence on heritage practice and production in the context of local government. It demonstrates how the HLF has moved its focus beyond the restoration of the historical, physical fabric of parks to a more nuanced people-focused approach that recognises the importance of intangible heritage in the value that is ascribed to these sites by their users. This new position, which in part was encouraged by the New Labour government's heritage and lottery legislation, was encapsulated in the lottery distributor's vision for the strategic framework for 2013 to 2018 'to make a lasting difference to heritage, people and communities' (HLF 2013a, p.10). However, the evidence that I have found suggests that a lasting difference is proving harder to sustain, particularly in relation to parks.

Pursuing the heritage cause of parks broadened the HLF's own heritage practice and production, creating methodologies for the restoration and management of these sites which have a strong communal value, while also advocating their historical importance and aesthetic qualities to their owners and their users. Parks appear to have benefitted from an opportune moment in the early life of the HLF when, in response to the large amounts of money at its disposal, 'policy was often developed in a piecemeal and adhoc fashion' (Harding and Lambert, 2002, p.5).

Parks are part of the fabric of everyday life and the HLF asserts that they are the third most used public service after GP's surgeries and hospitals (HLF 2014a, p.43). They are also seen as an indicator of public satisfaction with local councils (HLF, 2014a, p.53). It is clear that parks are a worthy recipient of lottery funds in the public's eyes (Peter Neal Consulting, 2014). The work that HLF has done to build skills and support the role and training of volunteers and user groups to research and care for the heritage of parks has created new heritage practice and production and has contributed to the success of individual parks projects. HLF's campaigning efforts have been significant and influential, informing two parliamentary Select Committees in 1999 and 2016. However, despite all of this activity, little sustained strategic progress on fundamental issues of the funding and status of parks in local government has been made over 20 years, despite £850m spent through 800 HLF grants (HLF, 2016a, p.5) and numerous pieces of research and evaluation.

As a public funder of parks, the HLF has been drawn into a bigger debate about the civic realm, as the future of public services and public spaces in the 2010s becomes increasingly uncertain (Crewe, 2016). The impact of reductions in council spending in the 2010s has raised questions about how the elaborate 19<sup>th</sup> century public infrastructure that we have inherited can be supported and the ways in which the lottery distributor has invested in it to date. The UK's parks and the HLF are caught up in central government policy, which intends to undermine local government through successive budget cuts (Crewe, 2016, p.10). This begs the question, are local authorities the best stewards of parks today? As Lambert observes 'I fear we really are seeing an unravelling of the consensus on public ownership and public goods, of which parks are such a beautiful example' (2015, p.9).

The lack of high-profile leadership at all levels within the parks sector is hampering progress on developing a sustainable future for these sites. Their location in the politically charged local government environment makes it difficult for parks managers to speak out individually. HLF investment in local authority museums, which have a similar history and

status within local government, has enabled their directors to raise their profiles and further their careers; however, parks managers are relatively invisible, despite having delivered multi-million pound improvement schemes. In part, this is evidence of the low status of parks staff and the lack of career progression: ‘where in Britain do you find the horticultural equivalent to the Director of the Tate?’ as Tim Smit the Director of the Eden Project commented (Smit, 2000, p.106). The Royal Parks, which, like the national museums, receive annual funding from the DCMS, are seen as the elite in the parks’ world, but unlike the national museums, there are no expectations that they will connect with or champion their regional counterparts.

The only national voice for parks with resources to invest is still the HLF’s which sits in DDCMS, while local authorities are located in DCLG, a different government department. Given the inconclusive findings of the *Learning to Rethink Parks* report and the CLG inquiry, what changes will the lottery distributor make to its funding for parks in the new strategic plan beyond 2018? How might the HLF work differently with the BLF to build social and cultural capital and mobilise communities to support and lobby for their local park? The ‘lasting difference’ of the HLF’s funding, both to the built and natural heritage of parks and the people who use them, is in the balance. The HLF’s active construction and promotion of the intrinsic and instrumental heritage value of parks over two decades was in part encouraged by the New Labour government and then undermined by the Coalition and the Conservative administrations, demonstrating the vulnerability of these sites, despite the HLF’s intervention.

## Conclusion

This study set out to understand the role of the HLF in the construction and preservation of heritage. The purpose of my research was not to create a chronological history of the HLF or to determine whether the HLF is a good or bad thing. As someone who remembers the lack of public investment in heritage prior to the existence of the National Lottery, I know that this relatively new source of money, which is ‘not the subject of the vicissitudes of the Comprehensive Spending Review’ (Hewison, 2014, p.79), has transformed the fortunes of some aspects of this wide-ranging sector, while also delimiting the state-supported construction of the UK’s past. Through my close involvement with the staff and the trustees of the NHMF and HLF, I am aware of the considerable time, thought and dedication that is given to the management and operation of the two funding streams. However, throughout my term as a trustee, I wanted to better understand how the organisation intervened in heritage practice and production and to clearly locate its work in an historical and theoretical context. This curiosity inspired and informed my doctoral research.

My analysis of the work of the HLF has been constructed from historical and archival research, interpreted through theoretical concepts of heritage and informed by my personal experiences of working with the funder. My findings demonstrate that to fully understand the role and significance of the HLF in the construction and preservation of the UK’s heritage, both historical and theoretical analysis are necessary to capture the complexity and origins of its approach to the management of heritage practice and consumption. I argue that the considerable power and influence of the HLF should not only be articulated through the money that it distributes, but also interpreted through the public and heritage values that are recognised and created by the processes it employs in its funding strategies, grant giving and governance.

The study examines the policies and practices of the HLF and contributes to the understanding of the role of funding bodies in influencing the practice of heritage production. By developing case studies and reviewing how lottery awards for heritage are generated, determined and delivered, I show how examining pivotal moments in the institutional history of the lottery distributor has enabled me to locate its place in the creation of post-war cultural policy in the UK and to show that while the HLF is a relatively new source of public funds, it sits within a continuum of state funding that stretches back through the NHMF, to the NLF. My findings are relevant to heritage scholars, cultural historians, NHMF and HLF grantees, applicants, staff and trustees, as the work identifies the impact of the National Lottery on the construction of the past in a range of contexts and explores the heritage values displayed by the two funding streams as well as the social, political and economic contexts that they function within.

I have looked in detail at three specific aspects of the work of this proactive and reactive funder and its partners: commemorative practice and citizen led research, the acquisition of high-profile heritage by national institutions and the championing of everyday heritage. These investigations have demonstrated how these apparently disparate fields of work have been brought together by the existence of the HLF and are linked by 'the messy and dispersed nature of policy making' (Hesmondhalgh et al, 2015, p.13). My research indicates that the lottery distributor plays multiple roles in the sector reflecting, as Rees Leahy observed in relation to the National Gallery, 'the mixed economy of cultural management that accommodates connoisseurship and populism, exclusivity and diversity' (2007, p.699). My findings show that the HLF has generated new approaches to heritage preservation and production, especially through its targeted programmes, which encouraged the use of the past for social and economic purposes, whilst retaining a focus on saving heritage at risk and recognising its intrinsic value, thus connecting it back to its parent body, the NHMF.

This research offers new insights into the role of the HLF and its relationship with the NHMF through an examination of its history, its funding methods and governance systems. The analysis is informed by my 'insider' experience as a grantee and trustee, offering a unique perspective on the organisation of its work. My close analysis of the HLF's administration of lottery funds shows that it is not the neutral funder that its public statements imply but that it is directly engaged in shaping the production and consumption of the heritage that it grants money for, thus challenging the funder's claim not to define the heritage it supports. The findings of the detailed reviews and case studies that I have used to explore the interface between the applicant and the funder and which form the core of this thesis, demonstrate that the HLF has directly encouraged and influenced heritage practice in relation to both public parks and the First World War Centenary through its funding processes and guidelines. The funder's influence can also be seen in the construction of other aspects of heritage, such as the framing of applications for HLF support for the purchase of high-profile works of art, which require the expression of the social, educational and economic value of these objects as well as their historic and aesthetic qualities. This conclusion briefly reviews and develops my findings and suggests the focus for continued research.

### **Heritage values and directions**

Comparing the work of the HLF with that of its parent body, the NHMF, highlights the role of the lottery distributor in challenging the dominance of the country house and its contents as the defining national story of UK heritage. This powerful narrative informed the appropriation of funds from the NLF to support the transfer of historic properties to public and charitable bodies and can be seen in the founding objectives of the NHMF. The evidence from my research suggests that the HLF's heritage agenda was influenced by both the external environment and internal factors. The relative youth of the lottery distributor when New Labour came to power, in 1997, enabled it to flex and adapt its work to encompass a variety of activities in order to fulfil the requirements of the additional policy directions that

the New Labour government issued to the arm's-length body. The HLF's approach to the past also reflected the heritage direction that emerged in the 1990s (Vergo 1989 and Samuel 1994) which promoted a more representative presentation of the UK's multiple and diverse heritages, informed by a wider range of heritage values embracing class, gender and race.

The widening of the HLF's agenda and the range of heritage practice that was funded and encouraged through targeted programmes, was developed in the context of successive strategic plans (HLF, 1999, HLF, 2002, HLF, 2008, HLF, 2013a). When the national government changed in 2010 and again in 2015, the policy directions issued by New Labour to the HLF, which required evidence of increased access to and participation in heritage activity and demonstrations of the use of heritage to inspire children and young people, strengthen communities, encourage volunteering, encourage skills development and reduce economic and social deprivation, remained in place (NHMF, 2017b, pp.69-72). While Belfiore (2012, p.103) might see these priorities as evidence of 'defensive instrumentalism', a way of defending spending on the arts and culture by making a case for their usefulness, these examples of the policy attachment of heritage to social and economic benefits (Gray, 2002) also reflect the trustees' original aims for the HLF to support 'smaller projects that are close to people's hearts and will enhance their everyday lives' (NHMF, 1994, p.3) and for the funds to be 'distributed to the widest benefit of those from whom it comes – the players of the National Lottery' (NHMF and HLF, 1995a, p.23).

In comparison, my findings on the NHMF, a much more modest grant giver, show that it continues to reflect the heritage values that informed its creation during the Thatcher government. It has broadly maintained the same way of working since it began in 1980, using expert opinion and focusing on the support of 'outstanding' heritage prioritising intrinsic aesthetic and historic value. My research suggests that the work of the NHMF reproduces many of the founding principles of its predecessor, the NLF, not only by funding the transfer of immutable heritage from private to public hands, but also by using this



material from the past for an instrumental commemorative purpose. Each object or site that is acquired using an NHMF grant becomes a memorial for those who lost their lives for the UK.

Exploring the relationship between expert-led and community-led heritage processes as part of this study has revealed how the NHMF and the HLF have interpreted their stated positions not to define heritage. My research suggests that for the working methods of the NHMF, this stance implies confidence in the knowledge and skills of the staff, board and external advisers to determine what 'items of outstanding national importance' (NHMF, 2015, p.24) should be funded, echoing a sense of immutable heritage over which "every educated gentleman would agree" (William Morris cited in Clark, 2006, p.59). For the NHMF, evidence of historic and aesthetic value and/or memorial character remains key and the trustees are the final arbiter of what will be saved and preserved for the future, using the relatively modest budget at their disposal.

In the case of the HLF, however, I found that the lack of a heritage definition allows it to fund 'what people value' (NHMF, 2014d, p.56), reflecting Lowenthal's observation that: 'Heritage is no longer confined to the rich and the powerful; it belongs to everyone' (Lowenthal, 1994, p.43). The HLF demonstrates a willingness to explore diversity and difference and to encourage heritage construction and production that actively uses the past in the context of the present, albeit set in a carefully defined outcomes framework, requiring elements of both intrinsic and instrumental value to be demonstrated in any application. Responsibilities for HLF grant decisions are more dispersed than those of the NHMF and can be made by the staff, regional committees and trustees, depending on the value of the award. But despite their contrasting approaches it must be remembered that these two funds are part of the same institution: the trustees of the NHMF and the HLF are one and the same and decisions are made about strategy, policy and the allocations from both funds at the

same board meetings requiring navigation between the two different systems of heritage funding.

The changing role and status of the expert in the work of the two funders is evident in my analysis of how decisions are made. The reactive NHMF uses external expert opinion to inform assessments of the intrinsic heritage quality of the objects that are the subject of the applications received. In contrast, the HLF has moved on from the use of the expert panels to inform decision making. While it takes note of the listed status of buildings and the designations of landscape, it employs a different kind of expertise which is related to the widespread promotion of its funding schemes, its grant administration and the assessment of each application against a range of criteria. The lottery distributor's approach involves the use of detailed funding guidelines for both open programmes and targeted grants and strategies to generate applications from both subject specific and geographical areas where spending is low. These frameworks influence the presentation of the perceived heritage value of the objects and sites that are the focus of the applications, and encourage the construction and expression of the social, economic and environmental benefits of heritage that are produced by the grants that are made.

Despite its claims to the contrary, my research suggests that the lottery distributor does, therefore, like its parent body, define the heritage it funds, through the frameworks it uses at both the application and decision-making stages. Furthermore, it uses the judgements of its staff and trustees, who consciously or unconsciously bring their own experience into the assessment of applications. The effects of the changes in membership of the NHMF and HLF governing body, which I witnessed following the election of the Coalition government, demonstrate the impact of trustees on the distribution of funds. I came to see that while it may be possible to defend a funding decision, it is not humanly possible to be completely objective, despite objectivity being one of the Nolan principles of public life. This highlights the importance of diversity on a grant-giving board or committee in particular, as each

member brings their own understanding of the world to the meeting. My findings make it clear that grant-making, like heritage, is a socially and politically constructed process.

The role of the HLF as an active heritage maker is evident in its generation of activity linked to the marking of the Centenary of the First World War. The heritage production enabled by the lottery distributor and directed by its targeted grant-making promotion and frameworks for this four-year anniversary indicates that through this programme, the HLF is also a memorial maker, generating sentiment for those whose lives were affected by the Great War and encouraging public participation in research and events. The commemorative focus of this work, in a field of difficult and contested heritage, has channelled funding to locally based citizen-led research into the conflict, revealing previously hidden human-scale local history which contrasted with the grand narratives of the nation. In addition, the HLF investment into *14-18 NOW* has offered alternative spectacles and rituals to those ceremonies of remembrance created by church and state. These initiatives contrast with the passive and symbolic approaches to commemoration of both the NLF and the NHMF, which were set up with a memorial purpose.

The tensions between the values and operations of the NHMF and HLF are evident throughout this thesis. They can be clearly seen in the handling of the Churchill Papers discussed in Chapter 3. The NHMF/HLF staff and trustees underestimated the press and political reaction to the use of lottery funding to resolve the longstanding negotiation with a high-profile political family over the archive and finish what was essentially a piece of NHMF business. Another example of this complex interface is presented in the analysis of the contrasting grant decisions of both funders to applications for the purchase of the same Van Dyck *Self Portrait*, which is one of three case studies highlighted in Chapter 4. The different ways in which the grant was approached in the two funding requests shows how each of the funders require applicants to produce particular constructions of the heritage that is funded.

Ultimately, despite the controversy that the acquisitions generated, with the help of the HLF, both the archive and the painting were saved for the nation by their deposit in national institutions. However, their journeys through the funding process from private to public hands, just like that of the Madonna of the Pinks (Rees Leahy, 2007), were highly charged and the meanings of these seemingly immutable heritage objects were changed during their time in the funding system both by political and media responses and the NHMF's and the HLF's grant procedures. For example, the Churchill Papers became a political target, while the Van Dyck *Self Portrait* and the Wedgwood collection were both transformed into national heritage causes, attracting donations from the public. Through the requirements of HLF funding, all three major acquisitions examined in Chapter 4 were integral to a different kind of stewardship and heritage-making with their new owners, if only for the life of the grant.

Other types of grant transactions explored in the thesis require negotiations to continue well beyond the grant decision, where, for example, the rescue of heritage from loss is not achieved by securing the purchase of an object, but by encouraging a different approach to management. This is particularly evident in organisations, such as local councils, where heritage is not their primary purpose. As Chapter 5 has shown, the HLF's recognition of the heritage status of previously disregarded sites such as public parks, has brought many challenges. These sites are owned and managed by local authorities, which have complex, multiple and politicised agendas and the on-going stewardship of these sites has been challenging. Cuts in public spending have threatened the maintenance of HLF funded improvements.

