RESEARCH REPORT SERIES no. 07-2014

STONEHENGE WORLD HERITAGE SITE LANDSCAPE PROJECT
STONEHENGE AERODROME AND THE STONEHENGE LANDSCAPE

Martyn Barber

REMOTE SENSING

ENGLISH HERITAGE

This report has been prepared for use on the internet and the images within it have been down-sampled to optimise downloading and printing speeds.

Please note that as a result of this down-sampling the images are not of the highest quality and some of the fine detail may be lost. Any person wishing to obtain a high resolution copy of this report should refer to the ordering information on the following page.

Research Report Series 7-2014

STONEHENGE WORLD HERITAGE SITE LANDSCAPE PROJECT

STONEHENGE AERODROME AND THE STONEHENGE LANDSCAPE

Martyn Barber

NGR: SU 114 420

© English Heritage

ISSN 2046-9799 (Print)
ISSN 2046-9802 (Online)

The Research Report Series incorporates reports by the expert teams within the Investigation & Analysis Division of the Heritage Protection Department of English Heritage, alongside contributions from other parts of the organisation. It replaces the former Centre for Archaeology Reports Series, the Archaeological Investigation Report Series, the Architectural Investigation Report Series, and the Research Department Report Series.

Many of the Research Reports are of an interim nature and serve to make available the results of specialist investigations in advance of full publication. They are not usually subject to external refereeing, and their conclusions may sometimes have to be modified in the light of information not available at the time of the investigation. Where no final project report is available, readers must consult the author before citing these reports in any publication. Opinions expressed in Research Reports are those of the author(s) and are not necessarily those of English Heritage.

Requests for further hard copies, after the initial print run, can be made by emailing:
Res.reports@english-heritage.org.uk
or by writing to:
English Heritage, Fort Cumberland, Fort Cumberland Road, Eastney, Portsmouth PO4 9LD
Please note that a charge will be made to cover printing and postage.

SUMMARY

Between 1917 and 1921, Stonehenge had an aerodrome for a near-neighbour. Initially a Royal Flying Corps training establishment, from January 1918 it became the No. 1 School of Aerial Navigation and Bomb Dropping, home to a contingent of RNAS Handley Page bombers. The aerodrome featured two camps either side of a take-off and landing ground, the first located close to Fargo Plantation, and a subsequent and more substantial technical and domestic site situated either side of what is now the A303, a few hundred yards west of Stonehenge.

After the war, the aerodrome buildings became the focus of debate about what constituted unacceptable modern intrusions in the Stonehenge landscape. Converted to both agricultural and domestic use, the hangars and accommodation blocks prompted the first demands to 'restore' the Stonehenge landscape – not to what it had been prior to the war, but to something deemed more appropriate as a setting for the monument. Following a public appeal, the aerodrome and neighbouring farmland was purchased, the buildings dismantled and removed, and the land handed to the National Trust. The result was intended to be a landscape freed from "the restless and commonplace current of every day life".

CONTRIBUTORS

This report was researched and written by Martyn Barber.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several English Heritage colleagues have provided assistance and information, including Mark Bowden, David Field, Susan Greaney, Rebecca Lane and Sharon Soutar, along with the many others involved in the Stonehenge WHS Landscape Project, and of course those in the English Heritage Archive and the librarians. Outside English Heritage, curatorial staff at the National Archives, the British Library, the Wiltshire Museum in Devizes, the Alexander Keiller Museum at Avebury, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford have all been extremely helpful as ever. Information and invaluable discussion has been provided by Dr Helen Wickstead (Kingston University) and Brian Edwards, while equally invaluable First World War snippets have come from Tim Brown, Roger Green, Ted Mustard, Dan Miles and others.

All of the photographs within the report can be found in the English Heritage Archives, Swindon, with the sole exception of Figure 33 which belongs to the author. Figure 5 was prepared by Sharon Soutar, and Figure 13 (from Bax et al 2010) by Deborah Cunliffe.

The front cover image shows the Stonehenge Aerodrome Main Camp as soilmarks and earthworks in 2001. The only areas not in arable cultivation are Normanton Gorse (bottom left), part of the Stonehenge triangle (in State Guardianship), and assorted prehistoric barrows. Photo by Damian Grady: English Heritage Archive 21171/02 25th February 2001 ©English Heritage.NMR.

ARCHIVE LOCATION

English Heritage Archive, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon SN2 2EH.

DATE OF RESEARCH

The research for this report was largely carried out during 2011 and 2012, with the bulk of the writing occurring in the autumn and winter of 2013-2014.

CONTACT DETAILS

English Heritage, The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon SN2 2EH
Martyn Barber – Tel 01793 414790. Email: martyn.barber@english-heritage.org.uk

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 2: STONEHENGE AERODROME AND THE STONEHENGE LANDSCAPE – AN OVERVIEW 2

CHAPTER 3 – FARGO COTTAGES 5

When were they built? 5

The occupants of the cottages 6

The purpose of the cottages 8

CHAPTER 4 – STONEHENGE AERODROME: BACKGROUND AND ORIGINS 11

General background 11

Why Stonehenge? 12

CHAPTER 5 – USE OF THE AERODROME 1917-1922 16

The Aerodrome: a summary history of its use 16

Navigation and Bomb-dropping: a training syllabus 18

Life at the Aerodrome 19

CHAPTER 6: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AERODROME 22

The first buildings 22

Charles Peers' January 1918 sketch plan 23

The 'Quarterly Survey…' (TNA: AIR 1/464/15/312/139) 24

Vertical aerial photograph – the 'Main Camp', 24th May 1921 24

Vertical aerial photograph – 'Main Camp' and landing ground, 24th May 1921 26

Two vertical aerial photographs of the former 'Night Camp' 28

Stonehenge Aerodrome – the sequence of events 29

The orientation of the 'Main Camp' 30

CHAPTER 7: THE AERODROME AND ARCHAEOLOGY – DAMAGE TO EARTHWORKS 32

Archaeological monuments and the Night Camp 34

Winterbourne Stoke 28 35

Winterbourne Stoke 29 35

Amesbury 55 – Monarch of the Plain 36

Stonehenge Cursus 37

The Main Camp 37

Amesbury 4 – 10a 37

Amesbury 1-3, 14, 15, 107-111 39

© ENGLISH HERITAGE

Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads......40
Impact on archaeological sites unrecognised at the time......43
The military and archaeology – the wider context......43
Stonehenge......44
The Stonehenge Cursus......45
Ploughing and the National Trust......49
World War Two......49
Ploughing the Triangle......51
CHAPTER 8: SALE, AUCTION AND DEMOLITION 1918-1939......54
After the auction: the buildings remain......55
Pigs and vagrants: occupying the aerodrome 1922 – c1932......57
The Stonehenge Appeal: origins......60
The Appeal......65
The Appeal: what threat?......68
The Threat: a postscript......69
CHAPTER 9: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE AERODROME......73
The Main Camp......74
The Night Camp......83
CHAPTER 10: DID THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS – OR ANYONE ELSE – *REALLY* WANT TO KNOCK DOWN STONEHENGE?......88
CHAPTER 11 – FREEING THE CIRCLE......93
BIBLIOGRAPHY......102

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This report arose initially from a re-assessment of aerial photographs covering the Stonehenge World Heritage Site (WHS), undertaken as part of English Heritage's Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project. That project has focused on analytical landscape survey across the WHS, with the overarching aim of improving the understanding of the landscape setting of Stonehenge and the WHS for academic, management, presentational and educational reasons (see Bowden et al forthcoming).

Mapping of archaeological and historic landscape features from aerial photographs had been undertaken by English Heritage's Aerial Survey team to National Mapping Programme (NMP) standards in 2001-2 (Crutchley 2002). Consequently, it was decided that (what is now known as) the Aerial Investigation & Mapping team's contribution to the new project should focus particularly on landscape change within the period covered by the available photographs – for Stonehenge, the earliest known aerial views were taken in the summer of 1906 from a military reconnaissance balloon belonging to the Royal Engineers (Capper 1907; Barber 2006; 2011) – and use documentary sources to contextualize and explain the changes observable over time in these photographs.

At an early stage, it was decided that this work should focus on the earlier part of the period covered by aerial photographs, with coverage becoming far more selective after the Second World War. Available resources, especially staff time, meant that any coverage of the post-war period would, due to the abundance of photographs and archival as well as published documentation, and particularly given the scale of landscape change in the WHS from the 1950s onwards, be superficial at best. In addition, the earlier phase is less well-known, and it was felt that any understanding of the development of Stonehenge and its landscape would clearly benefit from a closer look at the events of those decades. In addition, it was decided that the results of this work would be best presented as two reports rather than one single, potentially unwieldy report. This report concentrates on the landscape setting of Stonehenge, using the history and demise of the First World War aerodrome that was Stonehenge's near-neighbour for a few years as the focus for considering longer-term landscape change around the monument, and in particular the idea of what constitutes an appropriate setting for the stones, a debate that started with the building of the aerodrome. A second report (Barber 2014) focuses on Stonehenge itself and its most immediate environs. This division between monument and landscape is, of course, artificial.

CHAPTER 2: STONEHENGE AERODROME AND THE STONEHENGE LANDSCAPE – AN OVERVIEW

A military training aerodrome existed on land adjacent to Stonehenge between October 1917 and January 1921. During its active lifetime, it was home to a range of aircraft, including reconnaissance and fighter planes as well as heavy bombers. The planes had all left by early 1921, but the buildings lingered a little longer – although they were auctioned off in 1921 and 1922 on condition that purchasers removed them, some remained standing into the 1930s, by which time most of the land on which the aerodrome had stood had become the property of the National Trust. By the end of the 1930s, the whole area had reverted to agricultural use – both arable and pasture – and few visitors will have been aware that there was ever an aerodrome there. However, as recent English Heritage survey work has shown, traces of the locations of aerodrome buildings and other structures still survive as earthworks, while aerial photographs and geophysical surveys have demonstrated the survival of sub-surface remains. The site is not scheduled, although a small part of it lies within the area of the 'Stonehenge Triangle', which is under state guardianship.

The aerodrome has received little attention in the archaeological literature concerned with Stonehenge and its landscape. The focus of archaeological and public interest within the Stonehenge World Heritage Site (WHS) is, naturally, the monumental remains of the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Episodes of relatively recent military activity such as the aerodrome tend to be characterised in quite negative terms – as activities that could, and in some cases did, cause damage to the surviving remains of much earlier periods, or whose presence interferes with our ability to identify earlier phases of activity within the landscape. Military historians, meanwhile, have offered histories of the site – some in considerable detail (e.g. Crawford 2012) – telling the story of the aerodrome from its foundation in the autumn of 1917 to its closure in early 1921. These histories situate the aerodrome firmly within the context of First World War military activity on Salisbury Plain, and in particular within the network of sites in and around the Larkhill area.

The tendency to draw a line between the distant and the recent past means that the only real link between the aerodrome and Stonehenge to have received any attention is the disturbance to the latter caused by the former. More significant relationships remain under-explored. As sources make clear – particularly unpublished archives and contemporary press accounts – the aerodrome played a crucial role in the post-1918 process of 'restoring' the Stonehenge landscape. It became the chief focus for debate about what constituted acceptable and unacceptable modern intrusions into the Stonehenge landscape, at a time when the monument itself was undergoing considerable transformation, involving heavy-lifting gear and concrete, under the auspices of the Office of Work and the Society of Antiquaries. This was the first time that the idea of 'returning' Stonehenge to a more appropriate setting was voiced. The intervention of archaeologists ensured that the eradication of the aerodrome was simply the first stage of an equally significant transformation of the landscape around Stonehenge, a transformation that was

aimed at providing the monument with a setting deemed 'appropriate' to its grandeur and antiquity, its significance to a national (pre-)history, and in keeping with the latest archaeological opinion. Meanwhile the practicalities of dealing with increasing numbers of visitors, bringing with them their own expectations about Stonehenge and its surroundings, underlined the impossibility of returning Stonehenge and its landscape to their pre-war, let alone their prehistoric, state.

The aims of this report, therefore, are;

1. – to explore the history of the aerodrome via documentary and aerial photographic sources. The main emphasis is on the period 1917 to the Second World War. The abundance of information relating to the period after 1945 made this an appropriate cut-off point. The main objective is to show that the phase of military activity at the aerodrome was more complex than existing accounts indicate;

2. – to examine the impact of the aerodrome on the wider landscape, with particular reference to contemporary ideas about the setting, or 'amenity', of Stonehenge. This is a potentially vast subject, particularly once the wider context is considered – the story of Stonehenge is situated within broader and longer-term narratives concerning rural amenity, planning, ribbon development, encroaching suburbanisation, the protection of ancient monuments and their settings, and so on. This report deals chiefly with the specifics of the desire to remove all trace of the aerodrome, and the establishment of a public appeal to raise the funds to buy both the aerodrome site and surrounding farmland, touching on these broader themes where appropriate.

Overall, the range of sources examined has of necessity been quite restricted. The purpose here was to demonstrate the existence of a more complex state of affairs regarding Stonehenge, the aerodrome and the landscape, and to highlight the potential for further archival research rather than to offer an exhaustive treatment. Although it has been possible to produce a very different account of the aerodrome and its place in the history of the Stonehenge landscape, it remains a very partial account. An additional aim was to demonstrate the value of using aerial photographs for the analysis of recent and contemporary developments in the landscape rather than solely as a means for identifying traces of more distant times.

The report begins with a summary of what is known about the aerodrome site in the century or so before its establishment in 1917, paying particular attention to the buildings known as Fargo Cottages, the associated expansion of arable farming in the areas adjacent to Stonehenge, and its impact on other archaeological monuments in the vicinity. Chapters dealing specifically with the aerodrome begin by looking briefly at the background to its establishment and the choice of location, followed by a summary of its uses between 1917 and 1921; a discussion of its changing layout; and an assessment of the military (as opposed to agricultural or archaeological) impact on known archaeological sites nearby. Subsequent chapters consider the post-war use of the aerodrome buildings, the public appeal and purchase of the site, and the gradual removal of the buildings. There

is also an assessment of the remarkably resilient myth – and it is a myth – that the Royal Flying Corps once requested that Stonehenge be demolished, before a final chapter summarises the difficulties faced in the 1930s in producing a landscape that was both an appropriate setting for the stones, and acceptable to the growing numbers of visitors.

CHAPTER 3 – FARGO COTTAGES

When were they built?

Prior to the construction of the aerodrome, the downland west of Stonehenge had been home to a pair of cottages and associated farm buildings. The former are named 'Fargo Cottages' on the Ordnance Survey 25" map of 1872 (Fig. 1), and it is under this name that they are generally referred to in the archaeological literature. However, contemporary documentary sources – for example, Census returns, as well as the local falconry and hare-coursing reports – refer to both the cottages and the plantation to the northwest as 'Virgo' until the end of the nineteenth century.

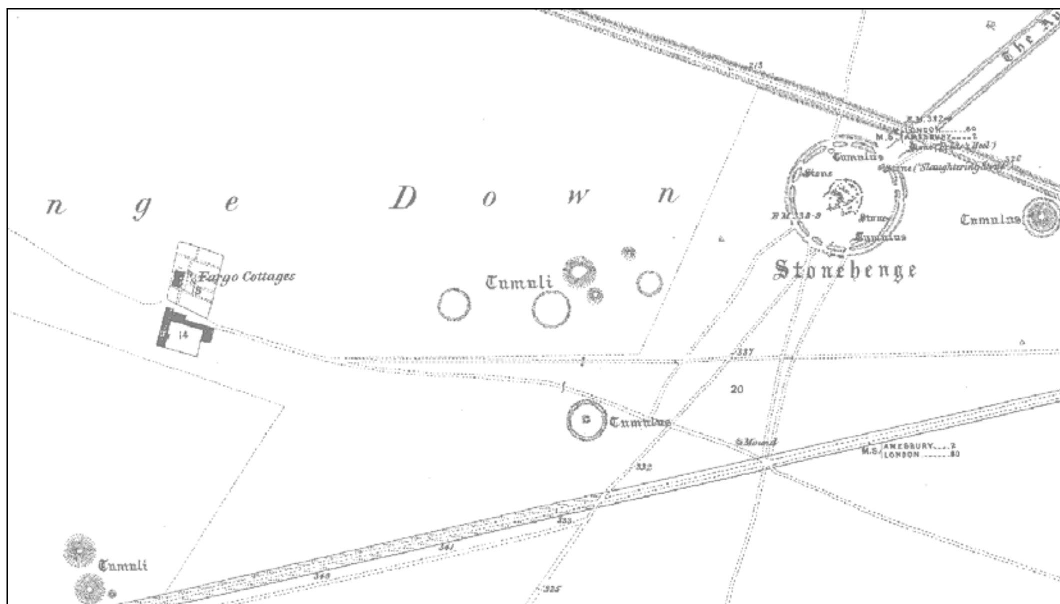


Figure 1: Extract from the 1872 edition of the Ordnance Survey 25" map showing the proximity of Fargo Cottages to Stonehenge. By the time the photograph in Fig. 2 was taken, all the barrows between the two were in arable, and probably had been since the 1840s.

Virgo Cottages appeared in the late 1840s. They are absent from the Tithe Map and Apportionment of circa 1846, and so are presumed to post-date these. The earliest published reference found so far occurs in the 1856 *Handbook for Travellers in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire*. The anonymous author's account of the Stonehenge landscape bemoaned the changes that were taking place:

"…*the natural features of this country are now much changed. The genius of the Plain is retiring before cultivation, which has for some time been creeping over the hills, and is indeed now advanced to the very precincts of Stonehenge. N. and S. of the temple there is still a wild slope of thistle-covered turf, but E. and W. of it are gaily covered fields, and within gunshot a farmhouse neatly slated and whitewashed*" (anon. 1856, 34).

Three years later, in Henry Long's (1859) *Survey of the Early Geography of Western Europe…*, the author noted

"*…a newly-erected farm, a little westward of the stones…[where] cultivation has levelled two barrow-like mounds, which were in a great measure formed of the chippings and fragments of the stones of Stonehenge*" (H Long 1859, 109).

In 1876 William Long (no relation) included, in his *Stonehenge and its Barrows*, a footnote mentioning Henry Long's reference to the farm and the ploughing of the mounds, plus a comment from a Mr Edwards of Amesbury, who said that the latter had occurred 28 years earlier, and the erection of the farm buildings 29 years earlier (Long 1876, 236). Assuming that Edwards was talking and William Long writing on 1876, then this suggests a date of circa 1847 for the farm buildings. It is possible that they may have gone up a little later, if Ralph Waldo Emerson is to be believed. In his account of a visit to Stonehenge on 7th July 1848, in the company of Thomas Carlyle, Emerson wrote that:

"*On the broad downs, under the gray sky, not a house was visible, nothing but Stonehenge, which looked like a group of brown dwarfs in the wide expanse – Stonehenge and the barrows – which rose like green bosses about the plain, and a few hayricks*" (Emerson 1870, 293).

However, this absence recurs in many other written accounts of visits to the monument throughout the later 19th century. Neither, of course, do the cottages or farm buildings appear in contemporary paintings, sketches and other illustrations. The same applies to the presence of arable agriculture close to the stones. Victorian visitors may have "*grown so familiar* [with Stonehenge] *from numerous pictorial representations*" (*The Leisure Hour*, 13 October 1853, 658) but those representations of both Stonehenge and its surroundings are generally more concerned with conveying particular impressions rather than accurate depictions of monument and landscape. For the anonymous author of the *Leisure Hour* article, Stonehenge was a remote, romantic ruin, comprising "*huge lichen-covered blocks…beyond the limits of cultivation*". Crops and farm buildings meant that the plain was being "*redeemed from barrenness*", but Stonehenge did not belong in such a setting.