The difficult financial environment of the 2010s has tested the HLF's funding model for parks. This budgetary pressure has called into question the HLF's ability to make a 'lasting difference' (HLF, 2012) to this kind of heritage. Given the lack of national leadership in the field of public green space, the HLF has taken an active role in both constructing and

championing the intrinsic and the social, economic and environmental value of parks and has sought new solutions to secure the future of these everyday heritage assets and protect the gains achieved by their investment made to date. The HLF's experience of funding parks illustrates the challenge of delivering long term and sustained changes to the ways in which heritage is valued and managed by grantees that do not have a heritage focus. Together all the case studies and reviews demonstrate the part played by the HLF in constructing and negotiating heritage value in a range of contexts and the different internal and external issues linked to each set of grant-making circumstances.

### **The People's Lottery?**

While this research is not concerned with the debates about the National Lottery as a regressive and reverse form of taxation (Mulgan, 1996), the HLF's relationship with lottery players and the evidence of accountability to the public for lottery expenditure is touched on in my study. The first instance of outrage on the behalf of the public was voiced by the press through reports on the grant for the Churchill Papers in 1995, detailed in Chapter 3. At that time the trustees were taken to task for this grant decision and portrayed as the cultural elite helping out their friends. In contrast, New Labour described the National Lottery as the *People's Lottery* (Smith, 1997) and sought more transparency from all the lottery distributors, while also being more directive in the ways that money should be spent. Efforts to engage the public in decision making, such as the *Restoration* programme and the use of citizens' juries to review projects in the 2000s, were short lived. Throughout my term of office (2009-2015), lottery players had a low profile in the publicity surrounding the grants that were made by the HLF. My analysis of press activity shows that donations from members of the public and the Art Fund, which represented only a small percentage of the funds needed for some of the acquisitions of high-profile heritage outlined in Chapter 4, were mentioned in the reporting of the grants for these acquisitions. In contrast, the lottery

players who had provided millions towards these purchases, albeit indirectly, were not specifically recognised.

In 2017 the numbers of National Lottery players fell significantly (NHMF, 2017b, p.6), this 'lottery fatigue' (Farnell and Creigh-Tyte, 2003, p.165) was exacerbated by an increasingly competitive betting and gaming sector and the lack of economic growth. The consequent decrease in income prompted not just reductions in grant funding, but also a new attitude by the good causes towards lottery players, who are now thanked by the HLF at every opportunity (Figure 16). It is not clear whether this will help restore levels of play.



Figure 16: Infographic produced by the HLF in 2017 about the First World War programme and thanking National Lottery Players for their support

(Source: Heritage Lottery Fund)

Permission to reproduce this image has been granted by the Heritage Lottery Fund

Academic studies on motivations to gamble on national lotteries, such as Rogers and Webley (2001) and Lutter et al (2018) have shown that people who play regularly, play to win, and the support of organisations that benefit from the funds that are raised is not identified as a reason for participating.<sup>117</sup> However there are examples of the opinion of lottery players being sought in previous research on the social impact of the HLF's grants (Forgan, 2006) and in 2018, the consultation on new strategic plan involved lottery players in forward planning for the first time (Resources for Change and Hopkins van Mil, 2018).

### **Future thinking**

In this final section I make recommendations about the application of my findings and potential further research in this field. This is the first independent academic study that has set out to understand the impacts of the HLF and locate the influence and role of the funder in the construction and preservation of heritage. My research suggests that while the heritage process is critiqued in academic research, there is more to explore about the influence of the NHMF and the HLF on the practice of heritage production and their generation and negotiation of the practical delivery of heritage creation and management that takes place in the UK. It is clear from the case studies and reviews that I have presented that both the NHMF and the HLF prompt and shape or reinforce methods of heritage practice through their grant making. My work has been confined to the detailed analysis of examples of specific funding programmes and individual funding decisions. To build a comprehensive picture of the funder's influence this line of inquiry merits further development and the inclusion of a broader sample of funding decisions, such as those related to projects submitted by or for young people. An exploration of HLF applicants' understanding of heritage values, given they represent a broad range of institutions and

---

<sup>117</sup> These views were also expressed by Diana Thompson, then Chief Executive of Camelot, at an event at 8 Northumberland Avenue, London, to celebrate the 18 years of the lottery on 16 May 2013, attended by the author.



community groups that have chosen to engage with the lottery distributor would also add to this analysis and to the heritage value debate.

In conducting my analysis of the HLF's corporate information, I have become aware of the ways in which the HLF controls the information that it releases about its decision making. Some of the detail of what I would see as the key issues relating to the agreement or refusal of grants is edited out of the minutes that the public see. While I am sure this is done for brevity and appropriate confidentiality, it obscures the debate that lies behind the decisions, the complexity of the work of the funder in its selection of the heritage that it chooses to support and the role of the governing body in defining heritage practices. This, in my view, downplays the HLF's significant role in the construction of heritage, presenting an image of a passive funder, not the active heritage maker that my research demonstrates that it is. While my findings help to redress the absence of this detailed understanding, in the interests of transparency, I would suggest that the lottery distributor might explain its decision-making processes more clearly in its summary versions of the minutes to better satisfy its accountability for public funds and clarify its role in heritage production.

In seeking out critical writing to inform and interpret my findings, I have become aware of the low levels of specific independent critical analysis of the HLF's work, other than that produced by those who have worked in or for the organisation, (Clark, 2004, Clark and Maeer, 2008, Maeer, 2014) a point also noted by Hesmondhalgh et al (2015, p.172). My research suggests that the work of the lottery distributor actively reflects and demonstrates the challenges of defining heritage value and the politics of distributing public funding and is a rich source of evidence of the complexity of real-world practice. The HLF's day to day operation highlights the tensions between the intrinsic and instrumental heritage values of both grantor and grantee and yet to date its activity has rarely been examined. This may, in part, be as a result of the lack of information about the workings of the lottery distributor that is publicly available, as discussed above, and perhaps compounded by evidence of a lack

of understanding of the active roles that the funder plays in shaping the work in the fields that it supports.

A survey of HLF staff and board attitudes and motivations would enrich the limited analysis that I have done to date on the institutional values of the lottery distributor. These insights would further inform the understanding of the ways in which the HLF influences heritage production and generates heritage value. Given the important role of the board and committee members, further exploration of the role of decision makers in the grant-making process and a clearer understanding of how they use their knowledge and specialist skills in decision making would complement the body of existing academic work on for profit and nonprofit boards (Inglis and Cleave, 2006, Zhu, 2016, Jäger and Rehli, 2012).

Inspired by my research on parks and linked to my experience as a grantee, I believe that there is more work to do on the consequences of the ambitious heritage capital projects that the HLF has funded to regenerate and repurpose civic and charitable institutions and historic buildings. The effects of these reinventions of these heritage sites on the staff that work in them and the opportunities for organisational development that come with the upheaval created by the physical regeneration of buildings and landscapes is considerable, as I know from personal experience. New organisational identities are created and new business models are triggered by these capital investments in order to encourage financial return from new public spaces, refreshed facilities and the anticipated increased footfall. While the HLF has researched the first 100 grants over £5m, (HLF and BOP Consulting, 2015), there has been little attention given to the effects of these programmes of investment on the career trajectories of those who deliver and lead these initiatives, such as conservation architects, museum professionals, designers and heritage consultants, many of whom have built their reputations through HLF funded projects.

My research offers a critical review of the HLF's work during its first two decades.

Over the eight years of my PhD study there have been changes to national government and to the leadership of both the staff and the governing body of the NHMF and the HLF. In addition to ongoing public spending cuts, the fall in National Lottery revenue has reduced the amounts of funding available to the distributors for their administration and grant giving. In response to diminishing income in 2018, the HLF did not award any grants over £5m (HLF, n.d.d), creating increased competition and uncertainty within the heritage sector. The corporate strategy for 2018-2021 promoted a revised mission for the HLF: ‘Inspiring, leading and resourcing the UK’s heritage to create positive and lasting change for people and communities’ (HLF, 2018); however, it will still have to work in collaboration with the government funded development agencies for heritage such as the ACE, HE and NE which are the recognised lead bodies for these areas of work.<sup>118</sup>

A new strategic framework for 2019 to 2024, informed by the Tailored Review conducted by DCMS in 2017 (NLHF, 2019a), has been published with revised outcomes and objectives. The lottery distributor has changed its name to the National Lottery Heritage Fund ‘to make the link with the National Lottery more explicit’ (NLHF, p.5, 2019) and is describing itself in an active role, as a champion and advocate. The work of the national board has changed as all decisions under £5 million are now made at regional and country level and a governance review has been commissioned in 2019 to assess and review board and committee arrangements. Awards over £5 million will be made on a biannual not annual basis. The announcement in April 2019 that the first batch of open data linked to projects funded by the HLF indicates a new approach to corporate information, allowing it to be used and shared by anyone (NLHF, 2019b).

---

<sup>118</sup> The Tailored Review’s recommendations were: take a stronger leadership position, setting clearer strategic priorities for heritage across the four countries of the UK within a UK-wide framework; test alternatives to pure grants, such as social investment and other types of repayable finance to increase the sustainability of the sector; support the sector in working internationally; support increased use of digital and enhanced digital capabilities; support the development of the National Lottery brand. (NLHF, 2019 p.51).

The nine English regions and their budgets have been reorganised into 3 large areas with greater delegated responsibility for grant-making: North, Midlands and East and London and South, mirroring the arrangements at the ACE. This change creates a dramatic contrast between the spending power of the countries of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales committees which each have less than 10% of the delegated per capita grants budget, and the three new English regions which have over 20%.<sup>119</sup> New types of finance such as loans and social investment, as well as grants, are available to applicants (HLF, 2018).

A national strategy to target the thirteen areas of lowest spend across the UK has been introduced replacing the locally determined development areas of the past. The new strategic framework has a set of revised strategic objectives and key performance indicators that will guide and monitor the NLHF's work. <sup>120</sup> A specific commitment has been made to work with ACE on museums 'to use both our organisations' expert knowledge of English museums to inform grant decisions and ... work together through a series of formal partnerships and collaborations where our interests as National Lottery distributors coincide' (NLHF, 2019, p.45). This intention is supported by a memorandum of understanding signed by the two funders. All of these changes combined with a change of national office location represent a major re-organisation of the work of the former HLF, a new set of relationships with the multidisciplinary heritage sector and a different role in the UK's heritage production.

From 2019 there will be no targeted grants programmes for parks, landscapes and townscapes or work with young people, instead there is a single open programme for all types of heritage project offering grants from £3000 to £5 million, with proportionate

---

<sup>119</sup> Per capita allocations of all budgets not reserved for strategic interventions or UK-wide competition: Northern Ireland 2.9%, Wales 4.8%, Scotland 8.4%, England North 23.7%, England Midlands and East 25.3% London and South 35% (NLHF, 2019, p.47)

<sup>120</sup> We will continue to bring heritage into better condition; We will inspire more people to value heritage more; We will ensure that heritage is inclusive; We will support organisations we fund to be more robust enterprising and forward looking; We will demonstrate how heritage helps people and places to thrive; We will grow that contribution that heritage makes to the UK economy (NLHF, 2019, p.49)

processes and requirements for different levels of grant. These are shaped by nine funding outcomes that have been created from the previous fourteen.<sup>121</sup> While this new approach removes the caps on spending in certain areas which previously had their own budget lines, in making the programme simpler the key strands of the NLHF's work are less visible and obvious to those who are not regular applicants. To overcome this, there are plans to run time-limited campaigns to encourage applications for certain types of projects (HLF, 2018). In the new regime, the first of these targeted initiatives is a new approach to public parks and green spaces, working in partnership with National Lottery Communities Fund (previously the Big Lottery Fund) and the National Trust.

As an arts and heritage practitioner for over three decades, with little access to peer reviewed journals, I was largely unaware of the body of academic theoretical writing about my field of work. During my studies I have become conscious of the different views of the same field created by the perspectives of praxis and techne (McGuigan, 1996 and Gibson, 2008), and the tensions between them. The debates about the divergence and convergence of the critical and the practical create contrasting views of the possibility of critical practitioners and practical intellectuals. A Professional PhD is a way of using academic study to inform practice, and vice versa, building a bridge between theory and day-to-day activity. Weaving together Bennett's 'torn halves' of cultural policy research (2004, p.246) and attempting to blend critical analysis with the practical experience does, as Gibson argues, and I hope I have demonstrated, create 'more nuanced understandings' of the dynamics and effects of cultural programmes (2008, p.253), which in the case of the HLF represents billions of pounds of public expenditure generated by the National Lottery on heritage construction and preservation.

---

<sup>121</sup> Heritage will be in better condition; Heritage will be identified and better explained; People will have developed skills; People will have learned about heritage leading to change in ideas and actions; People will have greater wellbeing; A wider range of people will be involved in heritage; The funded organisations will be more resilient; the local area will be a better place to live, work or visit; the local economy will be boosted (NLHF, 2019, p.32)

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- 14-18 NOW. (2014a). *About the team* [Online]. Available: <http://www.1418now.org.uk/about/team-board/> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- 14-18 NOW. (2014b). *About 14-18 NOW* [Online]. Available: <http://www.1418now.org.uk/about/> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- 14-18 NOW. (2014c). *Letter to an Unknown Soldier* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/heritage-lottery-fund-commits-%C2%A35million-first-world-war> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- 14-18 NOW. (2016a). *We're here because we're here* [Online]. Available: <https://becausewearehere.co.uk/we-are-here-about/> [Accessed 9 May 2017].
- 14-18 NOW. (2017). *Poppies: Wave and Weeping Window* [Online]. Available: <https://www.1418now.org.uk/commissions/poppies/> [Accessed 9 May 2017].
- Ahmed, M. (2017). *Good causes squeezed as lottery ticket sales fall* [Online]. Financial Times. Available: <https://manchester.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/docview/1945396577?accountid=12253> [Accessed 29 October 2017].
- Alderson, K. (1995). Churchill sale may have scuppered regional flagship - local elections. *The Times*, 5 May p.9.
- Andrews, P., (1989) *Churchill /Chartwell papers: memo to Mr Woolley*. [memorandum] London: The National Archive.
- Andrews, P., (1990) *Churchill/Chartwell papers: memo to Miss Phippard, Mr Davie* [memorandum] TS 27/1584, HO 90/166. The National Archive.
- Anon, (1990) *The papers of Sir Winston Churchill*. [memorandum] (TS27/1584). London: The National Archives.
- Appleyard, B. (1993). Triple Jackpot for the Government. *The Independent* 25 February p.23.
- Art Fund. (2007). *Donors list* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/savebluerigi/donors-list.pdf> [Accessed 27 June 2016].
- Art Fund. (2013a). *Help save Van Dyck's final self portrait: 23 November* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/news/2013/11/25/help-save-van-dycks-final-self-portrait> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Art Fund. (2013b). *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows by John Constable*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/12367/salisbury-cathedral-from-the-meadows-john-constable> [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- Art Fund. (2014a). *Save Van Dyck appeal receives major boost: 26 March* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/news/2014/03/26/save-van-dyck-major-boost> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Art Fund. (2014b). *Saved: Van Dyck's Self Portrait: 1 May* [Online]. Available: <http://www.savevandyck.org/news/van-dyck-self-portrait-saved-for-nation> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Art Fund. (2014c). *Saving Van Dyck uploaded to Youtube on 22 November 2013* [Online]. Available: <https://youtu.be/SeSlPHvyUfA> [Accessed 24 September 2018].
- Art Fund. (2014d). *Wedgwood Collection Saved: 2 October* [Online]. Available: <http://www.savewedgwood.org/news/wedgwood-collection-saved> [Accessed 2 May 2013].
- Art Fund. (2016). *Wedgwood Art Fund Exclusive* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/what-to-see/member-offers/wedgwood-art-fund-exclusive> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Art Fund. (n.d.). *About us* [Online]. Available: <https://www.artfund.org/about-us/our-history> [Accessed 21 September 2018].
- Art Fund. (n.d.a.). *Self Portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, Provenance* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/supporting-museums/art-weve-helped-buy/artwork/12559/self-portrait-sir-anthony-van-dyck> [Accessed 27 June 2016].



- Art Fund. (n.d.b.). *Top Questions* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artfund.org/pages/frequently-asked-questions/top-questions> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Arts Council England (1995) *Annual report and account 1994/95*. London: Arts Council England.
- Arts Council England (2011) *Culture, Knowledge and Understanding: great museums and libraries for everyone*. London.
- Arts Council England. (2013). *Great Art and Culture for Everyone* [Online]. London: Arts Council England. Available: <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/great-art-and-culture-everyone> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Arts Council England. (2014). *Cultural Gifts and Acceptance in Lieu Report* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/advice-and-guidance/browse-advice-and-guidance/cultural-gifts-scheme-and-acceptance-lieu-report-2014#sthash.glu40Kbt.dpuf> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Arts Council England. (2016). *Capital Grants* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/capital-large-grants>. [Accessed 3 July 2016].
- Arts Council England. (n.d.a). *Acceptance in Lieu* [Online]. Available: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/tax-incentives/acceptance-lieu> [Accessed 29 October 2017].
- Arts Council England. (n.d.b). *Quality Metrics* [Online]. Available: <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/quality-metrics/quality-metrics> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- artsy. (n.d.). *Auction results for Anthony Van Dyck* [Online]. Available: <https://www.artsy.net/artist/anthony-van-dyck/auction-results> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Australia ICOMOS (1979) *Burra Charter*. Burwood, Australia: Australia ICOMOS.
- Baggot, I., Moyes, C. & Eccles, N. (2013) *Parks for People: Impact Evaluation Report*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Bashir, N., Bennett, E., Drayson, C., Eadson, W. & Sanderson, E. (2015) *Evaluation of Heritage Lottery Fund's First World War Centenary activity: Year 1 report*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University.
- Batty, E., Eadson, W., Pattison, B., Stevens, M., Twells, A. & Verdon, N. (2018) *Evaluation of Heritage Lottery Fund's First World War Activity: Year 4 Report*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University.
- BBC. (1994). *Britain braced for first lottery draw: 19 November* [Online]. Available: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/19/newsid\\_3702000/3702998.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/19/newsid_3702000/3702998.stm) [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- BBC. (2004). *£6m grant for Wedgwood Museum: 28 January* [Online]. Available: [www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/staffordshire/3438933.stm](http://www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/staffordshire/3438933.stm) [Accessed 12 June 2017].
- BBC. (2010a). *'Grotesque' to sell off Wedgwood collection: 30 November* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-stoke-staffordshire-11882692> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- BBC. (2010b). *David Cameron launches Tories' 'big society' plan: 19 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-10680062> [Accessed 4 July 2016].
- BBC. (2011a). *Fake statue Amarna Princess returns to Bolton Museum: 6 April* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-12987951> [Accessed 27 May 2016].
- BBC. (2011b). *Wedgwood collection 'can be sold' to plug pension debt: 19 December* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-stoke-staffordshire-16254791> [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- BBC. (2012). *Wedgwood Museum pottery: who will save the collection? : 23 February* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-stoke-staffordshire-17128966> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- BBC. (2014). *Wedgwood pottery appeal given £100,000 by JCB: 24 September* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-stoke-staffordshire-29359095> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- BBC. (2016). *Brexit: David Cameron's resignation statement in full: 24 June* [Online]. Available: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36619446> [Accessed 19 April 2017].



- BBC. (n.d.a.). *BBC FOUR: The First World War* [Online]. Available: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00jz8g2> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- BBC. (n.d.b). *Voices of the First World War* [Online]. BBC Radio 4. Available: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03t7p9l> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- Big Lottery Fund. (n.d.a). *About BIG lottery* [Online]. Available: <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/about-big> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Big Lottery Fund. (n.d.b). *Veterans: Commemorating World War II* [Online]. Available: <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/research/older-people/veterans> [Accessed 8 August 2015].
- Big Lottery Fund. (n.d.c). *Parks for People* [Online]. Available: <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/global-content/programmes/england/parks-for-people> [Accessed 16 June 2017].
- Binney, M. (2010). Is Stonehenge the Heritage Lottery Fund's Waterloo? History and heritage. *The Times*, 20 November, p.119.
- Birmingham Museums (2016a) *Turning to See: From Van Dyck to Lucian Freud*. Birmingham.
- Birmingham Museums (2016b) *Turning to See: exhibition flyer*. Birmingham: Birmingham Museums.
- Blythe, M., (1989) *Chartwell Archive: memo to The Solicitor* [memorandum] TS27/1584. London: The National Archives.
- Bradshaw, D. (1995). Winston: You got it cheap at £14m, MP's two fingers to the nation. *The Mirror*, 28 April 1995, p.1.
- Brindle, D. (2012). *The Graph of Doom: a bleak future for social care services: 15 May* [Online]. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/may/15/graph-doom-social-care-services-barnet> [Accessed 13 June 2017].
- British Future (2013) *Do mention the War: will it matter in 2014?* London British Future.
- British Future (2016) *A Centenary Shared*. London: British Future.
- British Pathé. (1946). *Hugh Dalton Budget 1946* [Online]. Available: <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/dalton-speech-about-budget/query/Hugh> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Brookfield, K. (2017) First World War Centenary programme: Telephone interview with the author, 21 April 2017.
- Brown, M. (2013). *Public arts spending in London 15 times greater than outside capital, says report: 31 October* [Online]. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2013/oct/31/public-arts-spending-london-15-times-greater> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Bunting, C. (2007) *The Arts debate: stage one findings and next steps*.
- Burlington Magazine (1995 ). Editorial: Museums and the Lottery. *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXVII(1107), p.427.
- CABESpace. (2003). *CABESpace* [Online]. Available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110118095356/http://www.cabe.org.uk/about/cabe-space> [Accessed 11 February 2016].
- CABESpace. (2009). *Making the invisible visible: the real value of park assets* [Online]. Available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110118104354/http://www.cabe.org.uk/publications/making-the-invisible-visible> [Accessed 13 June 2017].
- Cameron, D. (2012). *Speech at Imperial War Museum on First World War centenary plans, 11, October* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/speech-at-imperial-war-museum-on-first-world-war-centenary-plans> [Accessed 22 April 2015].
- Cameron, D. (2015). *The National Commemoration of the Centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac Day, 25 April* [Online]. Available: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/426255/GallipoliCommemoration\\_London.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/426255/GallipoliCommemoration_London.pdf) [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Carman, J. (2014) *Cultural Value: Heritage Value: combining culture and economics*. London: Arts and Humanities Research Council.
- Change, R. f. & Hopkins van Mil (2018) *Heritage Lottery Fund 2019: Planning for the future*. London: Resources for Change & Hopkins van Mil.

- Charity Commission for England and Wales. (2017). *Charity governance, finance and resilience: 15 questions trustees should ask* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/charity-trustee-meetings-15-questions-you-should-ask/charity-trustee-meetings-15-questions-you-should-ask> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Charity Commission for England and Wales. (n.d.). *1045646 - Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust* [Online]. Available: <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1045646&SubsidiaryNumber=0>. [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Cheshire, L. (2013). *Constable masterpiece saved for the British Public: 23 May* [Online]. Available: <http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/constable-masterpiece-saved-for-british-public> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Churchill Archive Centre (1996) *Churchill: What the Papers Say: Press Release*.
- Churchill College Cambridge. (n.d.). *An introduction to the Churchill Papers* [Online]. Available: <https://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives/collections/churchill-papers/about> [Accessed 15 July 2018].
- Clark, K. (ed.) (2006). *Capturing the public value of heritage: The proceedings of the London Conference 25-26 January*, Swindon: English Heritage.
- Clements, R. (1995) *Local elections 4 May 1995*. London: House of Commons.
- Colville, S. J., (1971) *letter to Sir Burke Trend* [letter] TS27/1584. London: The National Archives.
- Committee on Standards in Public Life. (1995). *The 7 Principles of Public Life* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-7-principles-of-public-life> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Concannon, A. (2017). *In Focus: The Painting: Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows exhibited 1831 by John Constable* [Online]. Available: <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/salisbury-cathedral-constable/the-painting> [Accessed 18 October 2018].
- Connolly, J. (1995). Popularity of collecting Churchill on rise again - Sir Winston Churchill's papers. *The Times*, 29 April p.7.
- Conway, H. & Lambert, D. (1993) *Public Prospect: Historic Urban Parks under threat: A short report by The Garden History Society and The Victorian Society*. London.
- Cornforth, J. (1974) *Country Houses in Britain: Can they survive?* London: British Tourist Authority.
- Country Life (1946). The Land Fund; Fen Winter's end. 99(2571), p.754.
- Crewe, T. (2016). The Strange Death of Municipal England. *The London Review of Books*, 38(24), pp. 6-10.
- Crosbie, P. & McGowan, B. (1995). Lottery Win for Churchills: Wartime premier's family to pocket a fortune. *Daily Express*, 27 April p.4.
- Cultural Brokers & Alchemy (2009) *A review of HLF's activity during 2005 – 2007 to mark the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in British ships (2007)*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Cultural Learning Alliance (2011) *ImagineNation*. London: Cultural Learning Alliance,.
- Daily Express. (1995). The Big Issue: Should the Churchill Family get the cash. *Daily Express*, 28 April p.17.
- Daily Mirror. (1995). What the money could have been used for. *Daily Mirror*, 28 April p.5.
- Daily Mirror. (1995). *Winston: You got it cheap at £14m: MP's two fingers to the nation* [Online]. Available: [https://ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir\\_1995\\_04\\_28\\_001&sr=1](https://ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/database/search/preview.jsp?fileName=DMir_1995_04_28_001&sr=1) [Accessed 2 November 2018].
- Dame Liz Forgan (2006). Capturing the opinions of people. In: Clark, K. (ed.) *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The proceedings of the London Conference: 25-26 January 2006*. Swindon: English Heritage. p.85
- Darnton, J. (1995). British uproar on move to buy Churchill papers. *The New York Times*, 28 April
- Davison, J. & Fowler, R. (1995). A Hard Bargain. *The Sunday Times*, 30 April, p.14

- Department for Business Innovation and Skills. (2010). *Regional Agencies closure* [Online]. Available: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120305143833/http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/economic-development/englands-regional-development-agencie> [Accessed 29 October 2017].
- Department for Communities and Local Government Select Committee. (2016). *Future of Public Parks Inquiry launched* [Online]. Available: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/communities-and-local-government-committee/news-parliament-2015/public-parks-launch-16-17/> [Accessed 12 December 2016].
- Department for Communities and Local Government Select Committee (2016/17) *Public Parks: Seventh Report of Session 2016-17*. (45). London: House of Commons.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (1999) *The New Cultural Framework*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2003a) *National Lottery Funding Decisions Document*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2003b) *Quinquennial Review of the National Heritage Memorial Fund*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2012) *Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest 2011-2012* London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2014) *Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest, Annual Report 2013-2014*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Culture Media and Sport. (2015a). *Policy: National Events and Ceremonies* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/marking-relevant-national-events-and-ceremonies/supporting-pages/first-world-war-centenary> [Accessed 22 April 2016].
- Department for Culture Media and Sport. (2015b). *Taking Part 2014/15 Quarter 4 Statistical Release* [Online]. Available: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/438442/Taking\\_Part\\_2014\\_15\\_Quarter\\_4\\_Report.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/438442/Taking_Part_2014_15_Quarter_4_Report.pdf) [Accessed 11 June 2018].
- Department for Culture Media and Sport. (2016a). *Taking Part Survey* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/taking-part#latest-publications> [Accessed 10 June 2018].
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2016b) *Taking Part 2015/16 Quarter 4*. London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Digital Culture Media and Sport (2017a) *Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest, Annual Report 2016-17* London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Department for Digital Culture Media and Sport. (2017b). *Taking Part Survey April to September 2017* [Online]. Available: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/664921/Mid-year\\_17-18\\_TP\\_release.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/664921/Mid-year_17-18_TP_release.pdf) [Accessed 11 June 2018].
- Department for Digital Culture Media and Sport. (2017c). *Taking Part Survey: England Adult Report 2016/17* [Online]. Available: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/664933/Adult\\_stats\\_release\\_4.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/664933/Adult_stats_release_4.pdf) [Accessed 11 June 2018].
- Department for Environment Transport and Regional Affairs (1999) *Select Committee on Environment, Transport and Regional Affairs, Twentieth Report*. London: DETR.
- Department for Environment Transport and the Regions & Prescott, J. (2000) *Our Towns and Cities: The Future: Delivering an Urban Renaissance*. London: DETR.
- Department of the Environment (1972) *The New Local Authorities: Management and Structure (The Bains Report)*. London: HMSO.

- Deuchar, S. (2015) Saving the Van Dyck and the Wedgwood Collection: Telephone interview with the author, 13 October
- Dowling, J. (2015). *Refurbished £15.75m Wedgwood museum opens in Barlaston: 17 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-33427229> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Drury McPherson Partnership (2013) *Mansions at Risk in Public Parks: A Review for the Heritage Lottery Fund*. London: Drury McPherson Partnership.
- Durham, M. (1995). Lottery cash to fund city parks clean-up. *The Observer*, 21 May, p.3.
- Eadson, W., Pattison, B., Stevens, M., Twells, A. & Verdon, N. (2017) *Evaluation of Heritage Lottery Fund's First World War Centenary Activity: Year 3 report*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University.
- Ellison, M. (1994). Lottery cash could rescue redundant buildings *The Guardian*, 18 November, p.13.
- English Heritage (2001) *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage (2002) *The heritage dividend: measuring the results of English heritage regeneration 1999-2002* London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage (2003) *Heritage Counts*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage (2008) *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment*. London: English Heritage.
- English Heritage. (n.d.). *Our history* [Online]. Available: <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/our-history/> [Accessed].
- European Lotteries. (n.d.). *Mission and strategy* [Online]. Available: <https://www.european-lotteries.org> [Accessed 10 September 2015].
- Evening Standard. (2013). *Salisbury Cathedral, Constable's 'greatest painting', is saved for nation by £23m deal, 23 May 2013. Available at()* [Online]. Available: <http://www.standard.co.uk/goingout/exhibitions/salisbury-cathedral-constable-s-greatest-painting-is-saved-for-nation-by-23m-deal-8628941.html> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Finance Act 1946 (9&10 Geo 6 c.64,s.48). London: HMSO.
- Finance Act 1953 (Eliz 2, c.30). London: HMSO.
- Finance Act 1956 (Eliz 2, c.7). London: HMSO.
- Finance Act (1946) ((9&10 Geo.6 c.64)). London: HMSO.
- Finance Act (Northern Ireland) (1948) (c15).
- Former Naval Person, (n.d.) *Prime Minister's Personal Telegram to President* [telegram] No 66 T548/2. London: Churchill Archive Centre.
- Gay, O. & White, J. (2013) *Purdah or pre-election period*. London: House of Commons Library.
- GMB Union (1993) *Grounds for Concern: the GMB's Campaign to Defend Our Parks, Gardens and Open Spaces*. London: GMB Union.
- Gompertz, W. (2014). *Time for the art world to thank Lottery ticket buyers: 10 October* [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-29570447> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Gordon, C., Powell, D. & Stark, P. (2013) *Rebalancing our Cultural Capital* London: GPS Culture.
- Green Flag Award. (2016). *The future condition and health of the UK's public parks are at significant risk* [Online]. Available: <http://www.greenflagaward.org/news/the-future-condition-and-health-of-uk-s-public-parks-are-at-significant-risk/> [Accessed 3 January 2017].
- Green Flag Award. (n.d.). *About Green Flag Award* [Online]. Available: <http://www.greenflagaward.org.uk> [Accessed 12 August 2018].
- Greenhalgh, L. & Worpole, K. (1995) *Park Life*. Stroud and London: Comedia and Demos.
- Hamilton, C. (2013). *John Constable's cathedral masterpiece saved for the nation after £23m Tate deal* [Online]. Available: <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/news/john-constable-s-cathedral-masterpiece-saved-for-the-nation-after-23m-tate-deal-8628632.html> [Accessed 17 October 2018].
- Hansard (1957) *National Land Fund, 9 April, cols 978-9*
- Harding, S. & Lambert, D. (2002) *Parks Reborn*. London: The Parks Agency.