The occupants of the cottages

The first Census in which Virgo Cottages can be identified is that of 1861, the two cottages being listed within Amesbury parish as the 'little hamlet' of Virgo. They cannot be identified in 1851 as few houses in the parish in that Census are listed with a recognisable address. In 1861 the cottages were occupied by William Jacob, a head carter, and Thomas Stickland, a shepherd, and their respective families – a grand total of 15 on the night of the Census. Several of the older children were also agricultural labourers of various kinds, including a ploughboy. This pattern of occupation – families within which the father and older male children were engaged in a range of agricultural tasks, both arable and pastoral

– continued until the 1901 Census. In that year, while one of the cottages was still occupied by a family of agricultural workers, the other had just a single listed occupant – Wyndham Robinson, a police constable. It is not clear how long he had been there – the absence of family may indicate he was a recent arrival, perhaps a direct consequence of the events at Stonehenge in 1901 (see Barber 2014).

The 1901 Census was also the first in which the cottages were named 'Fargo' rather than 'Virgo' – in fact, they were listed as 'Stonehenge Cottages (Fargo)'. In 1911 – the last accessible Census – one cottage was still occupied by a policeman, this time Charles Chappell and family, while the other was home to Mr Drew, caretaker of Stonehenge, which – like the cottages – was still owned by the Antrobus family. Also present were Drew's wife and adopted daughter. By 1913, Frank Smith, a retired policeman, was resident caretaker with his wife Elizabeth, presumably in the cottage previously occupied by the Drews (http://salisburyinquests.wordpress.com/1913-2/hesketh-norah/ - consulted 16 April 2014). The other was occupied by the Hesketh family, with Frederick Hesketh described as a chauffeur.

Smith remained caretaker after Stonehenge was sold to Cecil Chubb at auction in 1915, and was still there when Chubb handed the monument over to the care of the Office of Works in 1918, although by then he was in temporary accommodation. When the Amesbury Estate was parcelled up into separate lots for auction in 1915, the cottages were not included with Stonehenge. Instead, Cecil Chubb rented them until suitable replacements could be built. This was difficult to arrange during the war, but became necessary once the cottages were earmarked by the military authorities for demolition. The original Fargo Cottages had survived the initial establishment of the aerodrome, being situated towards the southeastern edge of a landing ground operated from buildings and hangars adjacent to Fargo Plantation some distance to the northwest. On the expansion of the aerodrome in the early months of 1918, and following the decision to construct buildings adjacent to what is now the A303, the cottages became something of an obstacle. It is not clear exactly when they were dismantled, but a brief report printed in *The Times* on 28th March 1918 (p3) noted that "*By a War Office order these two cottages have been taken over and are to be pulled down…*". Later a War Office memo dated 2nd November 1918 stated that:

"*…two cottages were started by the War Department in the fork of the roads to the east of the site. These two cottages are nearing completion and should be finished in a fortnight but will not be ready for occupation until they have dried out thoroughly. Meanwhile the Caretaker is accommodated in a military hut on the site*" ('Stonehenge' – 2nd November 1918: the National Archives (TNA) WORK 14/2463).

It is not clear if the other farm buildings were still extant in 1917. They are visible in a photograph dated 29th September 1904, and reproduced in Balfour (1983, 175), but by 1911, if not earlier, neither cottage had an agricultural function. Surface traces of both

cottages and adjacent buildings can be seen in later aerial photographs, including some taken while the aerodrome's hangars were still standing (figs 6).

Figure 2: Photograph by John Jenkins Cole taken late August or early September 1881. Cole erected timber scaffolding against some of the sarsens for photographic purposes, the angle here suggesting the camera was on or adjacent to the lintel connecting Stones 30 and 1. On the left is the tall leaning monolith Stone 56, straightened and set in concrete in 1901. Virgo Cottages and farm buildings can be seen in the distance, as can the proximity of arable cultivation. English Heritage Archives AL0913.

The purpose of the cottages

Lane (2011) suggested that increasing cultivation on the chalk downland provided the context for the appearance of small out-farms such as Virgo, noting that at least five such farms appeared on the downs between the 1840s and the late 1870s, each comprising domestic accommodation plus a courtyard arrangement of farm buildings. This appears to have been the case for Virgo. As noted earlier, the Ordnance Survey 25" map of 1872 shows a pair of cottages (at circa SU 11634214) situated within a sub-rectangular area of what were presumably garden plots measuring around 60 metres by 45 metres overall. A

short distance to the south, the map shows agricultural buildings arranged around two and a half sides of a rectangular yard (centres at circa SU 11634207), measuring circa 30 metres by 25 metres.

The cottages stood about 570 metres west of Stonehenge (see Figs. 1 and 2). Although rarely mentioned in accounts of the landscape, and absent from illustrations, they do appear in the occasional photograph. One, from 1904, has already been mentioned. The earliest (and clearest) known at present was taken (probably) in August 1881 by the architect John Jenkins Cole. Cole was undertaking a survey of the stones on behalf of the owner of Stonehenge (and of Virgo Cottages), Sir Edmund Antrobus (3rd Baronet), in response to concerns that some of the stones might be unstable (Barber 2011; 2014). Cole erected wooden scaffolding to enable him to take some photographs of Stonehenge from the top of the outer circle of sarsens on the eastern side of the monument. One exposure, looking westwards across the interior of Stonehenge, captured a distant prospect of Virgo, but the quality of the photograph allows a reasonable view of the buildings once enlarged (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Enlargement of part of Fig. 2. Virgo Cottages are visible to the right of centre, just above the projecting tenon of one of Stonehenge's sarsens. A low hedge surrounding the presumed gardens can be seen. To the left are the farm buildings occupying the northern and eastern sides of the farmyard.

The photograph shows the buildings surrounded by arable that extends quite close to the earthworks of Stonehenge. The construction of the cottages seems to have been associated with an extension of cultivation in the area rather than its introduction. The presence of shepherds among the agricultural workers occupying the cottages suggests a continuation of the longstanding regime on the downs of sheep and crops, the flocks being folded on the arable in order to manure it. Documentary sources suggest increasing conversion of areas of downland from pasture to arable from the 17th century onwards, albeit often on a temporary basis (RCHME 1979, xvi-xviii; Bond 1991), although whether

it was intended to be temporary is a moot point. The occurrence of the field-name 'Burnbake' on maps from the early 18th century points to the process of stripping off the turf, burning it and ploughing the ashes back into the soil (ibid.). The area immediately adjacent to Virgo to the north and west (south of the later line of the A344) is identified as 'Burnbake' on 18th century maps. By the time of the Tithe Award in the mid-1840s, the same area is divided into six strips, each still identified as 'Burnbake' and listed as arable, while the rest of the area (named West Amesbury Down) is shown as pasture (ibid.).

Close inspection of the 1881 photographs suggests a difference in character between the arable beyond Virgo and that between Virgo and Stonehenge, the area beyond perhaps being used for cereals. The different character of the area nearer the stones may explain William Long's (1876, 186) oft-quoted comment that "*It is to be hoped that our grand-children will not have to look for Stonehenge in a field of turnips*". Long's comments firmly associate the new buildings with the expansion southward and eastward from the Burnbake area of arable cultivation, and he noted the impact this was having on some of the archaeological earthworks – the round barrows – in the area, notably the group immediately west of Stonehenge (those known as Amesbury 4 – 10a) and another group a little further to the southwest, immediately adjacent to the modern A303 (Amesbury 1 to 3 plus other small mounds). Long referred to cultivation closing in on Stonehenge, claiming that Amesbury 4 to 10a had been 'obliterated', and quoted Mr Edwards of Amesbury as saying that the largest mound in the group had been deliberately levelled in order to ease ploughing over it, while the other members of the group were in danger of disappearing as well (Long 1876, 186, 198; see below (Chapter 7) for a discussion of agricultural and military damage to these mounds).

CHAPTER 4 – STONEHENGE AERODROME: BACKGROUND AND ORIGINS

General background

(NB this rather brief account draws mainly on information in Brown 2013; Crawford 2012; and Dobinson & Lake (forthcoming).)

German Gotha raids in the summer of 1917, particularly the daylight raid on London on 13th June which resulted in 162 deaths and 432 injured (children among them – two bombs fell on schools) prompted a major reassessment of air strategy and defence, a process that was to lead directly to the creation of the RAF the following year. The most immediate result, however, was the sanctioning of a tremendous increase in the number of planes – it was envisaged that most would be bombers – and, of course, the necessary infrastructure to support that expansion, including facilities for training aircrews. In terms of training, there was obviously a pressing need to increase the number of airfields, a process initially hindered by a Board of Agriculture ruling preventing the acquisition of sites on arable land. The lifting of this ruling later in 1917 helped to speed up this programme considerably, although continued German bombing, including the first night-time raids on London in early September, did much to concentrate minds. The aerodrome at Stonehenge was one of many new airfields established across southern England by the end of the year.

This aerodrome was, of course, neither the first military establishment nor the first flying ground in the vicinity of the stones. Sizeable tracts of Salisbury Plain had been purchased for military training and manoeuvres since 1897, with permanent barracks appearing at places such as Tidworth, Bulford and Larkhill from 1899 onwards. Initially, Salisbury Plain had been considered ideal for large-scale troop and cavalry exercises, though rifle and artillery ranges were soon added. Reconnaissance balloons belonging to the Royal Engineers were participating in exercises in the area from the 1880s, something that involved both 'free' and tethered flights, perhaps the best known of the latter being the occasion in the summer of 1906 when 2nd Lt Philip Sharpe photographed Stonehenge from above (Capper 1907; Barber 2006; 2011).

Heavier-than-air flight – aeroplanes – came to Larkhill in 1909 when the civilian pioneer Horatio Barber rented a small strip of land on Durrington Down, and built his own shed to house his aeroplane. A few officers soon added their own sheds for privately-owned aircraft before, in 1910, the first military hangars were constructed. Around this time, the British and Colonial Aircraft Company was encouraged to erect hangars on land it was leasing at Larkhill. The Company also established a flying school for military officers.

In 1911, No. 2 Company of the Air Battalion of the Royal Engineers was established at Larkhill – No. 1 Company, which was equipped with airships rather than aeroplanes, stayed behind at Farnborough. In 1912, No. 2 Company became No. 3 Squadron of the

newly-formed Royal Flying Corps (RFC). However, military flying at Larkhill ceased in the summer of 1914, with the RFC instead concentrating on other recently established airfields in the area, especially Netheravon.

Why Stonehenge?

Documentation covering the origins of the Stonehenge Aerodrome itself is sparse, with most of what has been identified to date occurring in Air Ministry, War Office and Office of Works files post-dating the First World War. These files are generally concerned with the lengthy saga surrounding the aerodrome's closure, sale and demolition. The few mentions of the aerodrome's origins are light on detail and tend towards the anecdotal, being based on personal recollection rather than documentation. Contemporary press coverage is, of course, virtually non-existent. From August 1914, successive Defence of the Realm Acts restricted, among other things, the ability of both national and local press to report on military activity at home. However, the existence of the aerodrome could hardly be kept secret – straddling the London to Exeter road (now the A303) and highly visible from Stonehenge – the nearest aerodrome building was, by the summer of 1918, only around 300 metres from the stones – it was a pretty obtrusive addition to the landscape, and one which was clearly going to attract comment, if not – during the war at least – opposition.

There was some press criticism of the juxtaposition of modern military with ancient megaliths before the war ended, but the nature of the military presence was never made completely clear, though some came close. For example, *The Times* (27th August 1918, p9) printed the following piece in the final months of the war (and a month or so before the owner of Stonehenge, Cecil Chubb, handed the monument over to 'the nation'):

"*…A bend in the road, and there, in the middle distance,* [the stones] *were. But this is the scene that meets you today. On one side is a great camp, with high, dominating buildings, spreading, spilling themselves down the slope. On the other a second camp, cresting the skyline. And between them, on the low ground, a little huddle of dark, insignificant objects – can that be Stonehenge! They used to look like monstrous bricks which the children of the Giants had begun to play with, and abandoned in their play. Now, under the suggestion of the times, they look like a heap of tractors or lorries waiting there to be broken up. They are dwarfed, obsolete, unmeaning. They have nothing in common with the huge machine that has settled upon them – mechanical arts, mechanical men. The crown of all the grey sarsens and cromlechs hidden in waving corn and grasses over these Wiltshire solitudes, they were themselves too extraordinary to be secret, but now their last privacy has gone. Their mystery is spent; their spell is broken. It is the end of the old stones. As we looked, a big aeroplane came swooping down on them, mocking their immobility with its movement, hinting at the unseen death which could blow them all to dust. At its threat they seemed to shrink together up to the larger pillars. The noise of the aircraft had been remorseless all day, and this was the finishing touch. We did not want the stones any longer; we could not want them. We went no nearer. Not until the reign*

of the war-god is over will they resume – if they can outlast him – their empire in men's hearts. Perhaps it will happen some day, for their roots in human consciousness are very deep, and an age of our activities have they seen into the grave."

In 1927 Sir Lionel Earle, who had been permanent secretary to the Office of Works since 1912, claimed that "*When the War Office commandeered the land at the aerodrome, we pressed in every possible way that on termination of the war the buildings should be removed, and this was agreed to*" (letter, 5th August 1927: TNA WORK 14/488), although this appears to be contradicted by earlier documents – there is no clear evidence that the Office of Works was aware of the possible impact of the aerodrome until early 1918, while there is no indication that the War Office agreed to remove the buildings until 1921.

In explaining the decision to place an aerodrome so close to Stonehenge, it seems safe to assume that the proximity of the monument was of little concern, especially given the history of flying in the vicinity. Other aspects of the location were of greater importance, these emerging in the correspondence and documents that followed the announcement late in 1919 that the RAF wished to retain Stonehenge Aerodrome, and subsequently in the course of the long campaign to remove all surface trace of the aerodrome's existence.

The plans for a Permanent Air Force, put forward by Hugh Trenchard, Chief of Air Staff, at the end of 1919 were approved by the Cabinet and reported in the press (e.g. *The Times*) on 15th December 1919 (p9). These plans included a permanent role for the aerodrome at Stonehenge. Five days after the announcement, Charles Peers, in his capacity as Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries (he was also Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Office of Works, and in both capacities was overseeing the restoration work that had begun at Stonehenge a few weeks earlier) wrote to the War Office arguing that:

"*Whatever may have been the reasons which determined the choice of such a site, a choice entailing the complete disfigurement of the surroundings of the most famous of British monuments, it must be conceded that nothing short of absolute necessity can justify the retention there of a set of buildings so entirely out of harmony with the venerable traditions of that place*" (letter, Peers to War Office, 20th December 1919: TNA MUN 4/6054).

H McAnally of the Air Council responded (apparently on Christmas Day 1919) by expressing the Air Council's

"*…sympathy with your Society's desire that existing disfigurement in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge shall be removed at the earliest possible moment, and would be very glad to vacate the aerodrome at once and allow the buildings on it to be taken down, if a possible alternative existed*" (letter, McAnally to Peers, 25th December 1919: TNA MUN 4/6054).

However, McAnally went on to explain that the

"*…value of Stonehenge Aerodrome…lies in its proximity to Lark Hill and other Artillery Camps and ranges close by, since the experience of the late War proved not only the necessity for the co-operation of aircraft with Artillery but also the need for the very closest touch between the officers of the two services if such co-operation is to give the best results. Effective co-operation can only be secured if the respective camps are in such close proximity as to admit of officers attending lectures and discussions in each others' camp*" (ibid.).

This was, of course, a statement based on experience and hindsight. Proximity to the existing military infrastructure undoubtedly played a part in the choice of location – and contemporary accounts (below, p19) show that Larkhill provided accommodation for some of the pilots and observers being trained at Stonehenge – but the precise functions of Larkhill will have been of less importance than the presence of a relatively level expanse of open downland close to existing facilities. The site is described in one document as "*fairly good, though somewhat rough and very rolling… Fairly flat in this neighbourhood*" ('Quarterly Survey of the Stations of the RAF… October 1918: TNA AIR 1/464/15/312/139). The only impediments to flying (and landing) were the existing military camps, assorted plantations and – allegedly – Stonehenge itself (see below, Chapter 10).

Another reason for the attractiveness of the location was offered by Sir Lionel Earle in a letter of 20th March 1920, again to the Air Council and again concerned with the question of removing the aerodrome buildings. Earle claimed that

"*they placed the aerodrome exactly on that spot for the sake of a road whereas there were many other less objectionable places in the immediate neighbourhood where the aerodrome could have been built and a road made at trivial expense across the Chalk downs*" (letter, 2nd March 1920: TNA WORK 14/488).

Although the layout of the aerodrome familiar from post-war sources such as the Ordnance Survey maps might imply that Earle was referring to the A303 here, the history of the development of the aerodrome as outlined below suggests that the A344 was the road in question.

To summarise then, the likely reasons for the choice of location were (i) the proximity of existing military facilities; (ii) a reasonable expanse of open and relatively flat ground with no real impediments to flying; and (iii) the presence of a road. These are probably the same reasons underlying the choice of location for other contemporary airfields – Stonehenge was one of several established from mid-1917 onwards on Salisbury Plain, each catering for the various needs of the rapidly expanding Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Air Service. Others in the general vicinity included Boscombe Down, Lake Down, Lopcombe Corner and Old Sarum.

The land chosen for the Stonehenge Aerodrome was requisitioned, presumably in mid-to-late 1917, under the terms of the Defence of the Realm (Acquisition of Land) Act of 1916 (note, 15th June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488) from its owner, Mr Isaac Crook, who had himself not long acquired it from the Antrobus Estate. The entire estate had been put up for auction in 1915 following the death of Sir Edmund Antrobus (4th Baronet), that auction being best-known as the occasion on which Cecil Chubb bought Stonehenge for £6,600 (Isaac Crook was, apparently, an unsuccessful bidder). It seems that the farmland on which the aerodrome was eventually built was one of several lots that failed to sell, Crook instead buying the land from the Antrobus Estate the following year (Richards 2013, 50).

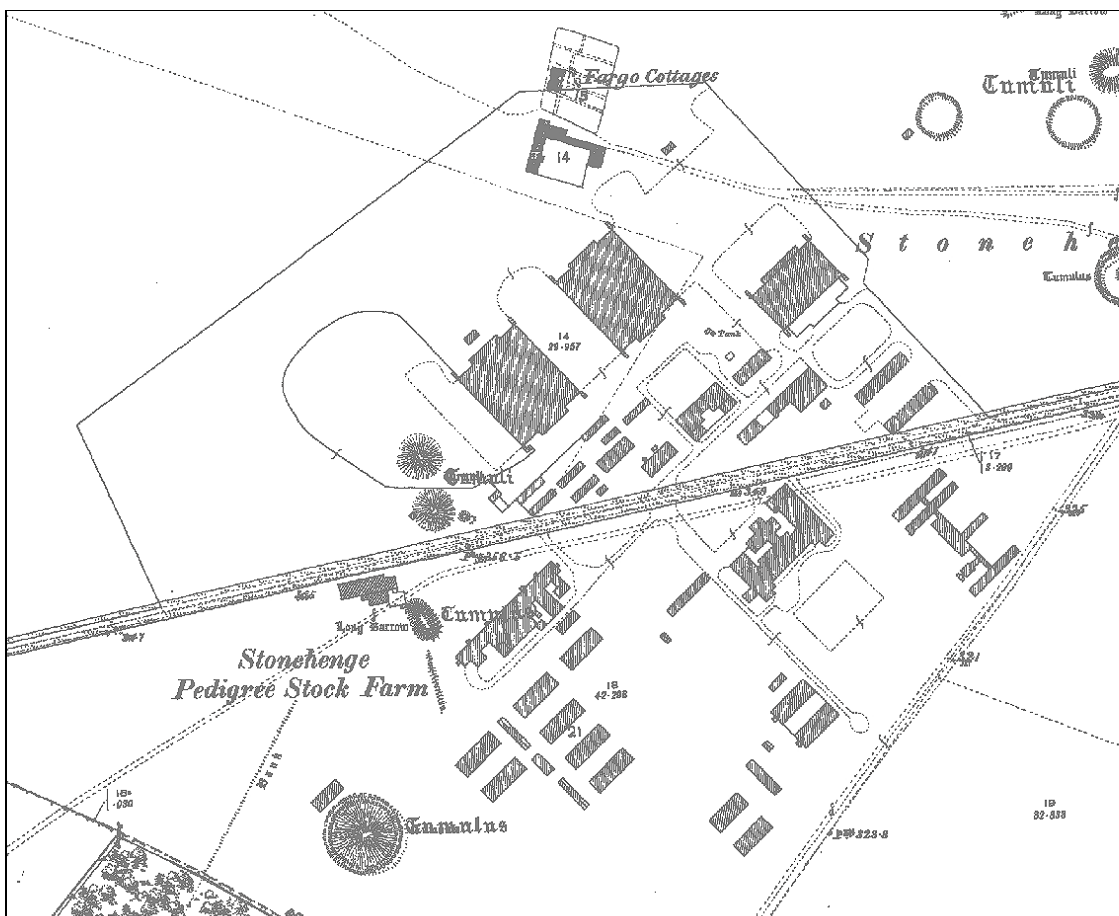


Figure 4: Extract from the Ordnance Survey 25" map of 1872 overlain on the 1924 edition, showing the relationship of the aerodrome's Main Camp to the road (now the A303), the barrows, and the location of Fargo Cottages. By 1924, of course, the site was no longer in use as an aerodrome, hence the reference to a 'Pedigree Stock Farm' (see Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 5 – USE OF THE AERODROME 1917-1922

The area occupied by the aerodrome was some 360 acres in extent, around 30 of which were, by the end of the war, occupied by buildings and assorted other structures. Construction began towards the end of 1917, with the aerodrome officially opening in November of that year, but was still incomplete by the end of the war a year later. The October 1918 'Quarterly Survey of Stations of the RAF' (TNA: AIR 1/464/15/312/139) gave an estimated date of completion for the whole aerodrome of 30th September 1918, although it is clear (see below, Chapter 6) that buildings continued to be added after that date and, indeed, after the war had ended.

By the time of the Quarterly Survey, the aerodrome comprised two separate camps either side of a shared landing and take-off ground. One camp – referred to in this report as the Main Camp (see Figs. 4, 5) – featured the main technical buildings, offices and accommodation blocks; the other – the Night Camp – was, as its name suggests, for those whose flying mainly took place after dark. The Quarterly Survey stated that the Main Camp (sheds, technical buildings, regimental buildings, women's accommodation, roads and aprons, water supply etc) was 100% complete by September 1918, with just drainage and lighting needing some attention (these were 95% and 97% complete respectively). In contrast, the Night Camp was just 10% complete, and none of its planned structures were marked on the accompanying plan at all.

The Aerodrome: a summary history of its use

It is not entirely clear when work began on the Stonehenge Aerodrome, and neither is it clear what its original intended use was to be. The comings and goings of its first few months suggest that there was some gap between the establishment of an aerodrome on the site and any decision about its long term use. What does seem clear is that until January 1918 it was purely a Royal Flying Corps aerodrome. The first occupants were the men of No. 107 Squadron, who arrived on 18th October 1917 from Catterick. They were joined on 12th November by 108 and 109 Squadrons, who came from Montrose and South Carlton respectively. All three moved on to nearby Lake on 2nd December, with No. 2 Training Depot Station (TDS) moving in the opposite direction. This was redesignated No. 1 School of Aerial Navigation and Bomb Dropping on 5th January 1918, although the word 'Aerial' was soon dropped from its title. This School remained at Stonehenge until 23rd September 1919 when it moved to Andover, already home to the N. 2 School of Navigation and Bomb Dropping. The two were combined to form the School of Air Pilotage. Stonehenge was briefly home to No. 97 Squadron between 21st and 31st January 1918, which then moved to Netheravon. However, the major new arrival that month was the RNAS Handley Page Training Flight, arriving in advance of plans for the new Royal Air Force to take over heavy bombing on its official formation on 1st April 1918.

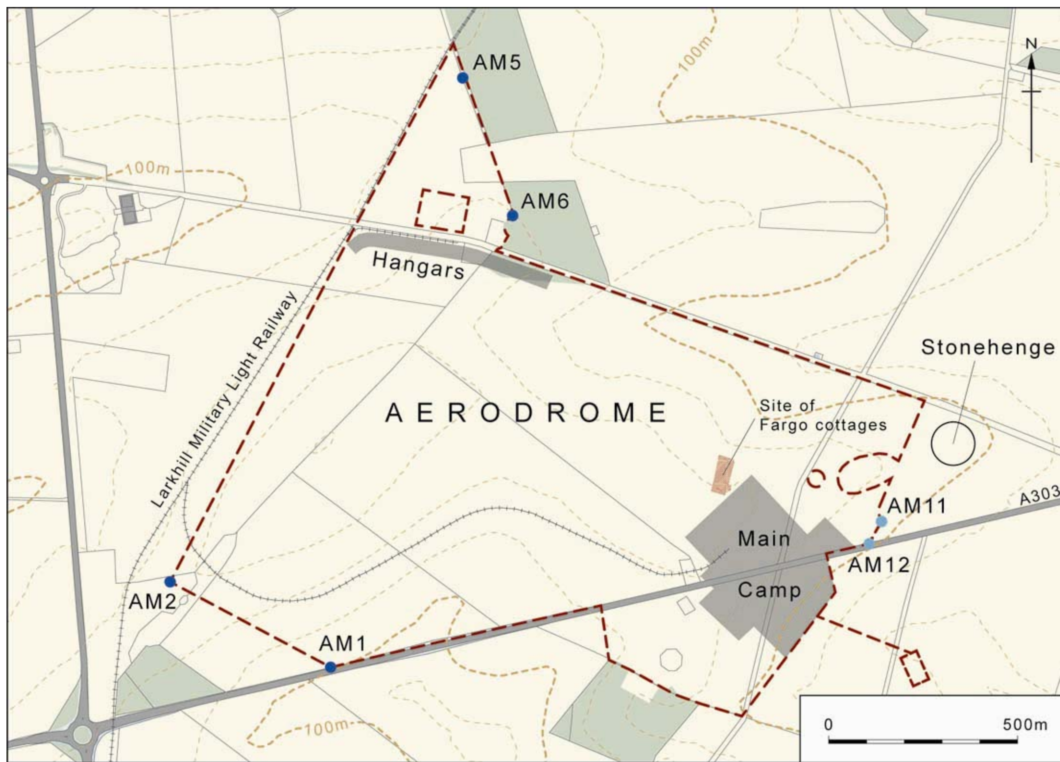


Figure 5: Plan showing the Aerodrome boundary, as depicted in the Quarterly Survey, October 1918; the location of the Main Camp buildings and of the Night Camp hangars. The location of the former is derived from the Quarterly Survey and Ordnance Survey, and the latter from aerial photographs. Fargo Plantation is top centre, Normanton Gorse bottom centre, and Winterbourne Stoke crossroads bottom left. The blue dots labelled AM1, AM2 etc represent the location of extant Air Ministry concrete boundary markers, identified during recent English Heritage survey work. (© English Heritage).

The Artillery Co-operation Squadron moved to Stonehenge during August 1919, not long before the Air Council stressed to Charles Peers the value of Stonehenge in terms of co-operation between aircraft and artillery. However, much of its flying apparently occurred at Worthy Down. By December 1919 there are references to Stonehenge Aerodrome being occupied solely by a Maintenance Party (letter, 19th December 1919: TNA 14/488). On 8th March 1920 the School of Army Co-operation was reformed at Stonehenge, absorbing the Artillery Co-operation Squadron in the process. 'C' Flight of No. 4 Squadron arrived from Farnborough during April 1920 – its roles included artillery spotting, bombing and ground strafing, and it moved on to Old Sarum in October 1920. In January 1921, the decision to close Stonehenge having been made, the School of Army Co-operation moved across to Old Sarum as well. Meanwhile, by June 1919, as the amount of flying and training tailed off, the aerodrome was also being used by the Ministry of Munitions (Disposal Board) to store surplus bricks, which were offered for sale to the public by tender. A report in *The Times* on 12th June 1919 (p12) reported that "*the*

number stacked is upwards of 50,000' (Details from a range of sources, including Ashworth 1990, Priddle 2003, Delve 2006, and assorted files at the National Archives (AIR)).

Navigation and Bomb-dropping: a training syllabus

The October 1918 Quarterly Survey included a brief outline of the kind of training on offer at Stonehenge by the end of the war. The principal role of No. 1 School of Navigation and Bomb Dropping was as "*a finishing school for Pilots and Observers in both Day and Night Bombing*". The School was divided into separate Day Bombing and Night Bombing squadrons, the latter being trained mainly on the Handley-Page bombers. Day Bomber pilots were taught, among other subjects, aerial navigation, cloud flying, bombs and bomb-gears, aerial flying in formation, and practical map-flying. Night Bomber pilots followed a broadly similar syllabus but practised their navigation, map-flying and compass-flying by day and night, and were also trained in the use of vertical searchlights. Observers were "*given a finishing course before being qualified to wear the Observer's Wing*". Courses lasted 4 to 5 weeks (i.e. roughly one calendar month), and the aim was to train up to 60 Day Bombing and 60 Night Bombing pilots per month, and equivalent numbers of day and night observers.

More detail survives for the training syllabus at Stonehenge for the week of 12th to 18th April 1918 (TNA AIR 1/122/15/313/64). A brief flavour rather than full details are provided here. The programme of lectures on the subject of navigation ran as follows:

1. The Purpose of the School. – the use and necessity of Navigation. General Definitions and instruments.

2. The Compass.

3. Navigational Instruments. The Elementary principles of Navigation. Charts and Maps. Lights (for Night Flying).

4. Windage and drift. Laying off course by plotting.

5. Practical work on laying off courses by plotting. Explanation of the C.D.I. [A device used with a map board to allow corrections to course while in-flight in the event of drift]

6. The C.D.I. and its uses – with practical work. The Bigsworth and its use [An instrument for plotting and defining courses, finding position, etc].

7. Practical Navigation day or night, and flying by Compass.

8. Practical problems on laying off courses.

9. General resumé, and further practical work.

10. Examination.

11. Correction of papers – revision.

12. Further practical work in navigation.

After Lecture No. 4 the Pupil should be ready for Cross Country by day.

The course on aerial photography consisted of just two lectures, although the taking of aerial photographs was a key part of other training programmes. The lecture content for aerial photography was as follows:

Lecture 1 – The L Type camera; its mechanism; how used; how fitted; camera fittings; how to take aerial photographs; conditions required to ensure success; photography at various altitudes; pin-points; overlaps; mosaics; focal length; formulas.

Lecture 2 – Stereoscopic photography; vertical and oblique; how done; its use and value; Vertical; long focus; wide angle work; P type cameras – how used; interpretation of aerial photographs. Pilots' and Observers' tests.

As for in-flight training, the list of tests to be passed included, for aerial photography, the taking of 12 pin-points and the taking of 12 overlaps. Successive photographs were not to overlap by more than a third of an inch – they were taken in order to create mosaics, not to be viewed stereoscopically – and no photographs were to be taken below an altitude of 5,000 feet. Other tests related primarily to navigation, for example flying across country with or without a compass and/or maps ("*The destination will not be a large town for obvious reasons*"). Perhaps the most bizarre to modern eyes is a test entitled "Head in Bag", designed to test a pilot's ability to fly in a straight line on a particular compass bearing:

"Pilot's head to be enclosed for not less than 9 minutes on each course. Observer to hand in a fair copy of graph showing Pilot's course… Pilot must not deviate more than 15° off his course at any one time".

Life at the Aerodrome

Diaries and reminiscences of those who actually spent time at Stonehenge Aerodrome offer something of a contrast with the picture offered by the surviving official files. A good example is Leslie Semple, who had joined the RNAS and came to Stonehenge at the beginning of March 1918. His wartime diaries were published by his son in 2008. Semple was at Stonehenge for two training stints, eventually being posted to France in early July.

Semple was mainly at Stonehenge to learn how to fly the big Handley-Page bombers, although he flew various other aircraft while he was there. He stayed at Larkhill except during bouts of night-flying, when he slept in a bell-tent closer to the airfield, presumably at the Night Camp. Semple's impressions of Stonehenge Aerodrome were not good, although – at least as far as the quality of accommodation was concerned – Larkhill was worse. Semple wasn't alone in having these opinions. Cyril Box, who came to Stonehenge a few months later, wrote in his diary that

"*The camp in the middle of Salisbury Plain was ideal from a flying point of view as there was so much open space, but as a home…it was awful… The machines were a poor lot and the instructors were what we called 'a windy lot' too. It may have been the rather doubtful machines or it may have been that, being qualified and fairly experienced pilots ourselves, we were apt to draw comparisons. Whatever it was, nobody liked Stonehenge and everybody was glad that the course was a short one. Our whole object in life from the day we set foot in Stonehenge was to get away again, although it was the last school and meant that the next place would be France*" (quoted in Semple 2008, 159-60).

On 12th March 1918, a week after first reporting at the Aerodrome, Semple walked over to look at Stonehenge:

"*These stones are a great wonder as there are none like them within 200 miles. It must have required marvellous perseverance on the part of the Old Druids to bring these immense stones all this distance and to pile them up in the form of a place of worship. After lunch we strolled back to No. 26 Camp, dressed for dinner and then sat about reading until 10 p.m.*"(Semple 2008, 125).

The next day, the routine of lectures and flying began, although the latter was often interrupted by weather conditions, while "*lectures are not compulsory and I have done them all before. Very boring indeed with practically nothing to do*" (ibid.). Flying, when it did happen, involved various aircraft. As well as simply getting used to handling the different machines, the flights were mainly concerned with navigation and bomb-dropping, as the name of the School suggested (e.g. "*Go to Andover twice and drop eight bombs…*" (Semple 2008, 168), along with sightseeing.

Aside from the boredom and the quality of accommodation, Semple was also less than impressed by the airfield itself. On 4th April, he noted in his diary that

"*I was landing when my left wheel hit a large mound in the rough ground, instantly smashing one centre section strut and also swinging me around 90 degrees. This made me cut across the track of Lt Bowie, who was landing directly behind me, with the result that he had to stall and 'pancake' his machine and so he smashed two struts and a tyre*" (Semple 2008, 143)

The next day, he had an interview with one of his instructors about the number of crashes he was experiencing at Stonehenge: "*I spoke out and assured him that it was no*

fault of mine. The airfield is in a rotten state and I have only had one crash previous to this in the whole of my flying career" (Semple 2008, 144). Semple took at least one low level oblique photograph – whether from a plane or roof top isn't clear – of the landing ground, presumably to show the poor state it was in. Reproduced in Semple 2008, the airfield appears as an open muddy expanse of ground criss-crossed by the wheel tracks of aeroplanes and, presumably, other vehicles. The fact that a sizeable area of the landing ground had been under the plough until relatively recently, and the presence of archaeological earthworks in the form of a later prehistoric lynchetted field system (see below, p43) can't have helped matters.

The other key point to emerge from Semple's diary is the tension created first of all by the presence at Stonehenge of both RFC and RNAS personnel, and then by the merger of the two on 1st April 1918: "*The RNAS and RFC are all mixed up together here*", he noted on his first day (5th March: Semple 2008, 124), with various incidents suggesting that this mixing was not entirely harmonious. Finally, on 31st March, he wrote that:

"*Tonight we all got drunk to celebrate the last night of the Royal Naval Air Service. Tomorrow the two air services – RNAS and RFC unite – for better or for worse – to form one service – the Royal Air Force. Nobody is very pleased about it but all the same it has to be done and we must make it go as well as possible. In theory it is an excellent idea but it is very difficult to put into practice, especially during the war, because each service has its own traditions and the RNAS in particular prefers naval discipline and organisation, both undoubtedly being better than the military ditto*" (Semple 2008, 136).

CHAPTER 6: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AERODROME

The history of the aerodrome's use was, as noted above, complex with plenty of comings and goings, particularly in the early months of its use and again post-Armistice. That complexity is reflected in changes to the aerodrome's appearance as seen on available plans, maps and aerial photographs. However, the evidence remains fragmentary, with little contemporary documentation apparently available to assist in understanding the sequence of changes. What is clear, however, is that the simple division between a Main Camp and a Night Camp is something that emerged during the life of the aerodrome rather than being something that was envisaged from the start.

The layout of the aerodrome is most familiar from the plan featured in the October 1918 'Quarterly Survey…' and from Ordnance Survey mapping of what remained in the mid-1920s, both of which have been reproduced on a number of occasions. In both cases, it is the site of the Main Camp, straddling the A303 to the southwest of Stonehenge, which has attracted most attention and, particularly in the archaeological literature, has occasionally been presented as representing the aerodrome in its entirety. The Main Camp is also highly visible on post-war aerial views of Stonehenge, as well as being the principal target of the campaign to remove aerodrome buildings in the 1920s. However, the original focus for buildings and hangars was the area of what became known as the Night Camp, close to Fargo Plantation.

The first buildings

The first hangars were erected in December 1917, two months after the first occupants had arrived. 2nd Lt. F.S. Briggs, who arrived at Stonehenge at the beginning of December, wrote in his diary (T Brown *pers comm.*):

"*Arrived at Stonehenge today with a corporal and six men. What a bleak hole! The aerodrome is just a bit of open plain, no hangars, no nothing.*"

On 9th December he noted that the first hangars had arrived – the wood and canvas Bessonneau type – followed promptly by instructions to erect them. This was far from being a straightforward operation. On 13th December he wrote:

"*Terribly funny, haven't got a hangar up yet, the winds that blow across the plain are fierce. We are quite getting used to seeing what we erected of a hangar the day before scattered all over the aerodrome next morning.*"

However, on 17th December, "*out of the blue a large party of chaps arrived to complete the school personnel and to erect the damned hangars. Hangars now going up like the price of wine*".

Charles Peers' January 1918 sketch plan

The earliest known source for the Aerodrome's layout appears at the end of a memorandum written by Charles Peers, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, to the Secretary of the Office of Works, Sir Lionel Earle. Dated 22nd January 1918, it post-dates the first arrivals at Stonehenge by some three months. Entitled "*Stonehenge and its surroundings. Further damage by troops*" (in TNA: WORK 14/214), the document was produced to highlight ongoing concerns that the intensification in military activity near Stonehenge was a "*great and needless disfigurement*" that increased the risk of damage to archaeological sites in the area.

The sketch was based not on a personal inspection of the area by Peers, but on "*first-hand authority*", in this case that of Colonel William Hawley. Hawley is probably best known today as the man who from 1919 to 1926 led the Society of Antiquaries' programme of excavations at Stonehenge, and in 1919-20 oversaw the carrying out of Peers' plans to re-set several sarsens in concrete (see Barber 2014; Wickstead and Barber forthcoming). However, Hawley had a lengthy history of involvement in the archaeology of Wiltshire, and was both a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and an experienced excavator, having dug at Old Sarum, an Office of Works property, on behalf of the Society until 1915. In the memo of 22nd January, Peers made the case for appointing someone to keep a watch on military activity and its impact on archaeological monuments:

"*The only effectual safeguard would be that someone should be appointed to give his whole time to the protection of monuments within the area affected, and that he should have War Office authority to stop any damage to the monument. He must live on the spot and be in constant touch with the authorities. A man who would be very suitable for such work is Lt. Colonel W. Hawley, F.S.A., late R.E., who lives in the District, and knows every part of the Plain and probably every monument…*" (Memo, 22nd January 1918, WORK 14/214).