- Hawkins, B. S. R. (1990). *The management of staff in a contracting education service*. Birmingham Polytechnic.
- Henley Centre (2004) *Has the National Lottery helped the UK?* London: Henley Centre.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (1995). Churchill Papers secured for the nation on the eve of VE Day: 26 April 1995 London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (1996a) *Heritage Lottery Fund Update 7*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (1996b) *Additional Guidance Note 1: Urban Parks*: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (1999) *Heritage Lottery Fund Strategic Plan 1999-2002*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2000a) *Review of the National Heritage Memorial Fund: Policy paper 227/66 14 December* London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2000b) *Annual Report and account 1999-2000*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2001) *Annual Report and Accounts (unpaginated supplement)*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2002) *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage: The Heritage Lottery Fund Strategic Plan 2002-2007*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2003) *Annual report and accounts 2002-2003*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2008) *Valuing our heritage, investing in our future: Our strategy 2008-2013*. London Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2011) *Remembering the First World War*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2012a). *Empire Faith and War: the Sikhs and WW1: 19 September* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/our-projects/empire-faith-war-sikhs-wwi> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2012b) *A lasting difference for heritage and people: strategic framework 2013-2018*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2013a). *HLF's new First World War programme opens* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/hlf%E2%80%99s-new-first-world-war-programme-opens> [Accessed 28 September 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2013b). *Heritage Lottery Fund commits £5m to First World War cultural programme* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/heritage-lottery-fund-commits-%C2%A35million-first-world-war> [Accessed 28 September 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2013c). *Constable's Salisbury Cathedral masterpiece saved* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/constable%E2%80%99s-salisbury-cathedral-masterpiece-saved> [Accessed 27 June 2016].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2013d) *Parks for People - Application Guidance*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2014a) *State of UK Public Parks: Renaissance to Risk*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2014b) *Understanding the First World war*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2014c). *Exploring the First World War and its legacy-Engagment Centres announced: 21 February* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/exploring-first-world-war-and-its-legacy-engagement-centres> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2014d). *£2.8million Lottery grant success for Hedd Wyn's home: 28 May* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/%C2%A328million-lottery-grant-success-hedd-wyn%E2%80%99s-home> [Accessed 4 September 2015].

- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2014e). *£11.5m Lottery grant to transform last surviving Battle of Jutland ship:15 October* [Online]. Available: [http://www.hlf.org.uk/search/search\\_api\\_views\\_fulltext=HMS%20Caroline](http://www.hlf.org.uk/search/search_api_views_fulltext=HMS%20Caroline) [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2014f). *New First World War Galleries at IWM, London: 16 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/new-first-world-war-galleries-iwm-london> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2014g). *HLF launches Heritage Exchange: 8 July* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/hlf-launches-heritage-exchange> [Accessed 23 October 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2015a). *Celebrating local heritage: 4 March* [Online]. Heritage Lottery Fund,. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/celebrating-local-heritage> [Accessed 14 October 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2015b). *Black on Both Sides: The Black British and Colonial Contribution to WW1: 3 June* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/our-projects/black-both-sides-black-british-and-colonial-contribution-ww1> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2015c). *New £4m National Lottery investment in First World War Centenary: 1 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/new-%C2%A34m-national-lottery-investment-first-world-war-centenary> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2015d). *Conservation project restores HMS M.33 the Royal Navy's only Gallipoli survivor; 10 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/conservation-project-restores-hms-m33-royal-navy%E2%80%99s-only> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2015e) *Heritage grants application guidance*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2016a) *The State of UK Public Parks*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2016b). *Revealing Hull's Heritage:12 September* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/revealing-hulls-heritage> [Accessed 2 February 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2017a) *Thanks to National Lottery players, communities across the UK are marking the First World War Centenary*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2017b). *Parks for People* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/looking-funding/our-grant-programmes/parks-people> [Accessed 16 June 2017].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2017c). *Say thank you to lottery players* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/say-thank-you-national-lottery-players> [Accessed 18 December 2017].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2017d). *Micro grants to launch in Barrow, thanks to National Lottery players: 9 November* [Online]. Available: [https://www.hlf.org.uk/search?search\\_api\\_views\\_fulltext=Barrow+in+furness&sort\\_by=search\\_api\\_relevance&sort\\_order=DESC&Search=Search](https://www.hlf.org.uk/search?search_api_views_fulltext=Barrow+in+furness&sort_by=search_api_relevance&sort_order=DESC&Search=Search) [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (2017e). *Free offers for National lottery players at 400 locations: 28 November* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/free-offers-national-lottery-players-400-heritage-attractions-search-our-map> [Accessed 24 September 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (2018) *Our Corporate Strategy 2018-2021* London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.a.). *Board of Trustees* [Online]. Heritage Lottery Fund. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are/board-trustees> [Accessed 12 July 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.a.). *Research and evaluation* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/research-evaluation> [Accessed 18 September 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.c). *Say thank you to National Lottery players* [Online]. Available: <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/about-big/our-approach/vision-and-principles> [Accessed 13 August 2018].

- Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.d.). *Changes to our grantmaking* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/our-strategy/changes-our-grantmaking> [Accessed 24 September 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund (n.d.e) *First World War: then and now: Application guidance*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.f). *Who we are* [Online]. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are> [Accessed 13 August 2018].
- Heritage Lottery Fund & Big Lottery Fund (2012) *UK Public Parks Summit: Protecting investment, promoting innovation, Royal Geographical Society, London Thursday 25 October 2012*. . London: Heritage Lottery Fund & Big Lottery Fund.
- Heritage Lottery Fund & BOP Consulting (2015) *HLF Major Grants - The First 100*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Hewison, R. & Holden, J. (2004) *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value*.
- Hewison, R. & Holden, J., (2007) *HLF and cultural value: Matching HLF 2005/6 research findings to the cultural value framework (Internal Report)*
- Historic England. (1999a). *Lister Park* [Online]. Available: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001222> [Accessed 17 March 2017].
- Historic England. (1999b). *Heaton Park* [Online]. Available: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000854> [Accessed 13 June 2017].
- Historic England. (2000). *Mowbray Park* [Online]. Available: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001320> [Accessed 11 February 2017].
- Historic England. (2017). *Heritage at Risk Register* [Online]. Available: <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/har-2017-registers/> [Accessed 23 May 2017].
- HM Treasury (1950) *Report of the Committee on Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest (Gowers Report)*. London: HMSO.
- HMSO. (1948). *Finance Act (Northern Ireland)* [Online]. Available: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/apni/1948/15/part/1> [Accessed 28 June 2015].
- HMSO. (1949). *Ulster Land Fund Act 1949* [Online]. Available: <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4763938?descriptiontype=Full&ref=HO+45/23488> [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Holden, J. (2006) *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*. London: Demos.
- Housing Act (1980) (c.51 (1) (1)). London HMSO.
- Housing Act (1980) (c51). London: HMSO.
- ICF International (2015e) *All Our Stories: Evaluation commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund* London: ICF International.
- ICOMOS. (1931). *The Athens Charter* [Online]. Available: <https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments> [Accessed 15 October 2018].
- ICOMOS. (1964). *Venice Charter* [Online]. Available: [https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf) [Accessed 15 October 2018].
- Imperial War Museum & Heritage Lottery Fund. (n.d.). *IWM First World War Centenary Galleries Win Heritage Lottery Fund Support* [Online]. Available: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/sites/default/files/press-release/FWWC%20Galleries%20HLF.pdf> [Accessed 14 October 2018].
- Independent. (1995). Editorial - Winners don't buy tickets. *The Independent*, 27 April 1995, p.18.
- Information Commissioners Office. (n.d.). *What is the Freedom of information Act* [Online]. Available: <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-freedom-of-information/what-is-the-foi-act/> [Accessed 4 July 2016].
- Institute for Government. (2012). *Bonfire of the Quangos; 22 August* [Online]. Available: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/news/latest/bonfire-quangos> [Accessed 25 April 2017].
- Jones, H. (2014). *Memory and meaning in the commemoration of the First World War: 18 March* [Online]. Institute of Public Policy Research. Available:



- <https://www.ippr.org/juncture/memory-and-meaning-in-the-commemoration-of-the-first-world-war>. [Accessed 7 May 2018].
- Jones, S. & Leech, S. (2015) *Cultural Value: Valuing the Historic Environment: a critical review of existing approaches*. London: Arts and Humanities Research Council.
- Jowell, T. (2004) *Government and the Value of Culture*. London: DCMS.
- Kaufman, G. (1995). Is THIS how we want to spend lottery money? . *Daily Express*, 28 April p.8.
- Kelsey, T. (1995). Churchill defends £12.5m sale of papers. *The independent*, 28 April, p.4.
- Kennedy, M. (1999). *Keep off the brass: A sneaky attempt to cut lottery cash for parks has been averted: 19 Jan* [Online]. The Guardian. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/1999/jan/19/guardiansocietysupplement3> [Accessed 20 September].
- Kennedy, M. (2003). A £20m question-can fund save this Raphael? *The Guardian*, 13 January, p.8.
- Kings College London (2018) *Changing cultures: Transforming leadership in the arts, museums and libraries* London: Arts Council England.
- Knell, J. & Taylor, M. (2011) *Arts Funding, Austerity and the Big Society* London: RSA.
- Lambert, D. (2015) *The parks movement, 1900-2015*. Conference Paper: University of Sheffield 11-12 September.
- LASER (1998) *Needs assessment survey of heritage material and collections held by public libraries in England. Report to the Heritage Lottery Fund* London: LASER.
- Layton-Jones, K. (2014) *National Review of Research Priorities for Urban Parks , Designed Landscapes and Open Spaces*. Swindon: Historic England.
- Layton-Jones, K. (2016a) *History of Public Parks Funding and Management (1810-2010)* Swindon: Historic England.
- Layton-Jones, K. (2016b) *Uncertain Prospects: Public Parks in the New Age of Austerity*. London: The Gardens Trust.
- Lloyd, S. (2017). *Reflections on the First World War Centenary* [Online]. Heritage Lottery Fund. Available: <https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/news-features/reflections-first-world-war-centenary> [Accessed 20 October 2017].
- Local Government Act (1988) (c.9(2)). London: HMSO.
- Local Government Association. (n.d.). Available: <https://www.local.gov.uk/> [Accessed 18 October 2018].
- London School of Economics. (n.d.). *The Women's Library* [Online]. Available: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/library/collections/collection-highlights/the-womens-library> [Accessed 2018].
- Lord Curzon (1915) *National Gallery Committee. Report of the Committee of the trustees of the National Gallery appointed by the trustees to enquire into the retention of important pictures in this country*. London: House of Commons.
- Lord Jacob Rothschild (1996) *The Heritage and the Lottery : How to spend it?* . London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- Low, V. (2013). *Tate acquires on of Britain's 'great masterpieces' for £23m: 24 May* [Online]. the times.co.uk. Available: [https://global-factiva-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/ha/default.aspx#!/?&\\_suid=153383082812503503789804972187](https://global-factiva-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/ha/default.aspx#!/?&_suid=153383082812503503789804972187) [Accessed 9 August 2018].
- Lowenthal, D. (2012). *Personal Reflections on the State of Heritage Lecture for the Cambridge Heritage Research Group uploaded to YouTube 13 Jan 2012* [Online]. Available: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KzJMbMw1L7c&feature=plcp> [Accessed 14 September 2012].
- Lutter, M., Tisch, D. & Beckert, J. (2018). Social Explanations of Lottery Play: New Evidence based on National Survey data. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 34(4), pp.1185-1203.
- Macdonald, M. (1995). Sports clubs win first lottery cash. *The Independent*, 21 March p.7.
- Magnússon, S. G. (2003). The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge. *Journal of Social History*, 36(3), pp.701-735.
- MailOnline. (2013). *Constable's cathedral 'masterpiece' is saved for the nation in £23.1 million Tate deal: 23 May* [Online]. Mail Online. Available: [https://global-factiva-](https://global-factiva-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/ha/default.aspx#!/?&_suid=153383082812503503789804972187)

- com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/ha/default.aspx#!/?&\_suid=1541344348471028285158034338675 [Accessed 9 August 2018].
- Market Opinion Research International (1996) *Attitudes to the Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund, 1996*. London: MORI.
- Market Opinion Research International (1997) *Heritage consultation - Research study conducted for the Heritage Lottery Fund July - September 1997. Internal report to the Heritage Lottery Fund*
- Mellor, D. (1995). Scandal of out-of-touch toffs looking after their chums with our money; how the lottery millions are being squandered. *Mail on Sunday*, 30 April p.28.
- Moneysorter. (n.d.). *UK Inflation calculator* [Online]. Available: [https://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator\\_inflation2.html](https://www.moneysorter.co.uk/calculator_inflation2.html) [Accessed 12 August 2018].
- Moore, S. (2014). *Trophy Pieces: exceptional antiquities go under the hammer* [Online]. FT.com; London. Available: <https://search-proquest-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/docview/1548596209/441B0DA2E59C44FDPQ/2?accountid=12253> [Accessed 9 August 2018].
- Morris, G., Hargreaves, J. & McIntyre, A. (2015) *14-18 NOW Evaluation Report 2014 Season: Executive summary*. London: 14-18 NOW & Morris Hargreaves McIntyre.
- Morris, G., Hargreaves, J. & McIntyre, A. (2017) *14-18 NOW Evaluation Report 2016 season*. London: 14-18 NOW & Morris Hargreaves McIntyre.
- Morris, G., Hargreaves, J. & McIntyre, A. (2018) *Artistic and heritage assessment for 14-18 NOW*. London: 14-18 NOW & Morris Hargreaves McIntyre.
- Murray, I. (1993). Secret Financial Deal may save Churchill Papers - Chartwell Trust *The Times*, 12 October p.5.
- Nairne, S. (2016) Van Dyck and the NPG: Interview with author at Somerset House on 17 March 2016,
- National Heritage Act 1980 (c.17). London: HMSO.
- National Heritage Act 1980 (c.47). London: HMSO.
- National Heritage Act 1997 (c.14). London: HMSO.
- National Heritage Act (1983) (c.47 s 3). London: HMSO.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1981) *First Annual Report 1980-1981*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1982) *Annual Report and Accounts 1981-1982*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1985) *Annual Report and Accounts 1984-1985*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1986) *Annual Report and Accounts 1985-1986*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1987) *Annual Report and Accounts 1986-1987*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1993) *Annual Report and Accounts 1992-1993*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1994) *Annual Report and Accounts 1993-1994*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1995) *Annual Report and Accounts 1994-1995*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (1998) *Annual Report and Accounts 1997-1998*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2003) *Annual Report and Accounts 2002-2003*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2004) *Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund: 20 April*
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2005) *A Unique Legacy: 25 years of the National Heritage Memorial Fund*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund. (2008). *Titian's Diana and Actaeon: 19 November* [Online]. Available: [www.nhmf.org.uk/projects/titians-diana-and-actaeon](http://www.nhmf.org.uk/projects/titians-diana-and-actaeon) [Accessed 12 June 2017].

- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2009) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Distribution Annual report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2009*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2010) *Summary of Board Meeting held on 20 April 2010*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2011a) *Summary of Board Meeting held on 27 September 2011*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2011b) *Summary of Board meeting held on 15 November 2011*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2011c) *Annual Report and Accounts*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund. (2012a). *NHMF announces £1million to save last surviving first world warship for the nation: 11 October 2012* [Online]. Available: [http://www.nhmf.org.uk/LatestNews/Pages/HMS\\_Caroline.aspx](http://www.nhmf.org.uk/LatestNews/Pages/HMS_Caroline.aspx) [Accessed 28 June 2015].
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2012b) *Operational Review of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, including the impact of the HLF policy change for fast track acquisitions of portable heritage B 2012 (10)15: 11 December*
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2012c) *Summary of Board meeting held on 26 June 2012*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund. (2012d). *Home of iconic First World War poet saved for the nation: 1 March 2012* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nhmf.org.uk/LatestNews/Pages/Homeoficonicpoetsavedfornation.aspx> [Accessed 28 June 2015].
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2013a) *Summary report of the Board meeting held on 23 April 2013*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2013b) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2013*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2013c) *Heritage Lottery Fund Business Plan 2013*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2014a) *Summary report of the Board meeting held on Tuesday 22 July 2014*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2014b) *Annual Report and Accounts 2013-2014*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2014c) *Summary report of the Board meeting held on Tuesday 29 April 2014*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2014d) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2014*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2014e) *Summary report of Board meeting on Tuesday 18 November 2014*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2015a) *Annual Report and Accounts 2014-2015*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2015b) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2015*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2016a) *Annual Report and Accounts 2015-2016*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2016b) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2016*: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2017a) *Annual report and accounts*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (2017b) *Heritage Lottery Fund: National Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2017*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund (n.d.a) *National Heritage Memorial Fund*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.