Hawley was duly appointed, with the agreement of all interested parties.

Peers' sketch showed three blocks of buildings, these being labelled 'R.F.C. Offices', 'Hangars', and 'Site of Hutments'. The offices were north of the A344 and west of Fargo Plantation, while the hangars were placed in a line along the southern edge of the A344 – these presumably included some of the hangars erected with so much difficulty in December 1917. The 'hutments' were placed along the northern side of the A303, the other side of the landing ground from the offices and hangars.

Peers wrote that "*an aerodrome has been built on the road running northwest*" from Stonehenge (i.e. the A344), while "*on the road running southwest from Stonehenge*" (i.e. the A303) "*two…barrows are included in a site for hutments*". It was this decision to extend the aerodrome by building adjacent to the A303, rather than the existence of the aerodrome itself, that was causing concern. A few days later George Engleheart, Wiltshire

secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, went out to see for himself what was happening. Engleheart subsequently wrote to Peers that two of the barrows close to the A303 were now "*enclosed among the hutments of the recent big aviation station near to Stonehenge*" (letter, Engleheart to Peers, 6th February 1918: TNA WORK 14/214).

The 'Quarterly Survey…' (TNA: AIR 1/464/15/312/139)

Published in October 1918 but probably prepared in September, the 'Quarterly Survey of Stations of the Royal Air Force (British Isles)' does not provide a complete ground plan of all structures, permanent or temporary, belonging to the aerodrome. For example, temporary accommodation (tents, hangars etc) is not shown, and neither are any areas earmarked for permanent structures. Although by the time of this survey the aerodrome had been in use for almost a year, and the separate Main and Night Camps clearly established, the area of the Night Camp, where Peers had earlier sketched offices and hangars, is blank on this plan. The accompanying inventory of structures merely states that "*A separate Hutted Camp for Personnel engaged in Night Flying has Regimental Accommodation under construction*" for 87 officers and 151 other ranks, while 4 'semi-permanent' Handley Page hangars were standing (but not shown on the plan) in the area of "*the temporary camp*". In other words, the area where Peers had located the RFC's offices and hangars in January was still lacking in permanent structures 8 or 9 months later.

The plan, elements of which are incorporated in Fig. 5, shows the familiar arrangement for the Main Camp, straddling the A303 with the Technical Site on the northern side of the road and the Domestic Site to the south, with sewage facilities a short distance southeast of the latter. Unfortunately, few of the buildings have their function identified in the Quarterly Survey, the accompanying inventory highlighting the location on the plan of only a handful of those listed. 8 aeroplane sheds (i.e. hangars) are noted, but only 6 seem to be present on the plan. Apart from the Aircraft Repair Shed, none of the other buildings on the Technical Site are identified. In addition, more Technical and Domestic buildings are listed on the inventory than feature on the plan. Only four of the Domestic buildings are identified – the Reception Station, the Regimental Institute, the Officers' Mess and the Women's Hostel. This last building was, in keeping with standard practice, separated from the other buildings. The Survey's list of Personnel notes a total of 346 women on site (not including hostel staff). While not all buildings listed on the inventory appear to be depicted on the plan, there still seems to be a shortfall in accommodation for the 738 'rank and file' present at the time of the survey. Presumably many of these occupied the tents that are a notable presence on contemporary aerial and ground photographs.

Vertical aerial photograph – the 'Main Camp', 24th May 1921

This photograph (Fig. 6) post-dates both the war and the closure of the aerodrome, but pre-dates both the auction of buildings and the returning of the site to its owner. As the traces of tents and other structures towards bottom left indicate, all temporary

accommodation had gone by this time, as had the aircraft. However, most of the permanent or semi-permanent structures on both Technical and Domestic Sites still seem to be standing.

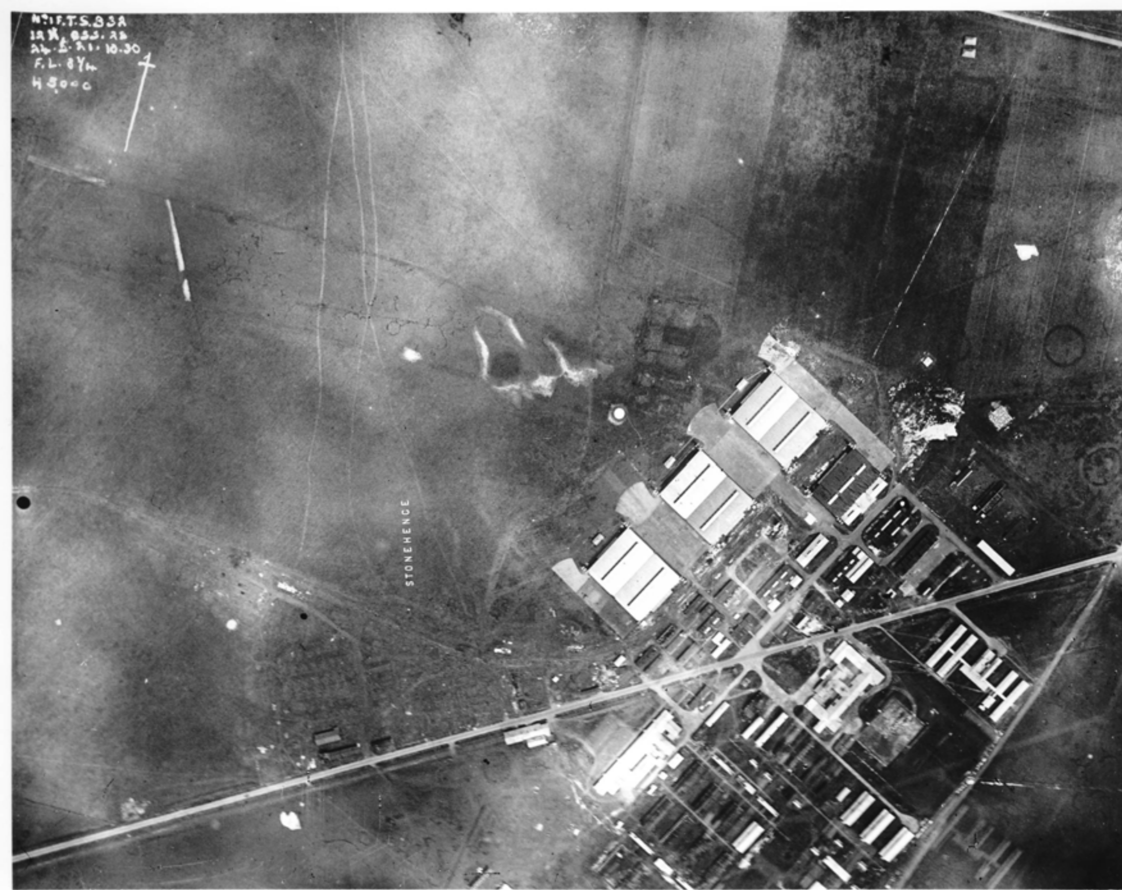


Figure 6: RAF vertical view of the Main Camp and part of the landing ground, taken at 10.30am on 24th May 1921. Some barrows are visible as earthworks and cropmarks on the extreme right of the photograph, while the former site of the Fargo buildings can be seen just right of centre. Note that the view of the Domestic Site, bottom right, is slightly complicated by the presence on the print of some kind of shadow effect, presumably resulting either from the initial exposure or development of the original plate. For example, a 'ghost' of the women's accommodation block can clearly be seen at bottom right, just below the image of the 'real' block. Echoes of other structures can also be seen. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1142/7.

There is little trace of any features in the area of the take-off and landing ground, which occupies the bulk of the left hand (western) side of the photograph. Tracks, some appearing relatively fresh, others much fainter, can be seen crossing this area and heading in the direction of the Night Camp. Traces of the former Fargo Cottages can also clearly be seen adjacent to and just north of the hangars. The other principal feature of note is the name of the aerodrome. The word 'Stonehenge' is not written on the photograph

but marked out on the ground, something confirmed by its presence in the same place on other photographs.

It seems that these letters may have been laid out *after* the aerodrome had closed. An Air Ministry Notice to Airmen (No. 20 for the year 1921) was published in the *London Gazette* on 25th February 1921 (p1581) announcing that Stonehenge was among the latest batch of aerodromes whose names were to be marked out by chalk letters on the ground as an aid to pilots. A near contemporary source (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 12th ed 1922 – viewed at http://archive.org, 8th July 2013), referring to Croydon, stated that there the name of the aerodrome "*is let in to the turf, in chalk letters of 30ft, legible from a height of 10,000 feet*".

Vertical aerial photograph – 'Main Camp' and landing ground, 24th May 1921

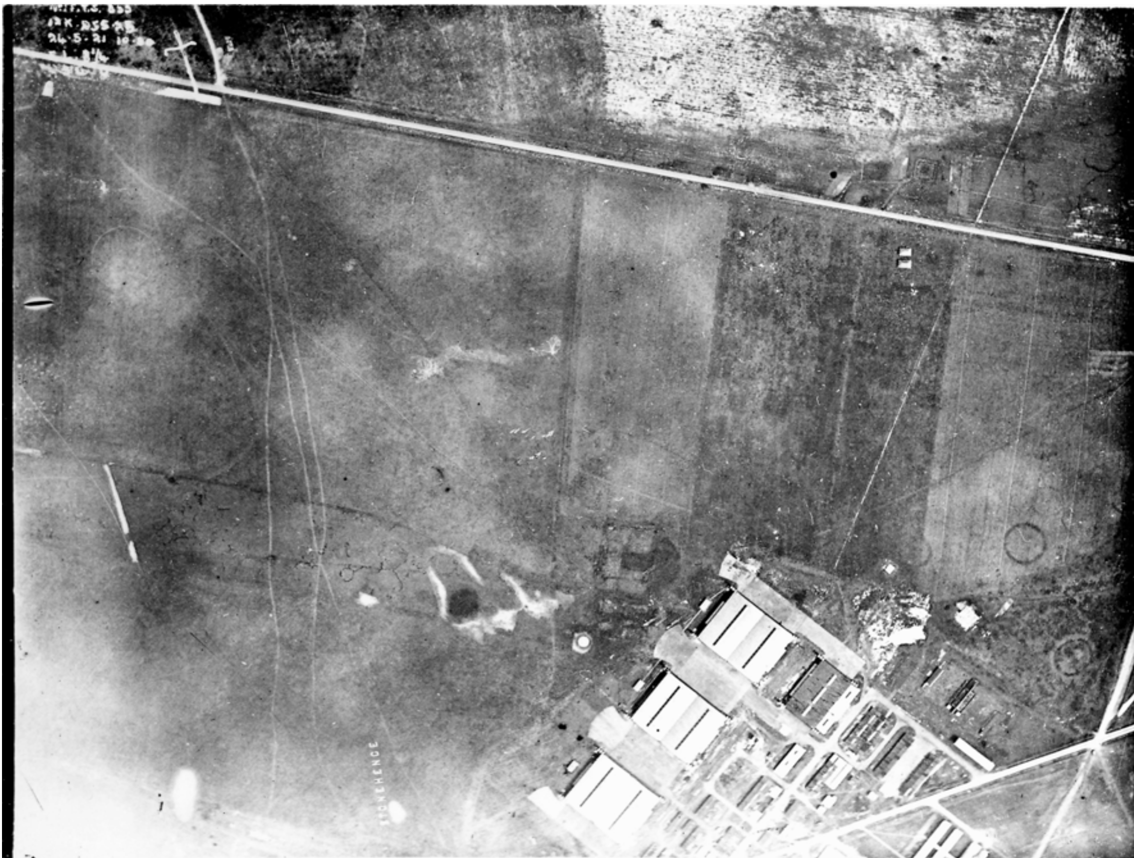


Figure 7: RAF vertical overlapping with Fig. 6. The somewhat messy area between the Main Camp and the barrows may represent the 'dumping' that Peers and Hawley complained about. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1142/5.

Clearly part of an overlapping run of verticals taken mid-morning on 24th May 1921, Fig. 7 is the exposure that either preceded or succeeded fig 6 – the reference number top left suggests the latter. Taken when the plane was a little further north, it captures less of the

Main Camp, but covers more of the take-off and landing ground. Unfortunately, no other photographs from this run exist in the English Heritage Archive.

The main additional feature visible on this vertical is the location of the circular landing target, located towards the top left. Positioned at circa SU 11204242, it is around 600 metres north west of the Main Camp's hangars, and therefore considerably closer to the Handley Page (and other) hangars of the Night Camp.

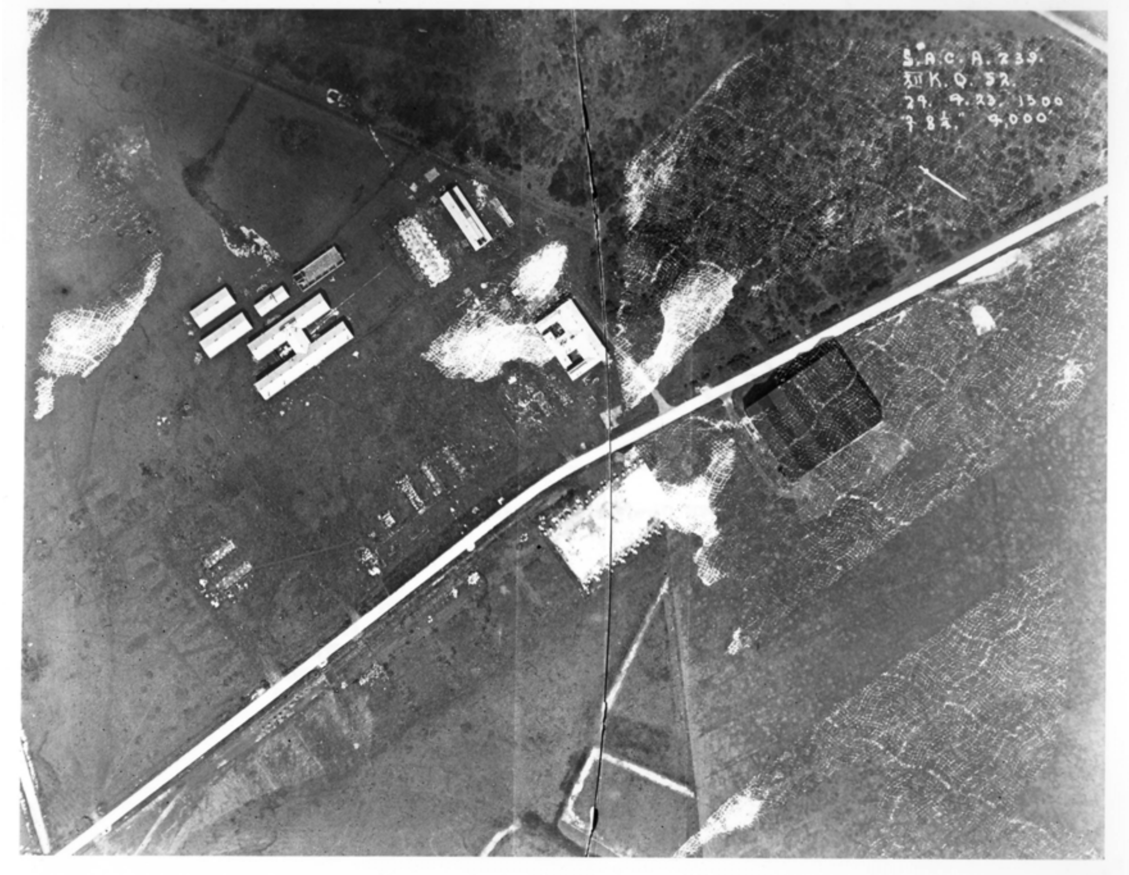


Figure 8: The Night Camp – RAF vertical taken 24th April 1923. Apart from the Handley Page hangar right of centre, all the visible structures post-date the Quarterly Survey of October 1918. Note the traces of former temporary structures, including tents. The print bears traces of damage to the original glass plate, including a crack from top to bottom, and impressions left by adhesive tape used to repair it. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1042/4.

Leslie Semple's diary notes that for night-time flights, lights or flares would be arranged on the ground in the shape of an 'L', the longer side indicating the direction of take-off or landing. His account implies that two separate 'L's may have been in use at Stonehenge, one each for taking off and landing. According to Semple, the night time routine was

"*When engine tested, flash navigation lights and wait for permission to go. Then taxi to take-off L and go. For landing – fire one verey's light and wait for answer. If white is answer carry on landing into landing L using Holt landing flare at 200ft., if answer is red go away for a few minutes and then challenge again*" (Semple 2008, 167).

Two vertical aerial photographs of the former 'Night Camp'

Figure 9: Another RAF vertical view of the Night Camp and Fargo Plantation. The earthworks of the Stonehenge Cursus and various barrows were probably the reason for OGS Crawford retaining this photograph. The large barrow known as 'Monarch of the Plain' is a short distance north of the hangar. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1142/58.

Again, these post-date the war, but are also later than the sale of the buildings and the returning of the land to its owners. Fig 8 was taken 24th April 1923, while fig 9 was taken before that date, but probably not very long before. Together they capture the process of dismantling and removing structures – slightly fewer buildings remain in fig 8 – but otherwise there is little difference between the two. The main reason for including them here is that they include buildings that post-date the 1918 'Quarterly Survey'.

Fargo Plantation is notably devoid of trees – one wartime source refers to it being stripped of timber for use as pit-props (letter, Sirr to Peers, 28th April 1917: TNA WORK 14/214). The only structure on this photograph definitely in existence before the end of the war is the large Handley Page hangar to the south of the road. Otherwise all the buildings visible in the photographs were, at best, under construction in September 1918. However, surface traces of the locations of other, former, structures, including tents to the north of the road and hangars to the south of it, can clearly be seen. The arrangement of buildings, and traces of former buildings, in these photographs suggests a layout whose orientation related directly to the road, with buildings either parallel with or at right angles to the A344.

The Night Camp is barely mentioned in the long-running debate concerning the removal of the aerodrome buildings, so the sequence of events here post-war is unclear. At present, the few aerial views available provide the main evidence. It is presumed that the buildings on these photographs represent the most substantial office and accommodation blocks (partly on the basis of what appear to be concrete slab floor and footings on later photographs – e.g. Figs. 11, 29). The fact that they were still standing in April 1923 suggests either than they were still in use, or that there was an intention to use them. Although the buildings had, by this time, been auctioned off with a requirement to remove them within 3 months (see below, Chapter 8) there was clearly a lack of pressure or will to do so.

Stonehenge Aerodrome – the sequence of events

As the foregoing discussion of available plans and photographs makes clear, the distinction between night and day facilities was something that emerged during the life of the aerodrome, and was more complex than just a day/night distinction between the use of the two 'camps'. Peers' January 1918 sketch-plan and memo suggest that the original intention had been for the aerodrome's buildings to be located to the north of the landing ground, with offices and accommodation north of the A344 and west of Fargo Plantation, and the hangars lined up along the southern side of the A344, facing the take-off and landing ground.

The brief presence of several recently-formed RFC Squadrons between October 1917 and January 1918, and the arrival of No. 2 Training Depot Station from Lake in December 1917, suggests that initially at least, Stonehenge was a Royal Flying Corps aerodrome, and that it was a few months before a long-term function was settled upon. In terms of any

separation between day and night functions (or rather between day and night accommodation), the key development was probably not the arrival of No. 2 Training Depot Station in early December 1917, or its redesignation as No. 1 School of Aerial Navigation and Bomb Dropping a month later, but the arrival of the RNAS Handley Page training flight later in January 1918. Even here, it is debatable how much the need for separate camps was due to the need for night flying rather than the fact that when they arrived, the bombers belonged to the RNAS and not the RFC. It seems likely that the RNAS took over the existing site, while the RFC moved to occupy a new site by the A303. Until 1st April 1918, Stonehenge Aerodrome was essentially shared between two separate branches of the military, although both were of course well aware of the impending merger and formation of the RAF.

What is not clear from the available sources is exactly when the Main Camp's hangars and technical buildings were built, or when the Main Camp's Domestic Site moved south of the A303. Charles Peers' January 1918 sketch shows 'hutments' on the northern side of that road only. The nature and function of these 'hutments' is not known, but it is probably safe to assume that if they were hangars, Hawley would have described them as such. Aerial photographs of the Main Camp taken during and after the war show a few buildings (and traces of others) running parallel to the A303 rather than sharing the same northeast-southwest orientation of the rest of the Camp – perhaps some of these represent the January 1918 'hutments'. The difference in orientation would be in keeping with the suggestion that the alignment of the Main Camp only became an issue once the necessity of expanding south of the A303 was recognised (see below). Meanwhile, as noted earlier, Fargo Cottages may still have been standing as late as the end of March 1918, which may suggest that some at least of the main technical buildings, including the hangars, were not constructed until after that date.

The 'Quarterly Survey…' makes it clear that by the end of the war, the aerodrome was indeed divided into two camps either side of a shared take-off and landing ground. The separation was not a complete one – the auction details in particular demonstrate that the Night Camp possessed no Technical Site of its own, hangars apart. The Technical Site at the Main Camp must have served both night and day fliers. More detail about the history of how the aerodrome developed and functioned can only come from documentary sources – letters and diaries in particular will prove useful. In the meantime, the plans, archives and aerial photographs indicate that the brief history of the aerodrome was far from static.

The orientation of the 'Main Camp'

The general layout, and in particular the northeast-southwest orientation, of the Main Camp on both sides of the A303 is intriguing. It is clear from the available plans and photographs that the relationship of both Technical and Domestic Sites with the A303 was somewhat awkward, in contrast to the situation to the north at the Night Camp. Rather than being laid out at right angles to and/or parallel with the A303, the Main Camp

instead seems to share the same approximate orientation as Stonehenge and its Avenue. In other words, the Main Camp is aligned approximately on the axis of midsummer sunrise and midwinter sunset.

This arrangement would undoubtedly be in keeping with earlier precedent at Larkhill to the northeast (TNA: AIR 1/786/294/4/585), where a gap was left between hangars so as not to interfere with observation of midsummer sunrise from Stonehenge. However, the reason for following a similar approach with Stonehenge Aerodrome seems less obvious. There was little contemporary interest in observing midwinter sunset from Stonehenge. A possible explanation concerns the view of Stonehenge from Normanton Gorse, located southwest of both Stonehenge and the aerodrome. George MacGregor Reid's quasi-druidical Universal Bond were allowed to camp there in the days around their midsummer ceremonies, and had been doing so since at least 1913 (Stout 2008; Hutton 2009). As well as camping and performing various rites within Normanton Gorse, they also undertook ceremonies at the nearby pair of disc barrows known as Wilsford 3 and 4. The orientation of the aerodrome buildings may well represent some attempt to preserve one or more lines of sight towards Stonehenge from these places, although over time the gradual infilling of the Domestic Site with both buildings and tents will have obscured the view.

Ownership of the land may have played a part here. The land requisitioned to the north of the A303 belonged to Isaac Crook, while the land to the south was owned by Edward Tennant, Lord Glenconner, whose wife Pamela Wyndham "*had acquired a most opportune, and enduring, affection for Reid and his followers*" (Hutton 2009, 357). The Tennants were well-connected – in addition to his own political career, Edward's sister Margot was married to Herbert Asquith, Prime Minister until 1916 and leader of the Liberal Party for a few more years beyond that. Consequently they – or at least, Pamela – may have been able to insist on the view of Stonehenge from Normanton Gorse being protected in some way.

Alternatively of course, the orientation of the buildings may simply represent a desire on the part of the military not to interfere with views along Stonehenge's axis without really grasping its purpose or significance, perhaps in the wake of complaints received in 1913 when the 'sun-gap' at Larkhill was temporarily blocked (TNA AIR/1/786/294/4/585). A more practical possibility to consider is the direction of prevailing winds, although this was presumably more an issue for taking off and landing rather than for the buildings on the ground. The hangars attached to the Night Camp, for example, backed onto and followed the line of the road, and were consequently orientated very differently to those of the Main Camp. In addition, of course, there would be no need to maintain this alignment on the other side of the A303, where the Domestic Site was located, yet this conforms to the same orientation.

CHAPTER 7: THE AERODROME AND ARCHAEOLOGY – DAMAGE TO EARTHWORKS

Given its location, extent and purpose, the aerodrome could hardly fail to have some impact on known archaeological monuments. The military authorities had been made aware of the threat their presence offered to sites in Salisbury Plain since their arrival at the end of the nineteenth century, and they were provided with continual reminders of their responsibilities. The possible threat caused by the military presence was occasionally turned to advantage by some, an example being the 1901 enclosure of Stonehenge behind a barbed wire fence by its then-owner Sir Edmund Antrobus (4th Baronet) (Barber 2014).

Figure 10: RAF vertical taken 10th February 1922, showing the military's sewage dispersal methods in operation, as indicated by the dark, slightly irregular linear features just above and left of centre. The Stonehenge Cursus runs from top to bottom just to the right (north) of this. The Stonehenge Avenue can be seen as earthworks from the top left corner, turning eastwards and disappearing from view immediately south of the effluent. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1243/1.

In June 1917, in response to concerns raised about plans to channel Larkhill's sewage across the Stonehenge Cursus and disperse it over Stonehenge Bottom (Fig. 10), Major General Western of Southern Command insisted that "*special efforts have been made in*

this Command to prevent damage to works of archaeological interest on Salisbury Plain, and…a notice is put in Command Orders every month that excavations in mounds or barrows is to be avoided. Action has also been taken at once whenever a report of damage done to such works has been received' (letter, 4th June 1917: TNA WORK 14/214).

As these words suggest, incidents did occur, much to the annoyance of archaeologists and the Office of Works, who felt that the military authorities had sufficient information at their disposal to prevent such occurrences. For example, in January 1918, in the wake of damage caused by the extension of the military railway from Larkhill as well as the construction of the Stonehenge Aerodrome, Charles Peers pointed out that there "*can be no question that the War Office know of the existence of these barrows, etc. Not only are most of them marked on O.S. maps, but a long correspondence has taken place during the last ten years or so between the Society of Antiquaries and the War Office on the subject of the antiquities on all parts of Salisbury Plain which are either occupied by the War Office or adjoin lands so occupied. Every antiquity within these limits has been noted and numbered on duplicate maps, one copy of which is kept by the Society and one by the War Office, and the maps have been brought up to date as lately as the second half of 1917*' (letter, 22nd January 1918: TNA WORK 14/214).

In May 1917, the War Office had also agreed that all monuments marked and numbered on these maps should also be marked on the ground with a concrete block or post, this work to be undertaken by Hawley and RS Newall (memo, Peers to Lionel Earle, 25 May 1917: TNA WORK 14/214), Peers suggesting that "*the Military Authorities have done all that can be reasonably expected of them to safeguard these remains*" (ibid.). Despite this, in January 1918, when Hawley approached the officer in charge of the aerodrome over the issue of possible damage to barrows, the officer admitted that he "*had no idea what a barrow was*" (letter, 22nd January 1918: TNA WORK 14/214.).

A superficial glance at the boundaries of the airfield as depicted on the 1918 Quarterly Survey (the boundaries are depicted on Fig. 5) appears to show that the presence of archaeological earthworks were to some degree taken into account when determining the limits of the site. For example, immediately east of the Main Camp, the group of round barrows between the aerodrome and Stonehenge are shown to be carefully excluded from the aerodrome site, while to the north of the A344, at the site of the Night Camp, the boundary goes around rather than across the large round barrow known as the Monarch of the Plain. To the west, meanwhile, the boundary stops short of barrows in the Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads linear group, while south of the A303 the Normanton Down group is left untouched. However, there are to important points to be made concerning this plan. First of all, it was drawn up around a year after the aerodrome was established, and the boundaries shown need not represent the original intentions – as already noted, plans clearly changed in late 1917/early 1918. More significantly, archaeological earthworks that fell within the aerodrome boundaries have simply been omitted from the plan. The most obvious example is the western end of the Stonehenge

Cursus – on the Quarterly Survey plan this monument appears to end at the western boundary of Fargo Plantation, whereas its actual terminal was some 80 metres inside the aerodrome boundary.

It is worth mentioning in passing that the problems weren't restricted to the archaeological monuments. On 16th December 1919, F.R. Barton wrote to the Society of Antiquaries complaining that "*Many of the trees in Normanton Gorse have been cut and gashed and others have been burnt. So long as the Aerodrome remains where it is, it is much to be feared that trees on this spot will suffer further damage*" (TNA WORK 14/488).

Assessing the impact of military activity on archaeological earthworks is far from straightforward – as the notes below make clear, there are many potential causes of damage to archaeological sites, and it is not easy to establish who (or what) was responsible for specific episodes, or when. At the same time, detail about the condition of particular earthworks prior to the arrival of the military can be extremely vague. The gazetteers published by EH Goddard (1913) and Leslie Grinsell (1957) as well as the records of the Ordnance Survey's Archaeology Division are invaluable here, between them documenting the visibility and condition of many individual monuments before and after the aerodrome, and in some cases identifying probable causes of particular episodes of damage. They also provide approximate measurements for many of the sites they recorded. A longer-term perspective is provided by publications such as Richard Colt Hoare's '(1812) Ancient Wiltshire', which offers some insight into the state of affairs in the early 19th century, while more recent survey work by the RCHME (1979) and English Heritage is equally valuable.

Archaeological monuments and the Night Camp

The available documentation suggests that the aerodrome first came to the attention of archaeologists at the Office of Works when Hawley reported the possible threat to barrows beside the A303 by the construction of buildings associated with the aerodrome. The impact of structures close to the western end of the Stonehenge Cursus and adjacent barrows appears – judging by documents seen to date – to have gone unremarked at the time. As other activities occurring along the course of the Cursus were clearly causing concern, it can only be assumed that the appearance of buildings and hangars in this area wasn't considered to have any notable impact on the known monuments.

The aerodrome boundary north of the A344 defined a triangular area, the southern side represented by the line of the road and eastern side by the western edge of Fargo Plantation. The western side was eventually marked by the extension of the military railway from Larkhill, although the course of this did not coincide exactly with the boundary as shown on the Quarterly Survey. On the Fargo Plantation side, the boundary was apparently drawn to avoid the large barrow known as the Monarch of the Plain

(Amesbury 55), but cuts right across the Cursus. Barrows that fell within the area of the Night Camp were Winterbourne Stoke 28, 29 and 30. The likely impact of the First World War activity on these is described below.

Winterbourne Stoke 28

Located immediately south of the A344 at SU 10974271, in the early 19th century Sir Richard Colt Hoare reported the mound of this barrow as measuring 66 feet wide and 6 feet high. In the mid-20th century Leslie Grinsell described it as "*almost gone*" (Grinsell 1957, 102). Its proximity to the Night Camp's hangars cannot have helped matters, although the fact that this spot was chosen for one of the more permanent hangars suggests that the mound is unlikely to have been anywhere near 6 feet high in 1918. An aerial view of the Night Camp taken in March 1918 (not reproduced here) suggests that the temporary hangars that ran in a line along the southern side of the A344 were set well back from the road, so if the mound was still extant, it may have been deliberately avoided. Field survey by English Heritage in March 2010 as part of the Stonehenge WHS Landscape Project identified a shallow hollow extending in an arc around the southwest quadrant of the probable site of this barrow. The outline of part of this ditch seems to be faintly visible under strong magnification on USAAF vertical aerial photographs taken in December 1943 (English Heritage Archives: US/7PH/GP/LOC122/1050 24 Dec1943 – extract reproduced as Fig. 11, though this feature is difficult to spot)).

Winterbourne Stoke 29

Located at SU 11014292, within the area enclosed by the western terminal of the Stonehenge Cursus, this barrow has also suffered considerably but again, the contribution of the First World War aerodrome to its virtual disappearance during the 20th century may have been minimal. In 1913 it was described as "*Never ploughed but defaced by rabbits*" (Maud Cunnington, quoted in Goddard 1913, 365). Patricia Christie (1963, 376), who excavated the site of the barrow in the late 1950s, claimed that the mound had been "*totally demolished*" either before or during the First World War. However, it is clearly visible as a substantial upstanding earthwork mound in a vertical aerial photograph taken in the early 1920s, after the Night Camp site had been relinquished by the RAF but before all of the buildings had been dismantled.

In 1943, however, it is barely visible on aerial photographs (Fig. 11), its location marked by what instead may be slit trenches plus spoil, and in 1945 as a mound of chalk with a central hollow. As noted below (see pp49-51), various barrows in the Fargo Plantation area were subject to both agricultural and military damage in the years before and during the Second World War. In most instances, it is not possible to identify with any certainty which barrows are being referred to. However, in one case it is clearly Winterbourne Stoke 30 that is being referred to – on 3rd February 1942 RS Newall complained to the Office of Works that the mound had been "*all skinned and dug into*" (TNA WORK

14/1506), for which he blamed Australian troops. In her excavation report, Christie (1963, 376) referred to slit trenches and *"the concrete remains of a mortar emplacement*", as well as a slight mound to the west that turned out to be a dump of material from the original barrow mound. Subsequent ploughing of the area meant that, by 1970, Ordnance Survey field investigation reported "*no intelligible remains*".

Figure 11: Extract from a USAAF vertical taken Christmas Eve 1943, showing re-use of the former Night Camp site. Compare the Cursus terminal and the barrow within it, Winterbourne Stoke 29, with Figs. 8 and 9. Additionally, half of Amesbury 55 (below) is now within Fargo Plantation. US/7PH/GP/LOC122/1050 English Heritage USAAF Photography.

Amesbury 55 – Monarch of the Plain

As noted above, this large barrow was left (just) outside the boundary of the aerodrome. Recent survey of the earthworks by English Heritage confirmed a considerable amount of visible damage, some of which may be connected with 20th century military activity (Komar & Bishop 2011, 10). In 1913, Maud Cunnington noted it as "*Much defaced by*

rabbits, apparently never ploughed' (in Goddard 1913, 169). An aerial view of the Night Camp taken 22nd March 1918 (not reproduced here) confirms that the mound was outside the main area of activity, but appears not to have completely avoided attention. There are some whiter spots around the edge of the barrow, for example, but it is impossible to determine what these might represent. Fargo Plantation had been largely stripped of usable timber during the war (for pit-props according to one memo), and presumably any trees growing on the mound may well have gone the same way.

Stonehenge Cursus

The aerial view of the Night Camp taken in April 1923 shows just how close the aerodrome buildings got to the Cursus' earthworks, with one structure in particular clearly impinging on the southwestern corner of the Cursus. This and other broadly contemporary photographs show some white patches along the terminal earthworks, suggesting some damage (and possible repair). Just over the fence inside Fargo Plantation, and roughly midway between the two sides of the Cursus, is a subrectangular arrangement of chalky spoil surrounding a possible pit. A slightly curving white linear feature heads towards this from the vicinity of the buildings to the south (see below, p45, for further discussion on damage to the Cursus).

The Main Camp

Amesbury 4 – 10a

A cluster of eight mounds are located between Stonehenge and the aerodrome's technical site on the northern side of the A303 (see e.g. Figs. 1, 6, 7 and 12). Their relationship to the boundary of the aerodrome seems to have been quite complicated. As early as 22nd January 1918, Charles Peers was complaining about their treatment: "*Immediately to the West of the Stones is a group of barrows, several of which have lately been covered over with rubbish dumped on them*". Peers added that "*The young officer in charge of the Aerodrome had no idea what a barrow was, when my informant* [Hawley] *asked him why a position where barrows were so numerous had been chosen*" (letter, 22nd January 1918: TNA WORK 14/214). Presumably there was no concrete marker.

The sketch-plan produced by Peers appears to show the dumping to have been concentrated in the area of barrows Amesbury 5, 7 and 10, although as noted earlier Peers' plan was based on information supplied by Hawley, rather than Peers' own observations. In addition, Peers' placing of the barrows on his plan is approximate at best – in particular he seems to have underestimated the distance between Amesbury 10 and the remainder of the group to the north. Curiously, he seems to have omitted the locations of Amesbury 8 and 10a, while also marking a site some distance to the west

where no barrow is known to have existed. The aerial photographs suggest that the dumping may have been west of, rather than among, the barrows, although this is not certain – the available photographs are post-war and may show later dumping associated with the dismantling of aerodrome buildings.

Figure 12: Extract from a USAAF vertical, December 1943, showing Stonehenge and the former site of the Main Camp. The most visible barrows here are Amesbury 15 (bottom left) and 10 (right of centre). Amesbury 5 and 6 can be picked out a little north of 10. At the westernmost extent of the aerodrome earthworks and north of the road are Amesbury 1 and 2, while the long mound Amesbury 14 can be seen south of the road. US/7PH/GP/LOC122/1022 24th December 1943 English Heritage USAAF Photography.

The 1918 Quarterly Survey appears to show that some effort had been made, by then, to exclude these barrows from the aerodrome's precincts, although it is not clear how this would have worked in practice. The plan (see Fig. 5 for the line of the boundary) shows the aerodrome boundary adjusted to curve around the outside of Amesbury 4 and also around the group comprising Amesbury 5 to 9) (and note that Amesbury 8, missing from Peers' sketch-plan, is clearly marked on the Quarterly Survey). However, Amesbury 10

and 10a both fell within this boundary, and consequently neither is shown on the Quarterly Survey plan.

Assessing the impact that the military presence had on these mounds is again difficult to evaluate. As noted earlier, this area had been under the plough during the mid-to-late 19th century, and in 1876 this group of barrows was described as having been "*obliterated*", while Goddard (1913, 165) simply noted, via Maud Cunnington, that Amesbury 4 to 9 were "*all under the plough*", although analytical survey by English Heritage staff in 2010 (Field et al 2014) identified some above-ground survival for all members of the group with Amesbury 10 – within the aerodrome boundary and probably closer to the aerodrome buildings than any of the other mounds – probably surviving best. It shows particularly well on the vertical aerial photograph of the Main Camp taken in may 1921, where it appears on the eastern edge of the frame as a distinctly oval earthwork, while for Amesbury 4 to 7 only traces of their ditches can be seen, with the last two particularly faint. Amesbury 9 falls outside the frame, while nothing can be seen with any confidence at the location of Amesbury 10a.

Amesbury 1-3, 14, 15, 107-111

This cluster of mounds was located astride the A303, the mounds extant in 1918 more or less marking the southwestern extent of the aerodrome's built structures (Fig. 12). The mounds that were noted as extant earthworks prior to the First World War were still marked as such on the 1924 Ordnance Survey 25" map. As with the Amesbury 4 to 10a group, most of the damage appears to have occurred as a result of the ploughing associated with Virgo Cottages in the mid-19th century. As noted above, in 1876 it was reported that the largest mound in this group had "*been deliberately degraded to its present low elevation that it may the more easily be ploughed over*", while it was believed that the other barrows in this group "*will soon have altogether disappeared*". Certainly by the time the aerodrome was built, 5 of the mounds originally reported by Richard Colt Hoare at the beginning of the 19th century had gone, and one more (Amesbury 3) seems to have disappeared from view – on the surface at least – during the 20th century.