- National Heritage Memorial Fund (n.d.b.) *National Heritage Memorial Fund Application Pack*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund,.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund. (n.d.c.). *How to apply* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nhmf.org.uk/HowToApply/Pages/default.aspx> [Accessed 27 June 2016].
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1995b) *Minutes of the Meeting on 26 April 1995*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1995a) *Annual Report and Accounts 1994-1995*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1995c) *Minutes of the Meeting on 6th and 7th January 1995*
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1995d) *Minutes of meeting 3: 21 March* National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1996) *Annual Report and Accounts of the Heritage Lottery Fund and the National Heritage Memorial Fund 1995-1996* London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1997) *Annual Report and Accounts 1996-1997*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1998) *Annual Report and Accounts*. London: National Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (1999) *Annual Report and Accounts 1998-1999*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (2000) *Annual Report and Accounts 1999-2000*. London: National Heritage Memorial Fund.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (2002) *Museum Acquisitions: NHMF Board Meeting Report NHMF 2002 (2) 12*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (2005a) *New Public Parks Programme- Parks for People HLF Board meeting report 2005 (4) 11*.
- National Heritage Memorial Fund & Heritage Lottery Fund (2005b) *NHMF Board meeting on 19 April: Policy and research Report NHMF 2005 (3) 7*
- National Land Fund (1947) *Account 1946-47*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1950) *Account 1949-50*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1951) *Account 1950-51*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1954) *Account 1953-54*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1954) *Account 1953-54*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1957) *Account 1956-57*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (1980) *Account 1979-80*. London: HMSO.
- National Land Fund (No.2) 1977 (s.141). HMSO,.
- National Land Fund Act (1946) (9&10 Geo. 6 s.48). London: HMSO.
- National Lottery Act 1998 (c.22). London: HMSO.
- National Lottery etc. Act 1993 (c.39). London: HMSO.
- National Lottery Heritage Fund (2019a) *The National Lottery Heritage Fund: Strategic Funding Framework 2019-2024* London: National Lottery Heritage Fund.
- National Lottery Heritage Fund (2019b) *What is Open Data* [Online]. Available: <https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/blogs/what-open-data> [Accessed 1 May 2019].
- National Portrait Gallery. (2018). *Self Portrait by Van Dyck*, [Photograph]. London: National Portrait Gallery.
- National Trust. (n.d.a.). *About us* [Online]. Available: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/about-the-national-trust> [Accessed 29 October 2017].
- National Trust. (n.d.b.). *Lothian's gift to the nation* [Online]. Available: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/blickling-estate/features/lothians-gift-to-the-nation>. [Accessed 27 February 2016].
- National Trust Act (1937) (1 Edw.8 & 1Geo.6 (c1vii)). London: HMSO.



- Natural England. (n.d.). *About us* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/natural-england> [Accessed 3 November 2018].
- Naylor, G. (2013) The Churchill Papers : Interview with the author at the offices of the Pilgrim Trust on 24 June 2013,
- Nesta (2016) *Learning to Rethink Parks*. London: Nesta.
- No Glory in War. (n.d.). *Open Letter* [Online]. No Glory in War 1914-1918. Available: <http://noglory.org/index.php/open-letter/no-glory-in-war-open-letter> [Accessed 20 October 2013].
- Norton-Taylor, R. (1993). Trustees to face court challenge over threat to Churchill Papers. *The Guardian* 18 December 1993.
- O'Brien, D. (2010) *Measuring the value of Culture: a report for the Department of Culture Media and Sport*. London: DCMS.
- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2003) *Living Places: cleaner, safer, greener, Eleventh Report of Session 2002-03*. London: The Stationery Office.
- Omerod, P. (2010) *N Squared*. London: RSA.
- Peter Neal Consulting (2015) *The Parks Story: 20 years in 12 Places, Commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund*.
- Phippard, S. C. 8 June 1990 (1990). *RE: Churchill/Chartwell Papers: Note for Record ref A090/1360*.
- Public Records Act 1967 (c.44 s.1). London: HMSO.
- Public Records Office Northern Ireland (PRONI). (n.d.). *About Decade of Centenaries* [Online]. Available: <https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/articles/about-decade-centenaries> [Accessed 4 July 2018].
- Rogers, P. & Webley, p. (2001). "It could be us!": Cognitive and social psychological factors in UK National Lottery play. *Applied Psychology*, 50(1), pp.181-199.
- Rosemberg, C., Naylor, R., Chouguley, U., Mantells, L. & Oakley, K. (2011) *Assessment of the Social Impact of Volunteering in HLF-Funded Projects. Year 3. Report for the Heritage Lottery Fund*: BOP Consulting.
- Salisbury Museum (2016) *Leaflet promoting the activities accompanying the Constable exhibition*. Salisbury: Salisbury Museum.
- Save the Van Dyck. (2013). *The history of the selfie* [Online]. Available: <http://www.savevandyck.org/history-of-the-selfie> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Seely, A. (1998) *The National Lottery Bill 1997/98 Bill 148: Research Paper 98/41*. London: House of Commons Library.
- Sewell, B. (2013). *Why should we save Van Dyck's selfie?: 2 December* [Online]. London: Evening Standard. Available: <https://www.standard.co.uk/go/london/exhibitions/why-should-we-save-van-dyck-s-selfie-asks-brian-sewell-9079250.html> [Accessed 9 August 2018].
- Sheffield Botanic Gardens. (n.d.). *History* [Online]. Available: <http://www.sbg.org.uk/history-1/> [Accessed 2016].
- Sir Winston Churchill, (1940) *letter to President Roosevelt on 8 December 1940*. [letter ] CHAR23/4. Churchill Archive Centre.
- Smith, C. (1997) *The People's Lottery*. (Cm3709). London: Department for Culture Media and Sport.
- Smith-Bingham, R. & Dufton, R. (2000) *Review of the National Heritage Memorial Fund :Policy paper 227/66 for the Heritage Lottery Fund Trustees meeting, 14, December 2000*.
- Stanley, J. (2006) *An Evaluation of the Impact of the NW Museum Hub's Primary Consultant (Museums and Galleries) with Manchester Education Partnership* . Warwick: University of Warwick.
- Stanton, A. (2017). *The Women of World War II, Whitelhall, London (2005) by John Mills* [Online]. Available: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/alanstanton/33427541845> [Accessed 1 November 2018].
- Stezaker, J. (2016) *Turning to See*. Birmingham Birmingham Museums.
- Stone, N. (1995). Don't turn victory into a lottery. *The Times* 28 April p.18.
- Strong, R. (1998). Learning to love the Lottery. *The Independent*, , 9 November p.5.

- Sullivan, N. (2015). *The Wedgwood Museum reopens: 8 July* [Online]. Available: <http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/08072015-the-wedgwood-museum-reopens-to-the-public> [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- Sun. (1995). Winstants Churchill. *Sun*, 27 April, p.1.
- Tait, S. (1995). Controversial grants dog heritage fund. *The Times*, 7 December p.34.
- Tameside Metropolitan Borough. (2016). *Township information-Hyde* [Online]. Available: <http://tameside.gov.uk/hyde/history> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Tandy, V. (2016). *We're here because we're here*, [Photograph].
- Tandy, V. (2016). *The interior of the Wedgwood Museum*, [Photograph].
- Tandy, V. (2017). *The Weeping Window*, by Paul Cummins and Tom Piper, [Photograph].
- Tandy, V. (2018). *Macclesfield War Memorial by John Millard*, [Photograph].
- Tate. (2013). *Partnership of UK museums saves Constable's Salisbury Cathedral masterpiece: 23 May* [Online]. Available: <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/press-office/press-releases/partnership-uk-museums-saves-constables-salisbury-cathedral> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Tate. (2018). *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows by John Constable* [Photograph]. London: Tate.
- Tate. (n.d.a.). *Aspire: Network for Constable studies* [Online]. Available: <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/our-work/national-partnerships/collaborative-projects/aspire> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Tate. (n.d.b.). *National partnerships*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/our-work/national-partnerships> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Tate. (n.d.c.). *Tate Britain* [Online]. Available: <http://www.tate.org.uk/> [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- Tebbit, N., (1991) *letter to John Major (Prime Minister)*. [letter] TS27/1584. London: The National Archives.
- Telegraph. (2005). *Sir Edwin Manton: Obituary: 6 October* [Online]. Available: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1499971/Sir-Edwin-Manton.html> [Accessed].
- The Cabinet Office. (2018). *Non Departmental Public Bodies* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/public-bodies-reform#ndpbs-executive-agencies-and-non-ministerial-departments> [Accessed 8 November 2018].
- The Conservative Party. (2015). *The Conservative Party Manifesto* [Online]. Available: <https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto> [Accessed 25 April 2017].
- The Gambling Commission. (n.d.). *About the National Lottery* [Online]. Available: <https://www.gamblingcommission.gov.uk/for-the-public/National-Lottery/About-the-National-Lottery.aspx> [Accessed 24 March 2019].
- The Pavilion Gardens Buxton. (n.d.). *History* [Online]. Available: <http://www.paviliongardens.co.uk/history> [Accessed 11 February 2017].
- The Salisbury Museum. (2016). *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadow* [Online]. Available: <https://salisburymuseum.org.uk/whats-on/exhibitions> [Accessed 30 September 2016].
- Thesinger, R. E. K., (1971) *untitled*. [carbon copy of report] TS27/1584. London: The National Archives.
- Thinks., B. (2015) *20 years in 20 places*. London Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Thorncroft, A. (1999). Wetlands are in Watteaus are out: with new guidelines due on how lottery money is to be spent. *Financial Times*, 5 April, p.10.
- Times. (1993). Editorial- Churchill For Sale. *The Times*, 12 October p.19.
- Times. (1995). Churchill saved for the nation- diary. *The Times*, 3 May p.14.
- Trend, B., (1964) *Sir Winston Chuchill's papers: report to Prime Minister*. [memorandum] TS27/1584. London: The National Archive.
- Ulster Land Fund Act (Northern Ireland) (1949) London: HMSO.
- UNESCO. (2015). *The Churchill Papers* [Online]. Available: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/the-churchill-papers/> [Accessed 5 June 2018].

- UNESCO. (n.d.). *Memory of the World* [Online]. Available: <http://www.unesco.org.uk/designation/memory-of-the-world-inscriptions-in-the-uk-uk-register/> [Accessed 2 May 2016].
- Unknown. (n.d.). *Heaton Hall and Park* [Online]. Available: <http://manchesterhistory.net/manchester/outside/heatonpark.html>. [Accessed 28 May 2017].
- Urban Parks Forum (2001) *Public Park Assessment: A Survey of Local Authority Owned Parks Focusing on Parks of Historic Interest*. London.
- Vincent, A. (2013). *£23 million Constable painting saved for UK galleries: 23 May* [Online]. The Telegraph Available: <https://global-factiva-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/redir/default.aspx?P=sa&NS=18&AID=9MAN002800&an=TELUK00020130523e95n000su&cat=a&ep=ASI> [Accessed 17 October 2018].
- Vine, B. (1995). Winston's womanising ways. *Daily Mail*, 3 May p.18.
- Visit Lancashire. (n.d.). *The Museum of Lancashire* [Online]. Available: <https://www.visitlancashire.com/things-to-do/the-museum-of-lancashire-p15715> [Accessed 2018].
- War Memorials Trust. (n.d.). *History of Remembrance Day* [Online]. Available: <http://www.learnaboutwarmemorials.org/uploads/publications/104.pdf> [Accessed 1 May 2018].
- War Office, (1942) *Telegram from War Office to Commander in Chief India: 9 April*. [telegram] Serial no T551/2. London: Churchill Archive Centre.
- Ward, V. (1995). Your lottery money in their hands. *The Independent* 10 May 1995, p.21.
- Wedgwood Museum. (n.d.). *The Wedgwood Collection* [Online]. Available: <http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/supportus/the-wedgwood-collection> [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- White, J. (1993). How Eddie became an aristocrat, . *The Independent*, 27 August p.25.
- World of Wedgwood. (n.d.). *Museum* [Online]. Available: [www.worldofwedgwood.com/content/museum](http://www.worldofwedgwood.com/content/museum) [Accessed 29 June 2016].
- Worpole, K. (2012) *Park Life revisited*. London: Heritage Lottery Fund.
- Young, J. (1995). Churchill sale leaves veterans nostalgic for lost values-VE day Commemoration. *The Times*, 3 May, p.11.

## Secondary Sources

- 14-18 NOW. (2014d). *WW1 Centenary Art Commissions*. London: 14-18 NOW.
- 14-18 NOW. (2016b). *WW1 Centenary Art Commissions: Extraordinary Arts Experiences Connecting People with the First World War*. London: 14-18 NOW.
- 14-18 NOW. (2018). *2018 season: Extraordinary Arts Experiences connecting People with the First World War* London: 14-18 NOW.
- Adams, R. (2013). The V&A, The Destruction of the Country House and the Creation of 'English Heritage'. *Museum and society*, 11(1), pp.1-18.
- Adorno, T. W. (2001). *The Culture Industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. London: Routledge.
- Agnew, G. (1967). *Agnew's 1817-1967*. London: Agnew's.
- Agnew, J. A. (1998). European landscape and identity. In: Graham, B. (ed.) *Modern Europe: place, culture and identity*. London: Arnold. pp. 213-235
- Ahearne, J. (2009). Cultural policy explicit and implicit: a distinction and some uses. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(2), pp.141-153.
- Ahmad, Y. (2006). The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: from Tangible to Intangible. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(3), pp. 292-300.
- AHRC. (2014). *Beyond the Trenches*. Swindon: AHRC.
- Aitkin, J. (2004). Space to Grow - Ten years of the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Social History in Museums*, 29, pp. 5 - 11.
- Allin, P. (1997). *The economic and social effects of the National Lottery*. Manchester: Manchester Statistical Society.
- Babbidge, A. (2000). UK Museums: Safe and sound? *Cultural Trends*, 10(37), pp.1-35.