It is two members of this group – Amesbury 1 and 2, both to the north of the A303 – that were of most concern in January 1918. These are presumably the two marked on Peers' sketch-plan in the area of the 'hutments'. In 1913 Goddard had described 1 and 2 as being "*still considerable*", but 3 only "*shows faintly*". Those the other side of the road were clearly not of concern in January 1918, with no military presence there yet. Goddard had described these in 1913 as "*gone, all under the plough*". Peers had mentioned Hawley's concerns about Amesbury 1 and 2 to George Engleheart, who promptly got in touch with a friend – "*a very useful man, who has the ear of the Commander in Chief*" (letter, 6th February 1918: TNA WORK 14/214) – and arranged a visit. Engleheart reported back to Peers that "*the damage done by the military is not as much as I feared. Two barrows have been, as Hawley reported, enclosed among the hutments of the recent big aviation station near to Stonehenge, but no injury to speak of has been done to*

them. The erection on one, seen by Hawley, is only a slight railing to shield a raingauge. The other has had a few feet of one side pared off – a few barrows of soil taken to fill some hole – but they have promised to put this back" (ibid.).

Amesbury 1 and 2, plus Amesbury 14 to the south of the road, can only be identified with the eye of faith on the May 1921 vertical – none were particularly substantial mounds at the time, although Goddard (1913, 166) reported 14 as in good condition on the authority of Maud Cunnington, but with no clear indication of its size at that date. All three of these mounds are, however, clearly visible on the Christmas Eve 1943 USAAF vertical aerial photographs, their visibility enhanced by the low mid-winter sun.

Amesbury 15, a more substantial mound – "*Finest Bell barrow near Stonehenge*" (Goddard 1913, 166) – lay further away from the aerodrome buildings, and is also beyond the edge of the frame on the May 1921 vertical. In 1913, according to Maud Cunnington, it was "*Much injured by rabbits*" (ibid.). The 1924 Ordnance Survey 25" shows the site of a building of some kind placed very close to the barrow on its northeastern side, something confirmed by two mid-1920s vertical aerial photographs. One, dated 3rd May 1923, shows a small white building. Another undated but later photograph shows that this structure has been added to, and a path leading to it has appeared. The 1943 USAAF vertical cover shows traces of where these structures had stood, and also shows some flattening of the earthworks on that side.

Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads

The southwestern corner of the aerodrome boundary, as depicted on the 1918 Quarterly Survey, excludes some but not all members of this group, those falling within the boundary again absent from the plan. The line of the boundary, running northwest from the A303 and roughly parallel to the border of Winterbourne Stoke Clump, passed between the two barrows Winterbourne 6 and 7, the latter falling just within the aerodrome's limits. The boundary then continued northwest as far as the southern edge of Winterbourne Stoke 12, at which point it turned roughly 90° to head northeast. As a result, Winterbourne Stoke 12 seems to have lain outside the boundary, but Winterbourne Stoke 7a, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all fell within it, as did (further to the northeast) Winterbourne Stoke 22, 76 and 77. Four further barrows, listed by Grinsell (1957) both as Winterbourne Stoke 1a-1d and Wilsford 1b-1e, located circa 350 metres east of Winterbourne Stoke 8, also fell within the aerodrome boundary. Little if any trace of these four was visible on the ground in the early 20th century. See Figs. 13 and 14 for an overview of the extant earthworks in 1943 and 2009.

Again, it is difficult to determine what, if any, damage to the mounds was due to the presence of the aerodrome (as opposed to, say, the construction of the military railway which passed close to many of them). In fact, several had already suffered prior to 1914. In 1912, Winterbourne Stoke 7 was "*very low, barely traceable*"; 7a had "*No trace visible*"; and 8 was "*defaced by rabbits, bushes on top*". 9 was also "*Defaced by rabbits*";

10 seems to have been relatively substantial, with reported measurements of 90 ft diameter and 7 ft in height; while 11 in contrast was "*very low and indistinct*". Meanwhile, 12 was "*apparently destroyed*" by 1913, while no details at all were given for the condition of 22. 76 and 77 seem not to have been recognised at this time (Goddard 1913, 362, 364). As with the other groups, all the mounds that were extant pre-war were

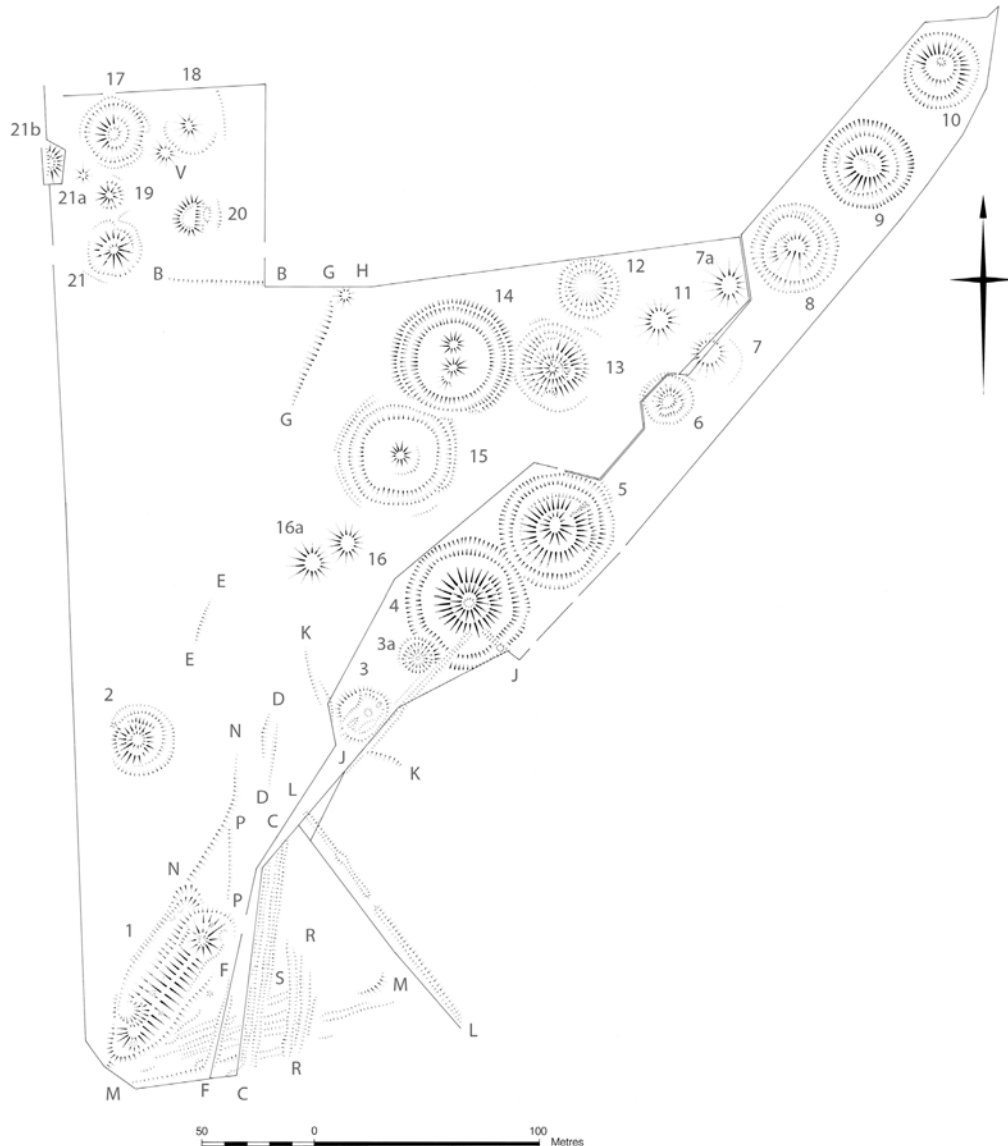


Figure 13: English Heritage survey of the Winterbourne Stoke group, reproduced (and much reduced) from Bax et al 2010. ©English Heritage.

still there post-war, as is evident again from the 1943 USAAF vertical photographs. The barrows in the Winterbourne Stoke group were surveyed by English Heritage in 2009-10 and each extant barrow is discussed in detail in the report on that work (Bax et al 2010).

The damage to the long barrow Winterbourne Stoke 1 has occasionally been attributed to military activity. However, a considerable amount of the visible damage appears to predate both aerodrome and military railway. In the report of their 1901 annual meeting, the Committee of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society noted that their attention had been drawn "*to the injury being done to the fine long barrow at Winterbourne Stoke cross roads… The Secretary lost no time in interceding for the preservation of one of the finest of the long barrows, and it is hoped that further damage to it is averted*" (Anon 1902, 175). Maud Cunnington (1914, 40) later noted that the disfigurement on the northwest side occurred c1900 when "*they began to utilise the mound as a quarry for chalk*".

Figure 14: Extract from a USAAF vertical from December 1943, showing the Winterbourne Stoke group highlighted by the low winter sunlight. Note also the traces of prehistoric field system top left and bottom right. At the extreme bottom left is the Longbarrow Crossroads café, built in the mid-1930s to complement the better-known one in Stonehenge Bottom. US 7PH GPLOC122 1048 24-12-1943 English Heritage Archive USAAF Photography.

Impact on archaeological sites unrecognised at the time

Clearly some of the round barrows in the area were unrecognized prior to the First World War, mainly because they already possessed little or no above-ground trace. However, more significant for the aerodrome is the presence of a category of earthwork whose nature and extent had barely been recognised by the early 20th century.

Aerial photographs taken of the area immediately south of the Night Camp (and south of the A344) during the post-war period show a cluster of white lines orientated either roughly northwest-southeast or at approximate right angles to these (see e.g. Figs. 8 and 9). Analysis of aerial photographs for the Stonehenge WHS NMP showed this area to contain traces of boundaries representing former field systems, probably of prehistoric origin but of unknown duration. Certainly part of the area visible on the 1920s photographs includes and enclosure which appears to overlie part of the field system.

The banks belonging to the fields and enclosure are visible as lines of exposed chalk, but only on one side of the fence marking the Amesbury-Winterbourne Stoke parish boundary. The fence was clearly not in place during the period when the aerodrome was in use, but had been reinstated by the time – or shortly after – the requisitioned land had been returned. The wartime (and post-war) traffic will have had some impact on these earthworks, and as noted earlier, pilots were certainly concerned about the unevenness of the landing ground. However, the difference in visibility either side of the fence in the early 1920s suggests that the erosion visible on the Winterbourne Stoke side may have been due to post-aerodrome land use.

The military and archaeology – the wider context

Establishing a wider context for the impact of military activity on archaeological sites means looking beyond specific instances of damage to particular earthworks. Since the end of the 19th century, the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Office of Works and others had been keeping a close eye on the military on Salisbury Plain by various means, including – as already noted – maintaining a map of known antiquities and, from mid-1918, the appointment of Colonel Hawley to the specific task of monitoring the impact of military activity on those antiquities. However, deciding what was acceptable and what wasn't was very much determined by archaeological understanding of the damage caused.

Until well into the 20th century, perceptions about the impact of damage through activities such as digging or ploughing focused mainly on the physical appearance rather than the archaeological integrity of earthworks, something typified by Engleheart's comment (above) that soldiers who had removed soil from a round barrow had promised to put it

back. Despite the advent of aerial archaeology in the 1920s, a development which had particular significance for the Stonehenge landscape, concern for areas between known monuments was also slow to develop. In the case of Stonehenge, as late as the 1940s archaeologists were still struggling for reasons to justify a refusal to permit ploughing of the downland within the immediate environs of the stones (see below, p51).

Stonehenge

Despite it being fenced off, concerns were raised about the impact of the military on Stonehenge itself during the First World War. For example, on 1st April 1916 George Engleheart wrote that:

"*I went to Stonehenge last week, and am a good deal alarmed at the actual and possible damage done by soldiers. I at once noticed a fresh crack or split in one of the recumbent stones, and the custodian has little doubt that it is due to mine-explosions on the plain, near enough o shake his hut and dislodge objects from its shelves etc.*"

He also complained that "*serious and quite gratuitous damage is being done to the surrounding bank and ditch of Stonehenge by a regular and deeply cut road being driven through it and used every hour, by foot, horse, and gun… There is, as you may know, a right of way… through the earthwork… In coming to and from the main camp* [i.e. Larkhill] *the troops are destroying that entire segment of the bank* (Letter, Engleheart to Lord Glenconner, 1st April 1916, TNA WORK 14/214).

The solution to the latter problem was to close off this track – the one that crossed the earthwork – to the military and provide them with another a short distance to the west, parallel with the existing one but outside Stonehenge's enclosure. However, in early 1918, the barbed wire blocking access to the old track was reportedly broken through, with traffic resuming its old course. Engleheart reported that:

"*The old right of way track or bridle-path which was closed off to military traffic (and a brand new road made on land given by Mr Chubb outside the bank & ditch) is again in full use and is constantly widening and effacing more & more of the bank. But this, I found and please note, is <u>not</u> the work of the military but civilian traffic. It seems that the Road Board has openly defied the prohibition of this way and is persisting in hauling heavy material along it. The noticeboards put up by the military authorities have been destroyed*" (letter, Engleheart to Peers, 6h February 1918, TNA WORK 14/214).

Engleheart suggested that the Road Board had acted "*out of pure cussedness*". A letter from Sir Lionel Earle to the Road Board (20th February 1918, TNA WORK 14/214), prompted a response claiming that the cause was waterlogging of the new track following a thaw, with traffic reverting to the old track. The Chief Resident Engineer at Salisbury assured Earle that "*I have already given instructions for the practice to be stopped*

immediately and for a protecting wire fence to be run along preventing any vehicular traffic from passing by the stones" (28th February 1918: TNA WORK 14/214).

The Stonehenge Cursus

Wartime concerns about the Cursus initially focused on the efforts of the military authorities to transport sewage from their camps to the north across the line of the cursus for dispersal over Stonehenge Bottom, something they finally achieved in 1917. Local archaeologist Percy Farrer was provided with an opportunity to inspect the trench for archaeological finds and features (Farrer 1917). However, of greater concern to the Office of Works and others – initially at least – was news received around the same time that the western half of the Cursus was being converted to arable use. Notification actually came, via Frank Stevens of Salisbury Museum, from Colonel Caldwell of the Army Service Corps at Larkhill:

Figure 15: RAF vertical showing the Cursus under plough in May 1921. The lines of the bank and ditch can be seen effectively acting as field boundaries, while other archaeological features such as the Cursus Barrow group are also visible as islands in the arable. The small rectangular feature at the end of the earthworks of the abandoned 18th century turnpike, which judging by signs of wear was clearly used as an approach route, is probably a facility for practicing bomb- or grenade-throwing. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU1143/4 24th May 1921.

"*I find that the whole of the western portion of the 'Cursus' that is at right angles to the 'Avenue' which leads up to the Stonehenge circle has been ploughed up, and some more damage is likely to be done… I understand the owners are Messrs Wort and Way, who purchased the Amesbury Estate and farm their own land… The trivial extra corn or potatoes that might be grown by taking in the Cursus seems small compared to the wiping out of an ancient cursus of renown*" (Letter, Caldwell to Stevens, 16th April 1917, WORK 14/214).

Wort & Way blamed the impact of the military presence for their decision – they purchased Countess Farm, which contained almost the entire length of the Cursus, at the auction of the Antrobus Estate in 1915. Then, the eastern half of the farm was in arable, while the remainder was pasture. However, much of the latter was subsequently requisitioned for military use, causing Wort & Way to reconsider how best to use what was left.

Having been assured by the military that the matter was out of their hands, the Office of Works instead opted for a direct approach, sending a representative – Harry Sirr – to visit Wort & Way and also to inspect the state of the cursus while he was there. Sirr's report, sent to Peers on 28th April 1917 (WORK 14/214) explained that:

"*In consequence of the general agitation for increasing food supplies and after making a prospect with the plough in several places Messrs Wort & Way determined that the land which they have been ploughing was best for bringing into cultivation. Before they could proceed they were obliged to obtain the consent of the Military, & they commenced ploughing in the middle of March. The Military still require the remainder of the down-land for drilling and other purposes.*"

After inspecting the western end of the Cursus on the 27th April, in the company of Frank Wort, Sirr reported that:

"*From its eastern boundary to the commencement of ploughing is about 37 to 40 yards… At the West end of the Cursus the definition of its North and South boundary is slight – by no means so marked as is the case in many places further Eastwards.*

"The area on the North of the west end of the Cursus…has been ploughed, artificially manured, & sowing with oats almost completed – proceeding eastwards. Ploughing was in the direction North to South & extended into the centre of the North boundary ditch of the Cursus. In turning the plough turf has been taken off the slight South bank of the ditch & this at the moment has an ugly appearance. The South boundary of the ploughed area was farmed into headland.

"In harrowing this ploughed area roots which have had insufficient time to rot have accumulated on the headland and on the slight inside bank of the ditch. For some yards…the appearance of the bank is perhaps rather alarming as disturbance had apparently been greater than elsewhere; in reality, I understand, this is due to rabbit holes.

"The depth of the ploughing varies from 4 inches to 6 inches. It appears there has been no levelling & that the ground has been equally worked over. Had his attention been called to the matter in time Mr Wort would have kept clear of this North boundary of the Cursus.

"On the South at about 30 feet from the Centre of the boundary ditch ploughing has commenced inside the Cursus but it stops clear of the inner bank of the ditch. The ploughing already done, in the direction of the length of the Cursus, is about 15 feet in width & runs eastwards…

"There is no intention on the part of Mr Wort of going nearer to the boundary though it is proposed to continue to plough within the Cursus for its whole width. Whether other ploughing will be done will depend upon the food position."

Sirr added that as there had been no harrowing over much of the newly-ploughed area, "*the turf ploughed up remains like a continuous ribbon, , where it is possible to get a machine for the purpose, the turf could again be turned over, replaced in position, and rolled.*" In other words, it could be put back as it was. Wort, meanwhile, pointed to evidence that this section of the Cursus had been ploughed previously, claiming that

"*…in prospecting faint traces of former cultivation of some of this land were observed; & he added that the oldest man in Amesbury asserts that his father saw corn growing near the west end of the Cursus*". Wort also suggested consulting the tithe map, which would "*probably indicate what has been in cultivation*".

Satisfied that the ploughing would have little long-term effect on the Cursus, Sirr then turned his attention to military activity, which he inspected in the company of Colonel Caldwell. Sirr was clearly much more concerned about the long-term impact of military activity on the Cursus earthworks. He noted, for example, that small trenches had been dug along the north side of the Cursus, some of them within the ditch. When he visited they were in the process of being refilled, something he believed would effectively restore the profile of the earthworks. In other places, however, those earthworks were "much trodden & disturbed by men & possibly by horses", the solution here being less obvious.

Sirr described "*a station for practising bomb throwing about 40 yards long…on the boundary* [i.e. the Cursus earthworks] *though definition of the latter appears to be slight. The area within the Cursus in front of the Station is that upon which the throwing is directed. Practice was going on while I was westwards but had ceased when I arrived at the Station. The turf is stripped from the ditch in the middle of which a very slight [drain] trench is dug. To the south of this stripped path is the erection of turfs, with divisions, for screening the men, abt. 5ft high, & it appeared to me a light V is dug in…"*.

In conclusion, Sirr argued that it was military activity that could be more harmful to the Cursus than ploughing in the long-term:

"*It is well that attention has been directed to what is going on. It appears that permanent damage is more likely to be done by Military – unless appealed to – than by Messrs Wort & Way. As to ploughing there appear to be no deep & wide furrows for drainage such as are sometimes seen on heavy land. It is likely that should the newly ploughed areas again become grazing land, in a season of so the contour appearance would be little altered from what it has been hitherto, the harrowing brings back something of a surface. Such reasoning might be stretched too far; merely slight indications or traces of undulating surfaces would become obscure after successive ploughings.*

"If Messrs Wort and Way are appealed to it appears they would respect the boundaries which are disturbed, & in the future refrain from reploughing the portions already disturbed. They tell me the financial result of what they are doing is by no means assured, & they would now sell for the value of but one half the crop."

The whole matter of ploughing up the Cursus resurfaced six years later, beginning with a letter from Engleheart to Peers (17th May 1923: TNA WORK 14/2463). Although Wort & Way were again at the centre of things, this time it was more than just the Cursus that was causing concern:

"*I was at Stonehenge yesterday and was disgusted but not surprised to see that a huge cantle of down near to it on the N. has been ploughed. This land, I believe, belongs to Wort & Way, the Salisbury firm of contractors and farmers. They are ploughing nearer and nearer to the Avenue and are quite capable of ploughing it out in the next season or two. They own the Cursus and have all the inside area under cultivation. About halfway through the war years I succeeded, with the help of the G.O.C. in Chief in getting the Cursus wired in against military traffic, but Wort & Way removed the wire afterwards and have done great damage to the banks: it is only a question of time for the whole thing to be effaced. I understand that there are powers to prevent this, but they are certainly not being enforced. Is it really impossible in this ? enlightened country to get these monuments scheduled, visibly and permanently numbered, and protected under penalties? I have tried to get at the destroyers, e.g. Wort & Way, with my best acts of courtesy, but they put all us archaeological folk down as silly meddlers and a nuisance. Nothing short of enforced law will stop their ravages.*"

Engleheart wrote to Peers again a month later (19th June 1923: TNA WORK 14/2463) with a similar complaint:

"*Would you very kindly tell me this. – So far as I can tell the Salisbury firm, Wort & Way, have been breaking a large fresh area of turf N. of close to Stonehenge about biennially. If they advance N to E as they have done they would break the Avenue next time, which might be next autumn, as they took a fresh piece in 1919 and again in 1921.*

"This is only a surmise, but have we – should I – have any power to stop this being done? I am not certain (bit will ascertain) whether the Avenue is part of W & W's land – but as a great deal is at stake we should be forewarned."

On neither occasion is it clear whether Peers replied. However, it does seem that contact was made with Hawley, who was of course excavating at Stonehenge at the time. In a letter to JP Bushe-Fox, Inspector of Ancient Monuments (1st July 1923: TNA WORK 14/2463), Hawley included the following comment:

"*I have not heard that Wort & Way are intending to plough the Avenue, but they might. I should think you could bring pressure to bear upon them from the Ancient Monuments Act, as it is clearly part of Stonehenge. Smith* [the caretaker] *would almost certainly hear about it if it were contemplated, but I think they would prefer to keep that land for grazing*".

Ploughing and the National Trust

Problems over possible damage to monuments continued sporadically even after the public appeal (see below, Chapter 8) had placed the land to the north of the A303 safely into the hands of the National Trust. Unfortunately, it is not always clear which sites were being discussed. Again, the concerns focused specifically on damage to known earthworks. For example, a letter from Newall to the Office of Works dated 12th May 1935 (TNA WORK 14/1506) began with a comment on the diversion of a road across the long barrow at the end of the Cursus – presumably the eastern end – and the planting of trees, both of which he blamed on the National Trust. He also raised the issue of rabbits in barrows on National Trust land. Newall wanted the Office of Works to "*compel*" the National Trust to set an example:

"*kill all rabbits and block all holes. Turf over and wire round to keep the rabbits out… [W]ire netting pegged down flat all over the barrows. Unless your office do something the barrows will go on being destroyed.*"

The rabbits were duly dealt with, although the National Trust settled for extermination and the filling-in of any holes, the wire netting considered both unnecessary and expensive. Sporadic complaints about cultivation impinging on earthworks continued, with the Cursus and unspecified barrows around Fargo being the main concern. In January 1936 it was conceded that some barrows "*have been recently ploughed and will be sown with corn this year*", but it was promised that "*They will not be ploughed in the future as the field is to be laid down to grass permanently*" (memo, 17th January 1936: TNA WORK 14/1506).

World War Two

Figure 16 shows the general disposition of arable activity in the environs of Stonehenge during the Second World War. The barrows around Fargo Plantation certainly suffered some damage in the early years of the War as a result of military activity. In an Office of Works memo dated 28th August 1940 (WORK 14/1506) it was reported that:

"*the Australians at the new Detention Camp at Fargo… have been digging into a barrow which is on National Trust ground near the old Hospital site. I went and saw the Commandant at this Camp and informed him that he was not allowed to do that…*".

Figure 16: The pattern of agricultural activity around Stonehenge in the middle of World War Two. The Main Camp remains under grass, the extensive earthworks suggesting a fair amount of structural material still in situ. The location of the Night Camp has clearly seen some re-use. The western half of the Cursus and much of the land north and south of it is arable, as is the area of the former aerodrome landing ground between the two former camp sites. Note that while the main group of Cursus barrows have been left unploughed, others have not. US/7PH/GP/LOC122/150 24 December 1943 English Heritage USAAF Photography.

The Commandant "*pleaded ignorance that he did not know that it was an ancient burial and stopped his men from digging any farther into the barrow*". Apparently the barrow mound was being used as a quarry for material to use in "*making a road through their camp*". The mound had been "*dug into on the western and southern side*", and it was claimed that "*they would have penetrated the chamber within a couple of hours*" had

they not been spotted. Again, it is not clear which barrow is being referred to, although a subsequent memo (3rd September 1940: TNA WORK 14/1596) added that it "*appears to be one of those scheduled in Fargo Plantation*". The possible presence of a chamber seems to have been an assumption on the part of the Office of Works' informant.

Two years later, Newall (3rd February 1942, WORK 14/1506) wrote to the Office of Works to complain about further damage by Australians:

"*…I had a look at the west end of the cursus on west of Fargo Wood and off Nat Trust land. Somebody has gone mad here, the small barrow outside the wood is all skinned and dug into. This I fancy was done by Australians and stopped by General Hill but the South Bank of the Cursus and on the Cursus has been dug over as if for gardens and turf baulks made. It is on the land of Mr Alexander of Winterbourne Stoke… This piece of land was in a bad way after the last war when the Canadians had a Hospital here, but it's worse now…*". A scribbled note confirmed that "*This is not a case of ploughing apparently, but of gardening*".

An accompanying sketch plan suggests that this 'skinned' barrow was probably Winterbourne Stoke 30 (see above), located within the Cursus close to its western terminal. A reply sent to Newall on 11th February 1942 (TNA WORK 14/1506) asked for Mr Alexander's full name and address "*as he has never received a scheduling notice and therefore has no idea that he should not convert the cursus into a vegetable garden*".

This prompted Newall to point out that he hadn't blamed Mr Alexander for the mess – "*the barrow was messed up by Australian troops but I do not know who has made what look like gardens*" (Letter, 13th February 1942, TNA WORK 14/1506). However, a subsequent internal memo (2nd March 1942: TNA WORK 14/1506) raised the matter of whether, in fact, the Cursus had ever "*been properly scheduled*".

Ploughing the Triangle

On Christmas Eve 1941, the Secretary of the Ministry of Works and Buildings was contacted by the Chief Executive Officer of the Wiltshire War Agricultural Committee with an enquiry about the possibility of cultivating land within the Stonehenge Triangle "*in the interests of food production*" (24th December 1941, WORK 14/2463). The Ministry's response, dated 1st January (TNA WORK 14/2463), was not an outright refusal. Instead it was stated that:

"*…the Ministry quite sympathises with the desire of the War Agricultural Executive Committee and agrees in principle, that, in the interests of food production, as much land as possible about Stonehenge should be cultivated.*

"There are, however, in the neighbourhood, a number of prehistoric remains, the valuable scientific evidence contained in which, might easily be lost, were their areas to be

ploughed. Your Committee will doubtless agree that this should be avoided. The Ministry's Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Mr. B.H. St. J. O'Neil, is accordingly being asked to make an appointment with you onsite in order that the areas, which should, to this end, be excluded from cultivation, may be clearly defined'.

O'Neill seems to have regarded this response as "*non-committal*" (letter, 16th January 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463):

"*Beyond expressing sympathy in principle with endeavours to increase our food supply no indication whatever has been given of our decision on the matter…[T]he Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments will use all its influence to prevent the ploughing up of land, which is of archaeological value or which forms part of the amenities of Stonehenge, and… I personally am the last person who is likely to retreat from that position lightly…*".

As O'Neil intimated, the problem with the Stonehenge Triangle was not one of any perceived threat to buried or unknown archaeological deposits, but – if extant earthworks were protected – to the 'amenity' of the site: "*We are always in a difficult position in connection with ploughing, especially at the present time, but this is a special case needing special consideration. That special consideration should extend from the stones themselves for a wide area…*".

The local response was equally focused on the potential damage to upstanding monuments. Cunnington (letter, 13th January 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463) suggested leaving an area of 15 yards around any earthwork unploughed in order to protect it – this was not about the preservation of any possible buried features adjacent to the monuments; Cunnington was merely seeking to ensure that the plough didn't get too close to the mounds. Frank Stevens (letter, 13th January 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463) also reminded the Office of Works of

"*the gravity of the situation; for any new ploughing will mean breaking up surface soil undisturbed since the Bronze Age – with tractors, & possibly more or less unskilled labour. Barrows have suffered, and will suffer again.*"

However, there was an obvious problem in justifying any refusal – what damage was likely to be caused by the ploughing of any areas within the triangle that did not contain earthworks? Newall wrote to O'Neill (21st January 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463) with the following observations:

"*As regards the Stonehenge Triangle of Down land I must admit that I do not know of anything of archaeological interest other than the large Barrow, a small part of the Avenue, and of course the Ditch. <u>But</u> this land has never been ploughed. If ploughed it can never be put back again to Down turf. This is botanically impossible. Also the view of the stones from the Amesbury hill would be ruined… I feel sure that an equal area of land could be found near the stones that could be ploughed. Also I could not countenance ploughing that piece of Down on which the Avenue is. It has also never*

been ploughed and on it we believe there are one or two unrecorded archaeological sites. I feel there is a least one large buried stone, though just where I could not say until we have a very dry summer".

O'Neill seems to have accepted these as valid reasons for turning down the request to plough (letter to General Hill, National Trust Stonehenge Estate Committee, 26th January 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463)). He accepted Newall's assertion that this land had never been ploughed, and also raised the matter of amenity, including the view from Amesbury Hill ("*a very peculiar view I always think*"). The argument that "*valuable scientific information can be obtained from such undisturbed soil, which would be totally lost if it were to be ploughed*" appears in the context of O'Neill's letter to Hill not to refer to archaeological information – if it did, it is not clear what O'Neill thought this 'scientific information' might comprise.

However, when all interested parties met at Stonehenge on 3rd February, Newall confirmed that the land within the Triangle had never been ploughed, and his assertion seems to have been accepted by everyone. O'Neill's notes of the meeting (3rd February 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463) added:

"*As that is so, there is a good chance of preserving valuable scientific information…by geochronological methods. These would be unattainable, if the land was once disturbed; clearly, therefore, we must no permit it to be ploughed*".

Quite what he meant by 'geochronological methods' is unclear – it is certainly not explained in any of the other letters and memos flying around at the time. O'Neill added that the terms of the deed of gift by which Chubb handed Stonehenge over to the Office of Works in 1918 did not permit them to grant permission, although this seems doubtful. Nonetheless, it was reported that Mr Deering of the Wiltshire War Agricultural Committee "*heard these arguments and sees the force of them*". However, O'Neill then added that according to Deering, "*The application was sent to us largely to forestall criticism about the potential use of the land. His committee will feel happy, if they have tried & been refused for a good reason. I told Mr Deering that the land is grazed*". In other words, the War Agricultural Committee simply wanted to be seen to be asking.

O'Neill's note of the meeting continued:

"*It only remains… for an official letter to be sent to the Committee at Trowbridge, refusing consent in an agreeable manner! It will be as well* <u>*not*</u> *to say that, because it has never been ploughed, it should not be ploughed, lest some ignorant person says "the more reason for doing it now". It will be better to refer to "valuable scientific information which would be destroyed for ever by one ploughing"*."

The official letter was duly sent (18th February 1942: TNA WORK 14/2463).

CHAPTER 8: SALE, AUCTION AND DEMOLITION 1918-1939

Following the end of the First World War, calls to remove the aerodrome from the Stonehenge landscape became increasingly frequent, leading first of all to its closure in 1921, the return of the land to its pre-requisition owner and then, in 1927, the launch of a public appeal to buy the land that the aerodrome buildings occupied – as well as neighbouring land. The eventual success of the appeal led to the removal of the buildings that were still standing by the end of the 1920s.

On 11th December 1919 (TNA WORK 14/2463), two months after the Stonehenge excavations began, William Hawley wrote to Charles Peers to explain progress on digging around the base of Stones 6 and 7, before turning to another matter:

"*On Thursday evening Lady Glenconner most kindly sent over for me to dine with them despite my not having Evening dress. In course of conversation we were talking about the Aerodrome & how its existence here spoils the site. She said that if the Soc Antiquaries & Office of Works would take the matter up if she would get the Govmt to support the protest and get the place removed. Lloyd George is often a visitor of theirs and Asquith is her Brother in Law so the idea looks hopeful*' (ibid.).

However, they couldn't proceed immediately:

"*We should have to wait until the Spring, as she is just starting with her family for America where they are touring for the Winter with Lord Grey perhaps to Florida &* [will] *not be back until Easter when I trust to see her again; so meanwhile do not mention the matter except to your very trusted friends, until the time arrives & she particularly wishes this*."

The first high profile request came the following Spring in the form of a Parliamentary Question asked in the House of Commons on 2nd March 1920 by Hugh Morrison, MP for Salisbury, who "*asked the Under-Secretary of State to the Air Ministry whether he can hold out any hope that the aerodrome which spoils the beauty of Stonehenge will be pulled down?*" Given Hawley's earlier letter, the timing is interesting but there is no documentation to confirm a direct link. The reply to Morrison, from Major G.C. Tryon MP, the Under-Secretary of State in question, was not too dissimilar to those being received by the Society of Antiquaries and other organisations and individuals who wanted the aerodrome closed:

"*The retention of the aerodrome at Stonehenge has been the subject of very careful consideration, as the Air Council are in full sympathy with the desire that existing disfigurement in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge should be removed at the earliest moment possible. This station is, however, of great importance to the Royal Air Force owing to its proximity to Larkhill and other artillery camps, and until an alternative arrangement can be found the aerodrome will have to remain. Every endeavour will be*

made to provide suitable accommodation elsewhere, and when this has been done the buildings will be removed."

However, letters to the press and the appropriate government departments continued, and eventually the Air Ministry gave in. On 18th December the Air Ministry notified the Office of Works that "*It has now been possible to make alternative arrangements, and, in consequence, the Council have decided on the immediate relinquishment of this station, which will be passed to the Disposal Board for disposal and re-instatement*" (WORK 14/214). On the same day, the Ministry of Munitions (Disposal Board) was also contacted – "*I am commanded by the Air Council…to inform you that the usual steps will be taken at an early date to notify the temporary buildings at Stonehenge to your department for their disposal and for reinstatement of the site*". There then followed a further exchange of correspondence as the Air Ministry reassured the Disposal Board that it was Stonehenge Aerodrome and not Stonehenge itself that required reinstatement work (WORK 14/214, letters 20th December 1920 and 30th December 1920).

The Night Camp was the first to be earmarked for sale and disposal, the buildings being auctioned off on Friday 18th February 1921. An advertisement placed in newspapers by the Disposal Board (e.g. The Times, 12th February 1921, p21) included a long list of buildings, fixtures and fittings. The auction was to be handled by Ferris & Puckridge of Milton, Marlborough,Wiltshire and Cheapside, EC4. It appears that the usual procedure for such disposals was to be followed – buildings and other items were sold on the understanding that they would be removed from the site by the purchaser within a set time period – in this as in many other cases, 3 months – after which the land would be 'reinstated', i.e. returned to its pre-requisition state, before being handed back to the landowner.

A further Disposal Board sale on 24th October 1921 (The Times, 8th October 1921, p17) curiously included just a single building from the Main Camp at Stonehenge – a matchboard and corrugated iron hut measuring 20 ft x 8 ft. The remainder of the Main Camp's contents were auctioned on 8th to 10th February 1922, the same firm of auctioneers overseeing the sale. Again, advance advertising listed the main buildings, fixtures and fittings, and again, a key condition of the sale was that the buildings were being sold for removal, not for use in situ – "*the buildings should be completely removed to ground level…no longer than 3 months from the last day of the sale*" (memo, 9th May 1923: TNA MUN 4/6054).

After the auction: the buildings remain

The story of what happened after the auction gradually emerges in various ministry documents over subsequent weeks and months. In May 1923, Hugh Morrison MP sought to repeat the question he had first put three years earlier, giving the Secretary of State for Air notice of his intention to ask "*whether, in view of the large number of unused aerodromes in the Southern Command, he will consider the question of pulling down the*

aerodrome which spoils the charm of Stonehenge" (TNA MUN 4/6504). The Air Ministry apparently agreed to answer, calling on the Treasury and the Disposals Board for help. However, it appears from Hansard and other sources that no official answer to Morrison's question was ever offered, and consequently the question was never officially asked, despite the insistence in one memo that "*we can do nothing but face the music*" (memo 10th May 1923: TNA MUN 4/6054).

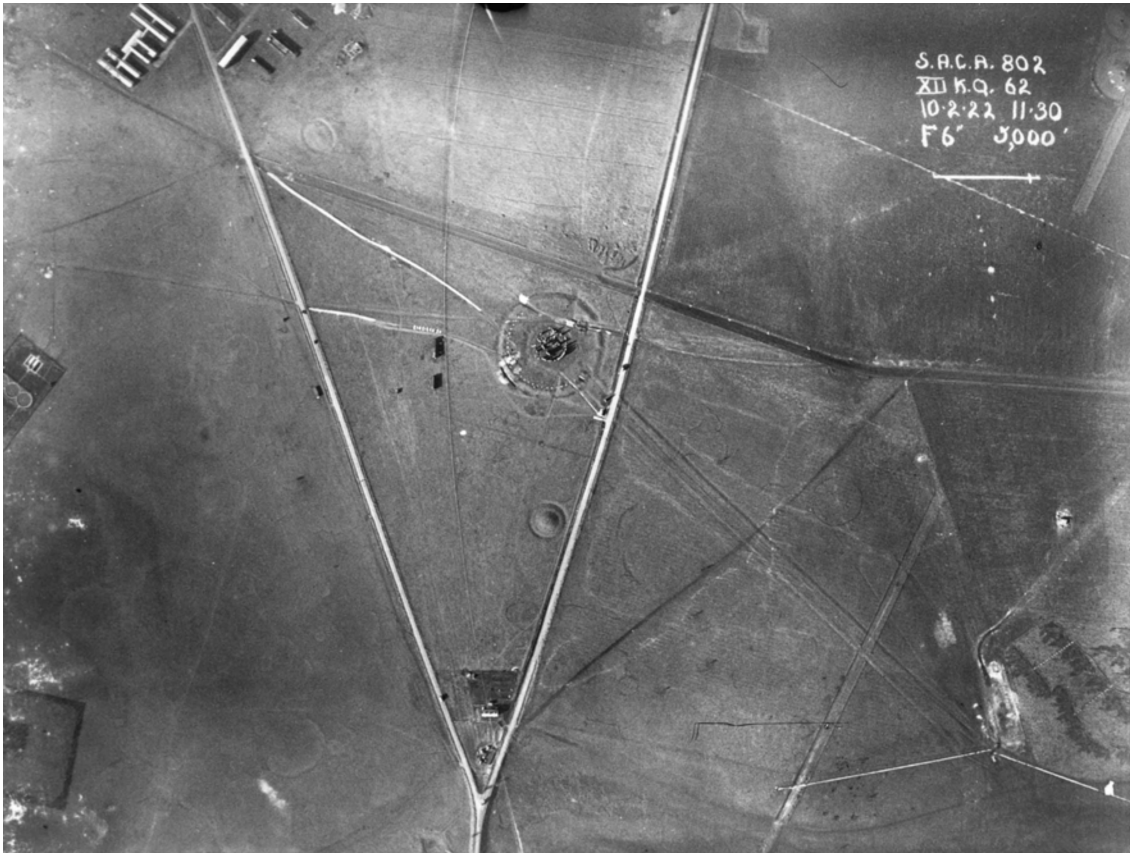


Figure 17: RAF vertical showing Stonehenge 10th February 1922, the final day of the three day auction of the Main Camp's buildings, fixtures and fittings. The closest aerodrome buildings can be seen top left, while military effluent can be seen bottom right. At the bottom of the photograph, within the fork of the A344 and A303, are the then-recently built custodians' cottages, while Stonehenge itself is the focus of the attention of the Office of Works and Society of Antiquaries. Tracks are being levelled and covered, partly using spoil from excavations of the Stonehenge ditch by Colonel Hawley, while the chalky spoil from excavation trenches is also visible. The two huts close to Stonehenge were provided by the Office of Works for Hawley's use. The third, smaller, structure nearby is a latrine. The line of white patches visible close the track passing the huts are 'Hawley's Graves', pits in which unwanted finds from the Stonehenge excavations were buried. English Heritage Archives Crawford Collection SU1242/14 10 February 1922 CCC 8561/73.