- Bailey, M. (2003). The Future of Collecting *In: Verdi, R. (ed.) Saved! 100 years of The National Art Collections Fund*. London: Hayward Gallery Publishing. pp.44-51
- Bartlet, N. & Pullinger, K. (2014). *Letter to an Unknown Soldier*. London: Harper Collins.
- Becker, H. (2000). Cases, Causes, Conjunctures, Stories and Imagery. *In: Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. & Foster, P. (eds.) Case Study Method*. London: Sage. pp. 223-234
- Belfiore, E. (2012). 'Defensive instrumentalism' and the legacy of New Labour's cultural policies *Cultural Trends*, 21(2), pp.103-111.
- Belfiore, E. & Bennett, O. (2007). Rethinking the Social Impacts of the Arts. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(12), pp.135-151.
- Belfiore, E. & Bennett O. (2010). *The Social Impact of the Arts: An Intellectual History*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bell, D. & Oakley, K. (2014). *Cultural Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Bendixen, P. (1997). Cultural tourism-Economic success at the expense of culture? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 4(1), pp.21-46.
- Benjamin, W. (2008). *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. London: Penguin.
- Bennett, T. (2006). Postscript: Cultural capital and inequality: Refining the policy calculus. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2-3), pp.239-244.
- Bennett, T. & Silva, E. (2006). Introduction: Cultural capital and inequality: Policy issues and contexts. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2-3), pp.87-106.
- Benton, T. & Curtis, P. (2010). The heritage of public commemoration *In: Benton, T. (ed.) Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester: Open University, Manchester University Press. pp. 44-87
- Binney, M. (2005). *SAVE Britain's heritage 1975-2005*. London: Scala.
- Bolton, G. (1994). Stories at Work. *British Educational Research Journal*, 20(1), 55-68.
- Bolton, G. (2005). *Reflective Practice: writing and professional development 2nd ed*. London: SAGE.
- Bouckaert, G. & Peters, G. (2004). What is available and what is missing in the study of quangos? *In: Pollitt, C. & Talbot, C. (eds.) Unbundled government: A critical analysis of the global trend to agencies, quangos and contractualisation*. London: Routledge. pp. 22-50
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (2nd ed.). Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. & Darbel, A. (2002). *The Love of Art*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brazier, R. (1996). Who Owns State Papers. *Cambridge Law Journal*, 55(1), pp.65-88.
- Brookfield, K. (2014). *History for All. In: Beyond the Trenches*. Swindon: Arts, Humanities and Research Council.
- Brookfield, K. (2018). The People's Centenary: a perspective from the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Cultural Trends*, 27(2), pp.119-124.
- Burlington Magazine (1999). Editorial: The Heritage Lottery Fund-renaissance or retrenchment? *Burlington Magazine*, CXXI(1150), p.3.
- Cannadine, D. (1990). *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*. Great Britain: Yale University Press
- Cannadine, D. (1995). *Aspects of Aristocracy*. London: Penguin.
- Chadwick, G. F. (1966). *The Park and the Town*. London: The Architectural Press.
- Clark, K. (2004). Why Fund Heritage? The Role of Research in the Heritage Lottery Fund *Cultural Trends*, 13(4), pp. 65-85.
- Clark, K. (2010). Values in Cultural Resource Management *In: G.S.Smith, P. M. M., H.A.Soderland (ed.) Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press. pp. 89-101
- Clark, K. (2014). Values-based Heritage Management and the HLF in the UK. *APT Bulletin: Journal of Preservation Technology*, 45(2-3), pp.65-71.
- Clark, K. & Maer, G. (2008). The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Cultural Trends*, 17(13), pp. 23-56.
- Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1991) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Conisbee, P. (2003). The Ones That Got Away In: Verdi, R. (ed.) *Saved! 100 years of the National Art Collections Fund* London: Hayward Gallery and the National Art Collections Fund. pp.26-33
- Conway, H. (1996). *Public Parks*. Haverfordwest: Shire.
- Cormac, P. (1978). *Heritage in Danger*. London: Quartet books.
- Cornforth, J. (1988). Introduction: The National Heritage: the development of an idea since 1870. In: Gough, S. (ed.) *Treasures for the Nation Conserving our heritage*. London: British Museum publications for the National Heritage Memorial Fund. pp. 14-16
- Creigh-Tyte, S. (1997). Building a National Lottery: Reviewing British Experience. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 13(4), pp.321-341.
- Creigh-Tyte, S., W; Gallimore, Joanne (1998). The Built Heritage in England: the history and development of government policy. *Cultural Trends*, 8(32), pp. 25-36.
- Dalton, H. (1962). *High Tide and After: Memoirs 1945-1960*. London: Fredrick Muller.
- Davies, S. (2004). The Insider's Voice. *Oral History*, 32(2), 54-62.
- Davies, S. (2004). Social History, Museums and the Lottery: An Essay. *Social History in Museums*, 29, 19 - 32.
- Davies, S. (2008). Intellectual and political landscape: the instrumentalism debate. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), 259-265.
- Dekha, N. (2004). Beyond the country house: Historic conservation as aesthetic politics. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7, pp.403 - 423.
- Delafons, J. (1997). *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage 1882-1996*. Hoboken: Routledge.
- Ecotech. (2009). *15 years of Lottery Funding*. London: Ecotech.
- Edgar, A. & Sedgwick, P. (2005). *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Edgar, A. & Sedgwick, P. (eds.) (2006). *Cultural Theory: The Key Thinkers*, London: Routledge.
- Eley, G. (2014). Foreword: Memory and the historians: Ordinary life, eventfulness and the instinctual past In: L.Noakes & J.Pattinson (eds.) *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. pp. xi-xxi
- Ellis, A. (1996). Out of Practice? commissioning public buildings in the UK. *RSA Journal*, 144(5469), pp.41- 46.
- Evans, P. (1997). Local Authorities and the Arts in the United Kingdom: The development of policy specific evaluative indicators. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 4(1), pp.161-181.
- Fainstein, S. (2007). Tourism and the Commodification of Urban Culture. *The Urban Reinventors*, (2), unpaginated.
- Fainstein, S. (2011). The Just City. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 33(5), pp. 595-597.
- Fairclough, I. & Fairclough, N. (2015). Textual Analysis In: M. Bevir & Rhodes, R. A. W. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Interpretive Political Science*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.
- Farnell, L. & Creigh-Tyte, S. (2003). Is the UK National lottery experiencing lottery fatigue? In: Vaughan-Williams, L. (ed.) *The Economics of Gambling*. London: Routledge. pp.165-181
- Fletcher, K. (1992). Effective Boards:How Executive Directors Define and Develop Them *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 2(3), pp. 283-293.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Forbes, D., P. & Milliken, F., J. (1999). Cognition and corporate governance: Understanding boards of Directors as decision-making groups. *The Academy of Management Review*, 24(3), pp.489-505.
- Fredette, C. & Bradshaw, P. (2012). Social Capital and Nonprofit governance Effectiveness. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 22(4), pp. 391-408.
- Gallagher, L. & Rogers, D. (1986). *Castle, Coast and Cottage: The National Trust in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: The Blackstaff Press.
- Garcia, B. (2004). Urban Regeneration, Arts Programming and Major Events. *International Journal of Cultural policy*, 10(1), pp.103-118.
- Gardiner, J. (2003). Rebels and Connoisseurs. . In: Verdi, R. (ed.) *Saved! 100 years of the National Art Collections Fund*. London: Hayward Gallery Publishing and the National Art Collections Fund. pp.16-25

- Gibson, L. (2008). In defence of instrumentality. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp.247-257.
- Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods*. London: Continuum.
- Gillis, J. R. (1994). Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship. In: J.R.Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp.3-24
- Gillman, D. (2010). *The Idea of Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilmore, A. (2004). Local Cultural Strategies: A strategic review. *Cultural Trends*, Vol.13(3), pp.3-32.
- Golden-Biddle, K. & Rao, H. (1997). Breaches in the Boardroom: Organizational identity and Conflicts commitment in a Noprofit Organization. *Organization Science*, 8(6), pp.593-611.
- Gough, P. (2016). Commemoration of war In: Graham, B. & Howard, P. (eds.) *The Ashgate Companion to Heritage and Identity*. London: Routledge. pp.215-230
- Goulding, C. (2000). The commodification of the past, postmodern pastiche and the search for authentic experiences at contemporary heritage attractions. *European Journal of Marketing*, 34(8), pp.835-853.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. & Tunbridge, J. E. (2000). *A Geography of Heritage; Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Arnold.
- Graham, B. & Howard, P. (2016). Introduction In: B.Graham & P.Howard (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 1-19
- Gray, C. (2002). Local Government and the Arts. *Local Government Studies*, 28(1), pp.77-90.
- Gray, C. (2008). Instrumental policies: causes, consequences, museums and galleries. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp.209-222.
- Gray, C. (2008). Arts Council England and public value: a critical review. *International journal of cultural policy*, 14(2), pp. 209-214.
- Gray, C. (2008). Instrumental policies: causes, consequences, museums and galleries. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp.209-222.
- Gray, C. (2009). Managing cultural policy: pitfalls and prospects. *Public Administration*, 87(3), pp.574-585.
- Gray, C. (2011). Understanding policy success: rethinking public policy. *Cultural Trends*, pp.223-224.
- Gray, C. & Wingfield, M. (2011). Are governmental culture departments important? An empirical investigation. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17(5), pp. 590-604.
- Gregory, A. (2008). *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grenfell, M. & Hardy, C. (2007). *Art Rules*: Berg.
- Griffiths, D., Miles, A. & Savage, M. (2008). The end of the English cultural elite? *The Sociological Review*, 56, pp.187-209.
- Griffiths, G. (1985). *Doubts, dilemmas and diary keeping: some reflections on teacher-based research*, in R. Burgess (Ed.) *Issues in educational research: qualitative methods*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Gruffudd, P. (1995). Heritage as National Identity: Histories and Prospects of National Pasts. In: D.T.Herbert (ed.) *Heritage, Tourism and Society*. Mansell pp. 49-67
- Gunn, S. & Faire, L. (2011). Introduction: Why Bother with Method? In: Gunn, S. & Faire, L. (eds.) *Research Methods for History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. pp. 1-10
- Habermas. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hanna, M. (1998). The built heritage in England: Grants, earnings and employment *Cultural Trends*, 8(32), pp.5-24.
- Hanna, M. (1998). The Built Heritage in England: properties open to the public, visitors and visitor trends. *Cultural Trends*, 8(32), pp.37-53.
- Hannabus, S. (2000). Being there: ethnographic research and autobiography. *Library Management*, 21(2), pp.99-106.
- Harding, S. (1999). Towards a renaissance in urban parks. *Cultural Trends*, 9(35), pp.1- 20.
- Hardy, D. (1988). Historical geography and heritage studies. *Area*, 20(4), pp.333-338.
- Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative Industries*. London: Blackwell.



- Harvey, D. C. (2001). Heritage Pasts and heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), pp. 319- 338.
- Harvey, D. C. (2016). The History of Heritage In: Graham, B. & Howard, P. (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp.19-36
- Harvey, D. C. (2017). Critical Heritage Debates and the Commemoration of the First World war: Productive Nostalgia and Discourses of respectful Reverence during the Centenary In: Silverman, H., Waterton, E. & Watson, S. (eds.) *Heritage in Action: Making the Past in the Present*. Switzerland: Springer International. pp. 107-120
- Hearn, K. (2009). *Van Dyck and Britain*. London: Tate.
- Heemskerk, K., Heemskerk, E., M. & Wats, M. (2015). Behavioral determinants of nonprofit board performance. *Nonprofit management and leadership*, 25(4), pp.417- 430.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., Nisbett, M., Oakley, K. & Lee, D. (2014). Were New Labour's cultural policies neo-liberal? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(1), pp. 97-114.
- Hesmondhalgh, D., Oakley, K., Lee, D. & Nisbett, M. (2015). *Culture, Economy and Politics: The Case for New Labour*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hewison, R. (1987). *The Heritage Industry*. London: Methuen.
- Hewison, R. (1988). Great expectations-hyping heritage. *Tourism management*, (September), pp.239-240.
- Hewison, R. (1995). *Culture and Consensus*. London: Methuen.
- Hewison, R. (1998). New Cultural Models for Old. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 5(1), pp.99-107.
- Hewison, R. (2006). *Not a Sideshow: Leadership and Cultural Value*. London: Demos.
- Hewison, R. (2009). The heritage obsession: the battle for England's past. *Cultural Trends*, 18(1), pp.105-107.
- Hewison, R. (2011). The economics of cultural policy. *Cultural Trends*, 20(3-4), pp.329-330.
- Hewison, R. (2011). Creative Britain: Myth or monument. *Cultural Trends*, 20(3-4), pp.235-242.
- Hewison, R. (2014). *Cultural Capital*. London: Verso.
- Hewison, R. & Holden, J. (2006). Public value as a framework for analysing the value of heritage: the ideas. In: Clark, K. (ed.) *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The proceedings of the London conference 25-26 January* Swindon: English Heritage. pp.14-19
- Heywood, S., ed. (2011). *Making Their Past Your Future*. 2011: Imperial War Museum.
- Hockey, J. (1993). Research methods-researching peers and familiar settings. *Research Papers in Education*, 8(2), pp.199-225.
- Hook, P. (2014). *Breakfast at Sotheby's* (2nd ed.). London: Penguin.
- Houghton, F. (2014). The 'missing chapter': Bomber Command aircrew memories in the 1990s and 2000s. In: Noakes, L. & Pattinson, J. (eds.) *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. pp.155-174
- Hudson-Jones, A. (2005). Introduction. In: Bolton, G. (ed.) *Reflective Practice: writing and professional development*. London: Sage.
- Hunter, M. (1981). The Preconditions of Preservation: A Historical Perspective . In: D.Lowenthal & M.Binney (eds.) *Our Past Before Us: Why do we save it?* London: Maurice Temple Smith Limited.
- Inglis, S. & Cleave, S. (2006). A scale to assess board member motivations in nonprofit organisations. *Nonprofit management and leadership*, 17(1), pp. 83-101.
- Jäger, P. & Rehli, F. (2012). Cooperative power relations between Nonprofit Board Chairs and Executive Directors. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 23(2), pp.219-236.
- Jancovich, L. (2011). Great art for everyone? Engagement and participation policy in the arts. *Cultural Trends*, 20(3-4), pp.271-279.
- Jancovich, L. (2015). The participation myth. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(1), pp.107-121.
- Jones, A. (1985). *Britain's Heritage: The Creation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund*. London: George Weidenfield & Nicolson.
- Jones, S. (2017). Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities. *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*, 4(1), pp. 21-37.
- Kamler, B. & Thomson, P. (2014). *Helping Doctoral Students Write*. London: Routledge.

- King, A. (1998). *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Klein, K. (2000). On the Emergence of Memory in Historic Discourse. *Representations*, 69(Winter), pp.127-150.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process In: Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Lives of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.64-91
- Lambert, D. (2005). *The Park Keeper: English Heritage*.
- Lambert, D. (2012). *Jubilee-ation: A History of Royal Jubilees in Public Parks*. Swindon: English Heritage.
- Laqueur, T., W (1994). Memory and Naming in the Great War In: J.R.Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp.150-167
- Lee, D., Oakley, K. & Naylor, R. (2011). The public gets what the public wants? The uses and abuses of public value in contemporary British cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17(3), pp.289-300.
- Lim, L. (2011). Cultural Capitals revaluing the arts, remaking urban spaces. *Cultural Trends*, 20(2), pp. 219-221.
- Lord Charteris of Amisfield (1988). Preface. In: Gough, S. (ed.) *Treasures for the Nation: Conserving our Heritage*. London: The National Heritage Memorial Fund. p. 9
- Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1994). Identity, Heritage and History In: Gillis, J. R. (ed.) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. pp. 41-57
- Lowenthal, D. (1997). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. London: Viking.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998a). *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998b). Stewardship, Sanctimony and Selfishness- A Heritage Paradox. In: J.Arnold, Davies, K. & Ditchfield, S. (eds.) *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture* Dorset: Donhead
- Lowenthal, D. & Binney, M. (1981). *Our past before us: why do we save it*. London: Maurice Temple Smith.
- Lowndes, V. & Pratchett, L. (2012). Local Governance under the Coalition Government: Austerity, localism and the 'Big Society' *Local Government Studies*, 38(1), pp.21-40.
- Lutter, M., Tisch, D. & Beckert, J. (2018). Social Explanations of Lottery Play: New Evidence based on National Survey data. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 34(4), pp.1185-1203.
- Macdonald, S. (2009). *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremburg and Beyond*. London: Routledge.
- MacLeod, C. (2015). *Van Dyck: The Last Self-Portrait*. London: National Portrait Gallery.
- Madigan, E. (2016). The Glorious Dead? Remembering and Forgetting in British Commemorative Culture. *Historians for History* [Online]. Available: <https://historiansforhistory.wordpress.com/2016/11/03/the-glorious-dead-remembering-and-forgetting-in-british-commemorative-culture-by-edward-madigan/> [Accessed 4 November 2019].
- Madison, D. S. (2006). The Dialogic Performative in Critical Ethnography. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 26(4), pp.320-324.
- Maer, G. (2017). A People-Centred Approach to Heritage: The Experience of the Heritage Lottery Fund 1994-2014. *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*, 4(1), pp.38-52.
- Maer, G. & Clark, K. (2008). The cultural value of heritage: evidence from the Heritage Lottery Fund. *Cultural Trends*, 17(1), pp. 23-56.
- Magnússon, S. G. (2003). The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge. *Journal of Social History*, 36(3), pp.701-735.
- Mandler, P. (1997). *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*. London: Yale
- Marsh, D. & Rhodes, R. A. W. (1992). *Policy networks in British Government* Oxford: Clarendon.
- Massey, D. (1991). A Global Sense of Place. *Marxism Today*, (June), pp.24-29.
- McConnell, A. (2010). Policy success, policy failure and the grey areas in between. *Journal of Public Policy*, 30(3), pp.345-362.

- McConnell, A. (2010). *Understanding Policy Success: Rethinking Public Policy*. Hampshire UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McConnell, A. & Marsh, D. (2010). Towards a framework for establishing policy success. *Public Administration*, 88(2), pp. 564-583.
- McDowell, S. (2016). Heritage, Memory and Identity. In: B.Graham & Howard, P. (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 37- 54
- McGuigan, J. (1996). *Culture and the public sphere*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McGuigan, J. (2004). *Rethinking Cultural Policy*. Maidenhead: Routledge.
- McGuigan, J. (2009). Doing a Florida thing: the creative class thesis and cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(3), pp.291-300.
- McGuigan, J. (2010). *Cultural Analysis*. London: Sage.
- McGuigan, J. (2011). Creative Labour: working in the creative industries. *Cultural Trends*, 20(2), pp. 213-214.
- Mendel, S., Brudney, C. & Jeffrey, L. (2014). Doing Good, Public Good, and Public Value. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 25(1), pp.23-28.
- Mercer, J. (2007). The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas. *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(1), pp.1-17.
- Merriman, N. (1996). Understanding Heritage. *Journal of Material Culture*, 1(3), pp.377-386.
- Middleton, V. (1998). Foreword: Chapters 1-3. *Cultural Trends*, 8(32), pp.1-4.
- Millar, O. (1982). *Van Dyck in England*. London: National Portrait Gallery.
- Miller, D. (2008). The uses of value. *Geoforum*, 39, pp.1122-1132.
- Miller-Millisen, J. L. (2003). Understanding the behaviour of nonprofit boards of directors: A theory based approach. *Nonprofit and voluntary sector quarterly*, 32(4), pp.521-547.
- Minihan, J. (1977). *The Nationalization of Culture*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Modern Law Review (1950). Report of the Gowers Committee on Houses of Outstanding Historic or Architectural Interest. 13(4), pp.489-490.
- Monger, H. (2004). Lottery Funding Challenges Museums to Innovate - Was An Opportunity Missed. *Social History in Museums*, 29, pp.23 - 32.
- Moore, M. (1995). *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Mosely, R. K. (1969). *The Story of the Cabinet Office*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mulgan, G. (1996). Culture: The Problem With Being Public In: Marquand, D. & Seldon, A. (eds.) *The Ideas that shaped Post War Britain*. London: Fontana Press. pp. 195-213
- Murphy, G. (2002). *The Founders of the National Trust . 2nd ed*. Great Britain: National Trust Enterprises.
- Mycock, A. (2014). The Politics of the Great War Centenary in the United Kingdom. . In: Sumarjoto, S. & Wellings, B. (eds.) *Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration: Mobilizing the Past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*. Germany: Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaft. pp. 99-118
- Mycock, A., Sumartojo, S. & Wellings, B. (2014). 'The centenary to end all centenaries':The Great War, Nation and Commemoration In: Sumarjoto, S. & Wellings, B. (eds.) *Nation, Memory and Great War Commemoration: Mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*. Germany: Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaft.
- Myerscough, J. (1988). *The economic importance of the arts in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Newman, A. & McLean, F. (1998). Heritage builds communities: the application of heritage resources to the problems of social exclusion. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 4(3-4), pp.143-153.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history. *Representations*, 26, pp.7-24.
- O'Brien, D. (2012). Economics and the Cultural Sector: can they achieve a more diplomatic relationship Available: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/dave-obrien/economics-and-cultural-sector-can-they-achieve-more-diplomatic-relationship> [Accessed 15 March 2012].
- O'Brien, D. (2012). The Culture and sport Evidence Programme: New forms of evidence and new questions for cultural policy. *Cultural Trends*, 10, pp.1-6.



- O'Brien, D. (2014). *Cultural Policy: Management, value and modernity in the creative industries*. Oxford: Routledge.
- O'Neill, M. (2008). Museums, professionalism and democracy. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp.289-307.
- O'Neill, M. (2009). The social impact of the arts. *Cultural Trends*, 18(4), pp.349-352.
- Patterson, M. (2012). The Role of the Public Institution in Iconic Architectural Development. *Urban Studies*, 49(15), pp.3289 - 3305.
- Paxman, J. (1990). *Friends in High Places*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Pearce, S. (2003). *On Collecting*. London: Routledge.
- Peniston-Bird, C., M (2014). The people's war in personal testimony and bronze: Sorority and the memorial to The Women of World War II In: Noakes, L. & Pattinson, J. (eds.) *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War* London: Bloomsbury Academic. pp.67-88
- Pennell, C. (2012). *A Kingdom United : Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pezzini, B. (2016). Days with Velasquez: when Charles Lewis Hind bought the 'Rokeby Venus' for Lockett Agnew. *The Burlington Magazine*, CLVIII(1358), pp.358-367.
- Pimlott, B. (1986). *Hugh Dalton*. London: Papermac.
- Pinto, P. R. & Taithe, B. (2015). Doing history in public?: Historians in the age of impact. In: P.R.Pinto & B.Taithe (eds.) *The Impact of History?* . Oxford: Routledge. pp.1-20
- Quinn, R.-B. M. (1997). Distance or intimacy?-The arms length principle, the British Government and the Arts Council of Great Britain. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 4(1), pp.127-159.
- Rahtz, P. (ed.) (1974). *Rescue Archaeology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Rees Leahy, H. (1999). Art Exports and the Construction of National Heritage in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Great Britain. Annual Supplement to Volume 31 of History of the Political Economy. In: *Economic Engagements with Art*. London: Duke University Press. pp.187-208
- Rees Leahy, H. (2007). New Labour Old Masters. *Cultural Studies*, 21(4-5), pp. 695-717.
- Rees Leahy, H. (2009). Assembling Art, Constructing Heritage. *Journal of the Cultural Economy*, 2(1-2), pp. 135-149.
- Renz, D. (2012). Introduction. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 22(4), pp.387-390.
- Rickwood, P. W. (1987). The National Land Fund, 1946-80: the failure of a policy initiative. *Leisure Studies*, 6, pp. 15-23.
- Roberts, A. (2013). We'd be Philistines to let it leave the country. *The Spectator*, 30 November p.26.
- Roberts, J., McNulty, T. & Stiles, P. (2005). Beyond Agency Conceptions of the Work of the Non-Executive Director: Creating Accountability in the Boardroom. *British Journal of Management*, 16(s1), pp. s5-26.
- Robertson, I. J. M. (2016). Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance. In: P.Howard, B. G. (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge. pp.143-158.
- Robinson, E. (2015). 'Different and better times'? History, progress and inequality. In: P.R.Pintos, B. T. (ed.) *The Impact of History?* Oxford: Routledge. pp.110-123
- Robinson, K. (1998). Foreword to Chapter 4. *Cultural Trends*, 32(8), pp.55-60.
- Rogers, P. & Webley, p. (2001). "It could be us!": Cognitive and social psychological factors in UK National Lottery play. *Applied Psychology*, 50(1), pp.181-199.
- Rowe, D. (2008). Culture, sport and the night time economy *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 14(4), pp.339-415.
- Russell, I. (2010 ). Heritages, Identities and Roots: A Critique of Arborescent Models of Heritage and Identity. In: G.S.Smith & P.M. Messenger, H. A. S. (eds.) *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*. pp. 29-42
- Samuel, R. (1994). *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* London: Verso.
- Sarah Selwood et al (2005). Commentaries on John Holden, Capturing Cultural Value:How Culture has become a tool of government policy. *Cultural Trends*, 14(1), pp. 113-128.
- Savage, M., Bagnall, G. & Longhurst, B. (2001). Ordinary, Ambivalent and Defensive: Class Identities in the Northwest of England *Sociology*, 35, pp. 875-892.
- Schön, D. A. (1983). *The Reflective Practitioner*. London: Temple Smith.



- Schön, D. A. (1991). *The Reflective Practitioner 3rd ed.* Aldershot: Avebury.
- Schuster, J. M. D. (1995). Funding the Arts and Culture through Dedicated State Lotteries – Part II *European Journal of Cultural Policy*, 1(2), pp.329-354.
- Schuster, J. M. D. (1994). Funding the Arts and Culture through Dedicated State Lotteries – Part I. *European Journal of Cultural Policy*, 1(1), pp.21-41.
- Schwarz, B. (2005). Heritage. In: Bennett, T., Grossman, L. & Morris, M. (eds.) *New Keywords: A revised vocabulary.* Oxford: Blackwell. pp.154-156
- Schwarz, B. (2012). Foreword. *Theatres of Memory by Raphael Samuel.* 2nd ed. London: Verso.
- See, H. (2012). Guardians of the Public Sphere? Political Scandal and the Press 1979-1997. *Twentieth Century British History* pp.1-28.
- Selwood, S. (2001). *The UK Cultural Sector.* London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Selwood, S. (2004). The Politics of Data Collection. *Cultural Trends*, 12(47), pp.13-84.
- Selwood, S. (2006). A Part to Play. *Cultural Trends*, 12(1), pp.35 - 53.
- Selwood, S. (2007). Future uncertain: Arts Council England's vision for the future of the contemporary visual arts *Futures* 39(2007), pp.1201-1222.
- Selwood, S., Adams, E., Coles, A. & Tambling, P. (1998). Education Provision in the Subsidised Cultural Sector. *Cultural Trends*, 32(8), pp.61-102.
- Selwood, S. & Davies, M. (2004). Capital costs: Lottery Funding in Britain and the Consequences for Museums. *Curator: The Museums Journal*, 48(4), pp.439-465.
- Selwood, S. & Davies, S. (1998). English cultural services: government policy and local strategies. *Cultural Trends*, 8(30), pp.69-110.
- Sheffield, G. (2002). *Forgotten Victory: First World War: myths and realities.* London: Review.
- Shiple, R. & Reeve, A. (2004). Townscape Heritage Initiatives evaluation: methodology for assessing the effectiveness of the Heritage Lottery Fund projects in the United Kingdom. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 22, pp. 523-542.
- Shiple, R. & Reeve, A. (2010). Evaluating the THI: Measuring the effectiveness of the Townscape heritage Initiatives in the United Kingdom. *Urban Design*, 15(4), pp. 221-237.
- Shirky, C. (2009). *Here Comes Everybody.* London: Penguin.
- Shirky, C. (2010). *Cognitive Surplus.* London: Penguin Press.
- Silva, E., B (2006). Distinction through visual art. *Cultural Trends*, 15(2-3), pp.141-158.
- Simon, R. I. & Ashley, S. L. T. (2010). Heritage and practices of public formation. *International Journal of Heritage studies*, 16(4-5), pp.247-254.
- Sinclair, A. (1995). *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50 years of the Arts Council of Great Britain.* London: Sinclair-Stevenson.
- Sir Winston Churchill. (1951). *The Second World War* (Vol. iv). London: Cassell.
- Smit, T. (2000). Commentary: Local Authority Parks in the UK- time for action. *Cultural Trends*, 38, pp.105-107.
- Smith, C. (2010). Foreword In: G.S.Smith, P. M. M., H.A.Soderland, (ed.) *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society.* pp. 9-12
- Smith, G. S., Messenger, P. M. & Soderland, H., A. (2010). *Introduction. In: Heritage Values in Contemporary Society, G.S.Smith, P.M. Messenger, H.A.Soderland, ed 2016.* Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.
- Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage.* Oxford: Routledge.
- Stanbridge, A. (2010). Jim McGuigan, Rethinking cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(1), pp.80-81.
- Stanzinola, J. (2011). Some more equal than others: alternative financing for museums, libraries and archives in England. *Cultural Trends*, 20(2), pp.113-140.
- Steadman, J. (2005). Applying to the Heritage Lottery Fund: The Portsmouth experience. *Oral History*, 33(1), pp.93-102.
- Stevens, A. (2011). Telling Policy Stories: An Ethnographic study of the use of evidence in policy - making in the UK. *Journal of Society and Politics*, 40(2), pp.237-255.
- Stevenson, D., Rowe, D. & McKay, K. (2010). Convergence in British Cultural policy: the social, the cultural and the economic. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 40(4), pp.248-265.

- Strong, R. (1974). Introduction: The Country House Dilemma. In: R. Strong, M. Binney & Harris, J. (eds.) *The Destruction of the Country House*. Thames and Hudson. pp. 7-10
- Strong, R. (1998). *The Roy Strong Diaries 1967-1987*. London: Phoenix.
- Strong, R., Binney, M. & Harris, J. (1974). *The Destruction of the Country House*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Taigel, A. & Williamson, T. (1993). *Parks and Gardens*. London: Batsford.
- Thompson, S. & Thompson, N. (2008). *The Critically Reflective Practitioner*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Todman, D. (2005). *The Great War: myth and memory*. London: Hambledon and London.
- Travers, M. (2002). *Qualitative Research Through Case studies*. London: Sage.
- Tuckman, B., W (1965). Developmental sequence in small groups. *Psychology Bulletin*, 63, pp.384-99.
- Tunbridge, J. E. & G.J., A. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Turner, M. & Payne, S. (2009). Governance in changing times: the experiences of hospice trustees in the United Kingdom. *Palliative Medicine*, 23(8), pp.718-722.
- Velthuis, O. (2007). *Talking Prices*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vergo, P. (ed.) (1989). *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Wang, V. F. (2008). Whose Responsibility? The Waverley System, Past and Present. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 15(03), pp.227-269.
- Watson, J. (2014). Total war and total anniversary: The material culture of second world war commemoration in Britain In: Noakes, L. & Pattinson, J. (eds.) *British Cultural Memory and the Second World War*. London: Bloomsbury. pp.175-194
- Watson, S. & Waterton, E. (2010). Heritage and community engagement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2), pp. 1-3.
- West, B. (1988). The making of the English working past: a critical view of Ironbridge Gorge Museum In: Lumley, R. (ed.) *The Museum Time Machine*. London: Comedia. pp.36-62
- West, S. & Ndlovu, S. (1994). Heritage, landscape and memory. In: Benton, T. (ed.) *Understanding heritage and memory*. Manchester: Open University. pp.202-236
- White, J. (1999). Managing the Lottery: evaluation of the first four years and lessons for local authorities. *Managing Leisure*, 4(2), pp.78-93.
- Williams, R. (1972). *Culture and Society*. London: Penguin.
- Williams, R. (1988 ). *Keywords* (3rd ed.). London: Fontana Press.
- Wilson, R. J. (2015). Still fighting in the trenches: 'War discourse' and the memory of the First World War in Britain. *Memory Studies*, 8(4), pp. 454-469.
- Winter, J. (2014). *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning 2nd ed.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Witt, R. (1911). *The Nation and Its Art Treasures*. London: William Heinemann.
- Worsley, G. (2011). *England's Lost Houses*. London: Aurum.
- Woudstra, J. & Fieldhouse, K. (2000). *The Regeneration of Public Parks*. London: The Garden History Society, Landscape Design Trust and E&FN Spon
- Wright, P. (1985). *On Living in an Old Country*. London: Verso.
- Wright, P. (2009 ). *On Living in an Old Country. 2nd edn* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zelizer, V. (2011). *Economic Lives: How Culture shapes the Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zhu, H., Wang, P. & Bart, C. (2016). Board Processes, Board Strategic Involvement, and Organizational Performance in For-profit and Non-profit Organizations *Journal of Business Ethics*, 136(2), pp.311-328.

## Appendix 1

### Excerpts from Relevant Acts of Parliament

#### Section 48 of 1946 Finance Act

##### PART VI.

##### THE NATIONAL LAND FUND.

The National Land Fund. 48.—(1) There shall be established a fund to be called the National Land Fund, which shall be under the control and management of the Treasury and shall be used for the purposes mentioned in this Part of this Act and for such other purposes as Parliament may hereafter determine.

(2) There shall be issued to the National Land Fund out of the Consolidated Fund or the growing produce thereof, at such times during the financial year ending with the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, as the Treasury may direct, the sum of fifty million pounds in all.

(3) Any sums from time to time standing to the credit of the National Land Fund which are not immediately required for the purposes thereof may be invested in such manner as the Treasury may direct.

(4) The Treasury shall, as respects each financial year, prepare an account of receipts into and payments out of the National Land Fund, and any account prepared under this subsection shall, on or before the thirtieth day of November next following

38

9 & 10 GEO. 6.

Finance Act, 1946.

CH. 64.

the expiration of the financial year in question, be transmitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General who shall examine and certify the account and lay copies thereof, together with his report thereon, before both Houses of Parliament.

PART VI.  
—cont.

49. The Commissioners of Inland Revenue shall have power to accept property under section fifty-six of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, in satisfaction or part satisfaction of any estate duty, settlement estate duty, succession duty or legacy duty, and accordingly in subsection (1) of the said section fifty-six for the words "estate duty or settlement estate duty or succession duty in respect of any real (including leasehold) property" there shall be substituted the words "any estate duty, settlement estate duty, succession duty or legacy duty" and for the words "such part of the property" there shall be substituted the words "any such real (including leasehold) property".

Extension of power to accept property in satisfaction of death duties.

50.—(1) The provisions of this section shall have effect where, under section fifty-six of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue accept any property in satisfaction or part satisfaction of any duty.

Disposition of property accepted in satisfaction of death duty.

(2) The Treasury may, if they think fit, direct that a sum equal to the amount of the duty, or, as the case may be, the part of the duty, shall be paid to the Commissioners out of the National Land Fund and dealt with by them as if it were a payment on account of the duty.

(3) The property shall be disposed of in such manner as the Treasury may direct, and in particular, but without prejudice to the generality of the preceding provision, the Treasury may direct that all or any of the property shall, on such conditions as they may direct, be transferred to or to trustees for any body of persons not established or conducted for profit and having as its object, or one of its objects, the provision, improvement or preservation of amenities enjoyed, or to be enjoyed, by the public or the acquisition of land to be used by the public.



## National Heritage Act 1980

### PART I

#### THE NATIONAL HERITAGE MEMORIAL FUND

1.—(1) There shall be a fund known as the National Heritage Memorial Fund, to be a memorial to those who have died for the United Kingdom, established in succession to the National Land Fund, which shall be applicable for the purposes specified in this Part of this Act. Establishment of National Heritage Memorial Fund.

(2) The Fund shall be vested in and administered by a body corporate known as the Trustees of the National Heritage Mem-

#### A 2

2 c. 17 *National Heritage Act 1980*

PART I orial Fund and consisting of a chairman and not more than ten other members appointed by the Prime Minister.

(3) The persons appointed under this section shall include persons who have knowledge, experience or interests relevant to the purposes for which the Fund may be applied and who are connected by residence or otherwise with England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland respectively.

(4) References in this Part of this Act to the Trustees are to the body constituted by subsection (2) above ; and Schedule 1 to this Act shall have effect with respect to the Trustees and the discharge of their functions.

Payments into the Fund. 2.—(1) The Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (in this Act referred to as “ the Ministers ”) shall pay into the Fund in the first month of each financial year a sum determined by them before the beginning of the year ; and the Ministers may at any time pay into the Fund such further sum or sums as they may from time to time determine.

(2) There shall also be paid into the Fund any other sums received by the Trustees in consequence of the discharge of their functions.

Grants and loans from the Fund. 3.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the Trustees may make grants and loans out of the Fund to eligible recipients for the purpose of assisting them to acquire, maintain or preserve—

- (a) any land, building or structure which in the opinion of the Trustees is of outstanding scenic, historic, aesthetic, architectural or scientific interest ;
- (b) any object which in their opinion is of outstanding historic, artistic or scientific interest ;
- (c) any collection or group of objects, being a collection or group which taken as a whole is in their opinion of outstanding historic, artistic or scientific interest ;
- (d) any land or object not falling within paragraph (a), (b) or (c) above the acquisition, maintenance or preservation of which is in their opinion desirable by reason of its connection with land or a building or structure falling within paragraph (a) above ; or
- (e) any rights in or over land the acquisition of which is in their opinion desirable for the benefit of land or a building or structure falling within paragraph (a) or (d) above.

## National Lottery etc. Act 1993

10

c. 39

*National Lottery etc. Act 1993*

### PART II

Apportionment of  
money in  
Distribution  
Fund.

**22.—**(1) Every sum that is paid into the Distribution Fund under section 21(2) shall be apportioned as follows.

(2) So much of the sum as the Secretary of State considers appropriate shall be allocated for making payments under section 31 and held in the Distribution Fund for that purpose.

(3) Of the balance—

- (a) 20 per cent. shall be allocated for expenditure on or connected with the arts,
- (b) 20 per cent. shall be allocated for expenditure on or connected with sport,
- (c) 20 per cent. shall be allocated for expenditure on or connected with the national heritage,
- (d) 20 per cent. shall be allocated for charitable expenditure, and
- (e) 20 per cent. shall be allocated for expenditure on projects to mark the year 2000 and the beginning of the third millennium.

The distributing  
bodies.

**23.—**(1) So much of any sum paid into the Distribution Fund as is allocated for expenditure on or connected with the arts shall be held in the Distribution Fund—

- (a) as to 97.2 per cent., for distribution by the Arts Council of Great Britain, and
- (b) as to 2.8 per cent., for distribution by the Arts Council of Northern Ireland.

(2) So much of any sum paid into the Distribution Fund as is allocated for expenditure on or connected with sport shall be held in the Distribution Fund—

- (a) as to 83.3 per cent., for distribution by the Sports Council,
- (b) as to 8.9 per cent., for distribution by the Scottish Sports Council,
- (c) as to 5 per cent., for distribution by the Sports Council for Wales, and
- (d) as to 2.8 per cent., for distribution by the Sports Council for Northern Ireland.

(3) So much of any sum paid into the Distribution Fund as is allocated for expenditure on or connected with the national heritage shall be held in the Distribution Fund for distribution by the Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund.

## National Lottery Act 1997

### 1 Financial assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund

(1) For section 3 of the National Heritage Act 1980 (grants and loans from the fund) there is substituted—

#### “3 Financial assistance towards property, etc

- (1) The powers of the Trustees to give financial assistance under this section are exercisable in the case of things of any kind which are of scenic, historic, archaeological, aesthetic, architectural, engineering, artistic or scientific interest, including animals and plants which are of zoological or botanical interest.
- (2) The Trustees may, for the purpose of—
  - (a) securing the preservation or enhancement of such things,
  - (b) encouraging the study and understanding of them and the compilation and dissemination of information about them,
  - (c) securing or improving access to them, or their display,
  - (d) encouraging enjoyment of them, or
  - (e) encouraging the maintenance and development of the skills required for their preservation or enhancement,or for any purpose ancillary to those purposes, give financial assistance for any project which appears to them to be of public benefit.
- (3) The projects for which financial assistance may be given under this section for any of the purposes mentioned in subsection (2) above include (among others) projects for any person to whom the assistance is to be given to—
  - (a) acquire property of any kind (including land),
  - (b) construct or convert buildings,
  - (c) carry out other works, or
  - (d) provide education or training.
- (4) Before giving any financial assistance under this section for any project, the Trustees—
  - (a) shall obtain any expert advice about the project they consider appropriate, and
  - (b) must be satisfied that the project is of importance to the national heritage.
- (5) Financial assistance under this section shall be given by way of grant or loan out of the Fund, and in giving such assistance the Trustees may impose any conditions they think fit.
- (6) The conditions that may be imposed in giving such assistance may relate (among other things) to—
  - (a) maintenance, repair, insurance and safe-keeping,
  - (b) means of access or display,
  - (c) disposal or lending, or
  - (d) repayment of grant or loan.
- (7) In giving any financial assistance under this section for any project for the preservation or enhancement of anything, or determining the conditions on which such assistance is to be given, the Trustees shall bear in mind the desirability of public access to, or the public display of, the thing in question and of its enjoyment by the public.



(8) The Secretary of State may, with the consent of the Treasury, apply sums received by him under this section as money provided by Parliament instead of paying them into the Consolidated Fund”.

(2) After that section there is inserted—

**“3A Financial assistance towards exhibitions, archives, etc**

(1) The Trustees may give financial assistance for any project within subsection (2) below which appears to them—

- (a) to relate to an important aspect of the history, natural history or landscape of the United Kingdom, and
- (b) to be of public benefit.

(2) The projects within this subsection are projects for any person to whom the assistance is to be given to—

- (a) set up and maintain a public exhibition,
- (b) compile and maintain an archive,
- (c) publish archive material, or
- (d) compile and publish a comprehensive work of reference (or publish a comprehensive work of reference that has previously been compiled),

or to do any ancillary thing.

(3) In subsection (2) above, “archive” includes any collection of sound recordings, images or other information, however stored.

(4) Before giving any financial assistance under this section for any project, the Trustees shall obtain any expert advice about the project they consider appropriate.

(5) Subsections (5), (6) and (8) of section 3 above apply for the purposes of this section as they apply for the purposes of that.

(6) In giving any financial assistance under this section for any project to compile or maintain an archive, or determining the conditions on which such assistance is to be given, the Trustees shall bear in mind the desirability of public access to the archive”.



## National Lottery Act 1998

### *The new good cause*

6.—(1) Section 22 of the 1993 Act (apportionment of money in Distribution Fund) shall be amended in accordance with subsections (2) to (6) below.

The new good cause and the re-allocation of lottery money.

(2) After subsection (3)(e) (20 per cent. of balance of sums paid into National Lottery Distribution Fund to be allocated for expenditure on projects to mark the year 2000 and the beginning of the third millennium) there shall be inserted—

“and

(f)  $13\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. shall be allocated for expenditure on or connected with health, education or the environment.”

(3) In subsection (3)(a) (20 per cent. to be allocated for expenditure on or connected with the arts) for “20 per cent.” there shall be substituted “ $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent.”

(4) In subsection (3)(b) (20 per cent. to be allocated for expenditure on or connected with sport) for “20 per cent.” there shall be substituted “ $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent.”

8

c. 22

*National Lottery Act 1998*

### PART I

(5) In subsection (3)(c) (20 per cent. to be allocated for expenditure on or connected with the national heritage) for “20 per cent.” there shall be substituted “ $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent.”

(6) In subsection (3)(d) (20 per cent. to be allocated for charitable expenditure) for “20 per cent.” there shall be substituted “ $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent.”

(7) In section 30 of the 1993 Act (winding up of fund allocated under section 22(3)(e)) in subsection (1)(b) (substitution of higher percentages for the percentages which on 31st December 2000 are specified in section 22(3)(a) to (d)) after “(a) to (d)” there shall be inserted “and (f)”.

(8) In subsection (1) of section 44 of the 1993 Act (interpretation of Part II) after the definition of “the Distribution Fund” there shall be inserted—

““education” includes training and the provision of activities for children;

“the environment” includes the living and social environment;”.

## Policy directions to the HLF from government

### Heritage Lottery Fund Policy Directions 1993

Issued to the Heritage Lottery Fund under section 26 of the National Lottery etc. Act 1993 (NHMF 1996, p.53)

#### 1. Soliciting Applications

The need to ensure that the Heritage Lottery Fund does not solicit applications

#### 2. Cover the whole range of the National Heritage

The need to ensure that the Heritage Lottery Fund considers applications which relate to the whole range of activities connected with the national heritage, and in respect of which the Trustees have power to distribute or apply money

#### 3. Public Good

The need to distribute money for projects which promote the public good (including the widening of public access) or charitable purposes, and which are not intended primarily for private gain

#### 4. Capital Projects

The need for money to be distributed for the purpose of capital expenditure on projects and only to be distributed for the purpose of endowments or in the form of revenue grants where:

- i. Such costs are associated with a lottery funded capital project;
- ii. The project would not otherwise be completed because no other finance for such a project exists

'Capital expenditure' means expenditure on the purchase, improvements restoration, construction or creation of an asset that:

- i. is being acquired with the intention of being used on a continuing basis in the organisation's activities;
- ii. is not intended for sale in the ordinary course of the organisation's activities

and includes any costs directly attributable or expenses incidental to the actual purchase, improvement, restoration, construction or creation of the asset.

'Improvement' means expenditure which increases the expected future benefits from the existing asset beyond its previously assessed level or results in:

- i. a significant extension of the asset's life
- ii. a significant increase in capacity
- iii. a significant enhancement in the quality or value of the asset

#### 5. Viability

The need for projects to be viable and in particular the need for resources to meet any running cost and maintenance costs associated with each project for a reasonable period, having regard to the size and nature of the projects.

## 6. Partnership Funding

The need for projects to be supported by a significant element of partnership funding, and or contribution in kind from other sources.

## 7. Expert Advice

He need to obtain such information as Trustees consider necessary to make decisions on each application, including independent expert advice where required

## 8. Balanced Coverage

The need to achieve an overall balance of funds for projects related to the relative populations of each country of the United Kingdom, taking one year with another and taking into account any special needs that might be identified in any particular year.

**Policy Directions issued under the National Lottery etc. Act 1988** 'which the Trustees must take into account in distributing National Lottery Funds' (NHMF& HLF, 1999, pp.63-66)

### A. Public Good

The need to distribute money for projects which promote the public good (including the widening of public access) or charitable purposes, and which are not intended primarily for private gain.

### B. Cover the whole range of the National Heritage

The need to ensure that the Heritage Lottery Fund considers applications which relate to the whole range of activities connected with the national heritage, and in respect of which the Trustees have power to distribute or apply money taking into account:

- i. their assessment of the needs of the national heritage and their priorities for addressing them
- ii. the need to achieve an overall balance of funds for projects relating to the relative populations of each country of the United Kingdom, taking one year with another and taking into account any special needs that might be identified in any particular year;
- iii. the scope for reducing economic and social deprivation at the same time as creating heritage benefits

### C. Access

The need to promote access for people from all sections of society , to heritage objects and collections, to the built and natural heritage and to projects which relate to the history, natural history , and the landscape of the United Kingdom.

### D. Education

The need to promote knowledge and interest in the heritage by children and young people.

E. Sustainable development

The need to further objectives of sustainable development.

F. Time-limited

The need for funding to be applied to specific projects that are for a specific time-limited purpose.

G. Viability

- i. the need for applicants to demonstrate the financial viability of a project for the period of the grant;
- ii. Where capital funding or setting up cost are sought, the need for a clear business plan beyond the period of the grant incorporating provision for associated running and maintenance costs;
- iii. The need for consideration to be given to the likely availability of funding to meet any continuing costs for a reasonable period after completion of the Lottery award.

H. Partnership funding

The need for projects to be supported by an element of partnership funding, and/or contributions in kind from other sources.

I. In partnership

The desirability of working with other organisations, including other distributors, where this is an effective means of delivering elements of their strategy.

J. Solicit applications

The need to ensure that the Heritage Lottery Fund 's powers to solicit applications are used in the pursuit of strategic objectives

K. Decisions

The need for sufficient information to make decisions on each application.

**Policy Directions**

Policy Directions from the Heritage Lottery Fund: National Heritage Memorial Fund Lottery Distribution Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 2013

'The government issues HLF with policy directions under the 1993 Act. The current directions took effect in 2008. As before, these are matters to be taken into account when distributing money.

At the same time, the Welsh Assembly Government issued policy directions related to money distributed in Wales, and in 2011 the Scottish Government used directions for money distributed in Scotland. These complement the UK-wide directions' (HLF, 2013, p.49-51)

a) Needs of heritage

HLF's assessment of the needs of the national heritage and their priorities for addressing them.

b) Public involvement

The need to involve the public and local communities making policies, setting priorities and distributing money.

c) Access and participation

The need to increase access and participation for those who do not currently benefit from the heritage opportunities available in the United Kingdom

d) Children and young people

The need to inspire children and young people, awakening their interest and involvement in the activities covered by the heritage good cause.

e) Communities

The need to foster initiatives which bring people together, enrich the public realm and strengthen communities

f) Volunteers

The need to support volunteers and encourage volunteering activity, in heritage.

g) Skills

The need to encourage innovation and excellence and help people to develop their skills.

h) Public value

The need to ensure that money is distributed for projects which promote public value and which are not intended primarily for private gain.

i) Sustainable development

The need to further objectives of sustainable development

j) Economic and social deprivation

The desirability of reducing economic and social deprivation and ensuring that all areas of the United Kingdom have access to the money distributed

k) Joint working

The desirability of working jointly with other organisations, including other distributors where there is an effective means of delivering the Fund's strategy

l) Acknowledgement

The need to include a condition in all grants to acknowledge Lottery funding using the common lottery branding

m) Partnership funding

The need to require an element of partnership funding, or contribution in kind from other sources, to the extent that this is reasonable to achieve for different kinds of applicants in particular areas

n) Decisions

The need a) for money distributed to be applied to projects only for a specific time-limited purpose, b) to ensure that they have the necessary information and expert advice to make decisions on each application and c) for applicants to demonstrate the financial viability of projects.

o) Project planning

Where capital funding is sought, the need for a clear business plan showing how any running and maintenance costs will be met for a reasonable period and b) to ensure that appraisal and management for major projects reflect the Office of Government Commerce's Gateway Review Standards.

### **Outcomes for heritage lottery funded projects 2013 – 2018**

Outcomes for heritage: With our investment, heritage will be:  
better managed  
in better condition  
better interpreted and explained identified/recorded

Outcomes for people: With our investment, people will have:  
developed skills  
learnt about heritage  
changed their attitudes and/or behaviour  
had an enjoyable experience  
volunteered time

Outcomes for communities: With our investment:  
negative environmental impacts will be reduced  
more people and a wider range of people will have engaged with heritage  
your local area/community will be a better place to live, work or visit  
your local economy will be boosted  
your organisation will be more resilient (HLF, 2015e, p.6)