The Disposals Board quickly confirmed to the Air Ministry that all the buildings at Stonehenge Aerodrome had been sold by auction in February 1922 on condition that they be dismantled and removed within three months (Fig. 17). They noted that "*apparently some extension of this time was allowed*" (ibid.), but in the meantime the whole of the land containing the aerodrome buildings had been returned to its owner, Isaac Crook, on 1st July 1922. However, the note continued: "*For the most part…the buildings had not been removed, and it is understood that the landowner has granted permission to actual purchasers for the structures to remain*" (ibid.).

The key problem, it transpired, was the decision to return the requisitioned land to its owner. Once it was back in Isaac Crook's possession, it was no longer possible to enforce the condition to remove the buildings. The implication from the documents is that Crook was well aware of what he was doing. At the auction, the Main Camp's buildings and other fixtures and fittings had been divided into 1,100 lots, with Crook directly purchasing 344 of them. Some lots may have been bought on his behalf by others, while he also seems to have acquired additional lots directly from purchasers after the auction.

Crook approached the Directorate of Lands in June 1922, stating that "*he would be glad to take back his land and make arrangements with the persons who had failed to remove the buildings which they had purchased, and this proposal was acted on…*" ('Memorandum for Treasury', 14th May 1923: TNA MUN 4/6054). In addition, he refused any payment from the government in lieu of the cost of reinstatement of the ground. A consideration of the situation led to the conclusion that the Directorate's decision to return the land to Crook despite many buildings still standing, and to waive responsibility for reinstatement, was effectively "*acquiescence on the Government's part to the buildings remaining in situ*" (ibid.). Consequently it was felt that "*we could take no action whatsoever against Mr. Crook or any other purchaser who had subsequently to the auction parted with his interest in the buildings purchased by him to the landowner…* [W]*e could only claim damages and the other side could always reply, and no doubt would do so, that we had suffered no damage whatsoever, and that, in fact, we had financially benefitted by their conduct to the extent that we had been relieved of the liability to reinstate the sites of the buildings*" (ibid.) In any case, even if Crook could be persuaded, by legal means, to honour the condition to pull down the buildings, there was nothing under extant planning legislation to prevent him rebuilding. Whether any of this was relayed unofficially to Hugh Morrison MP is unclear, but it seems clear why his question was never officially answered.

Pigs and vagrants: occupying the aerodrome 1922 – c1932

Isaac Crook gained a degree of notoriety among archaeologists (and others, of course) by allowing part of the aerodrome to be used as a pig-farm by 1924 if not earlier. It is not clear whether this was his own enterprise, or whether he simply leased the buildings and surrounding land to someone else. However, he seems to have been determined to retain some of the aerodrome buildings at least – he could have had them removed and

the ground reinstated at no cost to himself – so the idea of using the site for pedigree breeding stock may have been part of the plan from the outset. Less well-known is the fact that some of the buildings were also rented out as dwellings. Little has so far been uncovered about the people who lived there – who they were, what they did, how many there were, etc – while what is known mostly comes from notes and letters written by those who didn't want them there. Consequently it tends to be negative in tone. As with the livestock, it may be that Crook wanted to retain certain buildings in order to be able to rent them out. The proximity of Larkhill would presumably be the main attraction to any potential occupants.

Generally, contemporary press reports, public comments and announcements (for example, those relating to the Appeal in The Times and other newspapers) tended to highlight the presence of pigs while avoiding any mention of the people living there. The same applies to more recent archaeological publications dealing with the 20th century history of Stonehenge. One exception is Michael Balfour's puzzling reference to "gypsy encampments in the derelict aerodrome buildings", for which no source is offered (Balfour 1983, 179). A good example of contemporary treatment of the human occupants of the aerodrome is provided by the Wiltshire archaeologist BH Cunnington. In June 1927 he wrote a letter to Percy Hurd MP raising various concerns about Stonehenge and the aerodrome, noting that in addition to the presence of "*a large pig-breeding establishment…the hutments* [are] *used for vagrant & other undesirable dwellings*" (10th June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). However, in a subsequent letter to The Times, Cunnington (with EH Goddard) repeated much of what he told Hurd, but this time referred only to the aerodrome being used "*for pig-breeding on a large-scale and other suchlike purposes*".

Those bidding for the structures at Stonehenge Aerodrome in 1922 will have been interested not just in the raw materials – timber, brick, asbestos, corrugated iron etc – or the re-usable fixtures and fittings – sinks, lavatories, radiators and so on – but in the potential for some of the buildings to be re-erected elsewhere for leasing or re-sale. Military huts were widely used post-1918 to provide a relatively cheap and rapid means of providing housing for returning servicemen and their families, among others. As early as 1916, the Board of Agriculture had noted that "*it would be possible to remove, re-erect and convert a hut into a cottage with three bedrooms, at a total cost, including water supply and drainage, of £125, and that such a cottage if properly maintained would last for thirty years at least. A detached cottage with similar accommodation, but built of brick or stone, would probably cost £250 at the present time*" (quoted in Hardy & Ward 1984, 3). Leasing them in situ seems to have been a far rarer occurrence, but obviously saved on the cost of removal and re-erection elsewhere (as well as on the purchase of land on which to re-erect them). It isn't clear when Crook converted some of the aerodrome buildings into dwellings and began leasing them out. Most of the references date to mid-1927 or later, and relate directly to the campaign that began that summer to remove all the buildings from the site. However, as already suggested, there is nothing to rule out the possibility that Crook began to lease out these buildings as early as 1922.

Cunnington's reference to 'vagrants' and 'undesirable dwellings', and the possibility that the phrase 'other suchlike purposes' was used euphemistically, is fairly typical of the way these people were described by those who wanted them gone. In addition to rather negative perceptions of the occupants and their living standards, the very fact of them being there fed into concerns about potential development of the site and the sort of people who might be attracted to the idea of living there. In 1927 Frank Stevens, curator of Salisbury Museum, was asked by the Office of Works to make discreet enquiries about the rumoured sale of the land containing the aerodrome by Isaac Crook. Confirming its suitability for speculative development, he added that "*We have already had trouble with hawkers living in the huts &c at the Aerodrome in the matter of school attendance. The families are poor and shifty hangers on of the military, and their children are badly clothed, verminous &c and I have called the attention of the N.S.P.C.C. to the condition of more than one family. Their methods of living are questionable*" (18th June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

Stevens' account contrasts somewhat with one written around the same time by the District Valuer, who had also been asked to investigate the rumoured sale. He noted that 5 of the aerodrome's 'blocks' had been converted into dwellings, which had been "*let to soldiers and people employed in the camps nearby. The rents are probably high but on account of their position and construction they form a very speculative investment*" (note, 21st June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). At the beginning of July 1927, a meeting between the District Valuer and a representative of the Office of Works confirmed that in addition to hangars, transport sheds, etc, also still standing were "*buildings including the late Officers' Mess, four blocks of brick buildings and one wooden building. These latter buildings have been converted in several instances into residences and are occupied*" (memo, 5th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

The occupants came to wider attention on 8th October 1927. With the Stonehenge Appeal underway and the land containing the aerodrome already purchased, the Rev. H. Moxon, who identified himself as the 'Vicar of Amesbury and Stonehenge', wrote to The Times stating that "*I am asked by the present occupants of the dwellings near to the aerodrome buildings to indicate their case, and to ask the National Trust whether some alternative accommodation could be provided by next summer in one of the "dips of the Downs" more or less adjacent. The present ugliness of the sheds, converted into domestic use, makes them no less the only home which the rising generation have known. We must all be pleased that Stonehenge is recovering the grandeur of solitude, but Amesbury will be concerned to know what can be done to house these neighbours*". Their rehousing took a while longer – on 4th August 1930 The Times reported that although the aerodrome buildings had largely disappeared, "*There remains a rather ugly group of temporary buildings which formed part of the quarters attached to the aerodrome. These places are still occupied as a periodical hanging out of the washing will tell those who approach the buildings over the grass, and it is stated that they cannot be cleared for another two years. From the circle the huts show only as a broken line of felt-covered roofs*".

The Stonehenge Appeal: origins

The story of how the land containing the aerodrome, and then subsequent surrounding plots, were acquired is complex, and there are a number of gaps in the published and unpublished sources consulted to date. The story is also less straightforward than has been presented previously. For example, although the public appeal was launched in the pages of The Times on 5th August 1927, much had already happened by then. Indeed, although the fact wasn't publicly acknowledged for some time, by the time the appeal was launched, the sale of the aerodrome site had already been agreed to by Isaac Crook and the necessary funds to complete the sale guaranteed.

A story that has been told on a number of occasions is that the writer J.C. Squire, at the time founding editor of the literary magazine the London Mercury, had made a bet at a party that he could 'save Stonehenge'. Squire's biographer Patrick Howarth merely noted, somewhat unhelpfully, that "*this is very probably true*" (Howarth 1963, 202). OGS Crawford, who had sought advice from Squire when setting up his new archaeological journal *Antiquity*, later recounted that during "*one of my talks with Squire he told me that he had had a bet with a friend that he could persuade the authorities to remove the hangars of an aerodrome built during the war close to Stonehenge… We discussed the matter and I got him to meet Keiller…*" (Crawford 1955, 182). Keiller, meanwhile, claimed that the idea for the ensuing Stonehenge Preservation Committee was his: "*…this Committee was formed here in the museum at 4, Charles Street…I became extremely worried when I first became aware of the prospective damage to Stonehenge…and telephoned…O.G.S. Crawford…asking him to come and see me if he could on an urgent matter at Charles Street. This he did without delay and together we decided to form the Stonehenge Preservation Committee, to which end, at Crawford's suggestion, we added at a preliminary stage, a third person, somewhat unexpectedly, J.C. Squire of the London Mercury*" (letter, Keiller to George Engleheart, 6th January 1935: Alexander Keiller Museum (AKM) 88051523). Squire, Crawford and Keiller met for lunch at Jules' Restaurant in London, Crawford noting the meeting in his diary against the date of Thursday 21st July 1927. According to Crawford, "*it was decided to form a committee and raise funds to buy the land around Stonehenge and present it to the nation… We got in touch with the Ancient Monuments Department of the Office of Works, a fully representative committee was formed, and a nationwide appeal issued*" (Crawford 1955, 182). According to entries in Crawford's diary (Bodleian Library: MSS Crawford 123), the first meeting occurred at midday on the following Monday, July 25th (at the Office of Works), with subsequent meetings on the 27th and 29th July, again at the Office of Works.

Crawford's account in his autobiography, published some 30 years later, offers a far more succinct and straightforward course of events than appears from the archives. Certainly the lunch led directly to a committee of which Squire was secretary, and thence – quite rapidly – to the launch of the appeal just 15 days after that first lunch. However, staff at the Office of Works were already discussing the possibility of persuading the editor of The Times to assist in a fundraising appeal as early as 17th June 1927 (misc notes and

letters: TNA WORK 14/488). This was not in response to Crawford and co., whose lunch was still several weeks away, but the letter from BH Cunnington and EH Goddard published in The Times on 15th June (see above), the contents of which were similar to a letter sent by Cunnington to Percy Hurd, MP for Devizes, on 10th June. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Squire's (and indeed Crawford and Keiller's) interest in the matter stemmed from the published letter. This seems to be supported by the version of events offered in 1935 by Keiller in a letter to George Engleheart (AKM 88051523, 9th January 1935), in which Keiller explained that his initial concern for Stonehenge stemmed partly from the realisation that Cunnington alone was in no position "*of being able to obtain an adequate sum to deal with the matter*", although Keiller's rivalry with the Cunnningtons in Wiltshire archaeological matters may also have influenced his desire to get involved.

Cunnington's letter to Hurd repeated a then-common misconception that the aerodrome site had been owned by the Government, and subsequently sold to Isaac Crook without the necessary clauses in place to ensure that the buildings came down. Reminding Hurd about the pigs and vagrants, Cunnington suggested that the Government make amends by repurchasing the site and restoring it to downland. If they didn't, he warned that the land might fall "*into the hands of the speculative builder*", and "*bungalows & other undesirable buildings will spring up around Stonehenge & simply ruin the place*".

Goddard and Cunnington's letter to The Times, and therefore for public consumption, explained to readers that the site "*was now again for sale, with the probability, if nothing is done to prevent it, that it may fall into the hands of a speculative builder and be laid out as a bungalow town*". They suggested that the income produced by Stonehenge's entrance fees could be used to purchase the aerodrome site, "*at once preventing further disastrous building and removing the existing eyesore, which for so many years has vexed the soul of every decent visitor to Stonehenge*". This suggestion was endorsed in a subsequent letter to The Times, pre-Jules, by OGS Crawford (27th June 1927, p10), but was rejected by the Office of Works.

Much to the annoyance of the Office of Works, who were quietly trying to find out, in the wake of Cunnington and Goddard's letter, exactly what was for sale and how much it might cost, Cunnington and others negotiated directly with Isaac Crook's agent to buy the site. The precise sequence of events again remains a little murky, especially in terms of who knew what and when. However, on 6th July 1927, Sir Lionel Earle was informed by Lord Crawford and Balcarres that "*a certain individual has come forward who is prepared to guarantee a sum of £5,500 if necessary to secure the aerodrome*" (TNA WORK 14/488). On 8th July, Joseph Kenworthy, Labour MP for Central Hull – and someone who seems to have had a keen interest in the matter – wrote to Earle telling him that the archaeologist JP Williams-Freeman (incidentally a longstanding acquaintance of OGS Crawford) had informed him that

"*a guarantor has been found for all or part of the £5,500 and the 183 acres with the aerodrome has been secured by Cunnington who will have the transfer made out to the National Trust*" (TNA WORK 14/488).

A slightly different version of events appeared in a letter of the 8th July from George Engleheart to Kenworthy. Engleheart, Wiltshire secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, stated that he himself had "*taken a hand in this present movement, and have got a friend of mine…to guarantee the whole sum for purchase of the aerodrome*". In addition, Hugh Morrison MP had given £250 and guaranteed a further £750. Engleheart also claimed, somewhat prematurely, that the buildings and 185 acres of land had actually been bought, the deposit being paid "*by a local friend of mine*" [he may mean Cunnington] and added that "*Lord Crawford and Balcarres has given much time and energy to this business and holds all the strings of negotiation and correspondence*" (TNA WORK 14/488). In his 1935 correspondence with Keiller, Engleheart identified the friend who had guaranteed the full amount as John Charles Williams, Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall (Engleheart and Wiliams' friendship stemmed from a mutual interest in daffodils: Williams 1998). According to Engleheart, he was lying ill in bed when he received a note from Cunnington about the aerodrome site being for sale: "*the matter was urgent, and <u>what</u> was to be done? I lay and racked my poor brains, and it suddenly came into my mind to ask the help of my lifelong and dearest friend, J.C. Williams… I put the case before him and asked him if he would be guarantor of the sum required. He answered by return with a cheque for £5,600, saying that if the worst came to the worst the money need never be returned. Then Cunnington found a bit more…*" (AKM 88051523, 10th January 1935).

Engleheart justified the apparent haste in agreeing terms with Crook "*because the vendor has a reputation for shiftiness…and would certainly raise his price if he thought public money would be forthcoming*" (letter, 8th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). In other words, at this stage, the only perceived threat was the likelihood that Crook would ask for more money if he got wind of the forthcoming appeal, plans for which were clearly underway as Engleheart added that "*I doubt whether it would be wise to make public the fact of the purchase – it might be thought to be a fait accompli and that nothing more is needed*" (ibid.).

It was just as well that no announcement was made, as the site hadn't actually been sold. Instead, Crook had agreed to the sale of the land and buildings for £5,500 in return for a 10% deposit and a promise of completion by 29th September (Michaelmas). Engleheart seems to have been under the impression that the deposit had been paid, but this didn't actually happen until 27th July (note, 27th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

A delay in announcing the purchase would also improve the chances of ensuring that Williams might get some of his money back. This was by no means inevitable, even if the appeal was successful – an office of Works minute sheet dated 20th July 1927 (the day before the lunch at Jules') noted "*I do not think there is any obligation to pay back the whole of the money so generously advanced by a certain individual for the 185 acres, but*

I think we should aim at returning him certainly £4,000 or £5,000' (note, 20th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). It remains unclear how much Williams ended up paying, although Engleheart told Keiller in 1935 that "*Williams did ultimately give a large part of that sum*". Keiller's ignorance of such details seems remarkable, although Crawford's diary for 1927 does note Keiller's departure for the Orkneys the day after the first Stonehenge Committee meeting, at which he may not have been present either (Bodleian Library MSS Crawford 123).

The Office of Works' consternation at the apparent 'sale' finally led to direct contact with Cunnington ("*…we don't want two public spirit[ed] bodies bidding against one another*" – note, 8th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488)), with Earle being particularly concerned at the price paid. On 12th July he wrote that "*I cannot help feeling that the enthusiasts have somewhat rushed the business and subsequently been bled for more than they ought to have been. 185 acres, including the buildings which cannot be of any great value, for £5,500 works out at about £30 an acre – a quite preposterous price in my opinion. I only hope it won't have the effect of raising the price demanded by the other owners, which we think we could obtain at an average of about £15 per acre as a maximum, on properties where we are not able to obtain covenants as regards building in the future*" (TNA WORK 14/488). In other words, the Office of Works were looking to persuade neighbouring land owners to place covenants on their land to prevent further building in the vicinity of Stonehenge, or if this proved impossible, to seek to buy the land. They were already looking beyond the aerodrome site.

As already noted, unaware that Cunnington was negotiating with Crook, the Office of Works had begun discreet local enquiries in an effort to determine what was for sale, how much it might cost, and if there were any other interested parties. They seem initially to have gained the impression – though it is not clear where from – that the area for sale amounted to around 50 acres, and received an initial rough estimate from the Land Valuation Department of £25 an acre, or £1250 in all, somewhat higher than Earle thought it was worth. Subsequently the Trowbridge-based District Valuer was asked to go and have a look. He produced the following report:

"*…I beg to report that I have today visited Stonehenge but was unable from any indications on the ground (such as Bills or advertisements) to gather what land comprising about 50 acres is now on the market.*

"I looked at the old Aerodrome… There are a large number of buildings thereon, which were I believe bought by the present owner – Mr. I.C. Crook – of West Amesbury Farm, Amesbury from the Disposals Board. The principal buildings on the land are: 3 large 2-bay Hangars; large Officers' Mess; 5 blocks converted into dwellings; and sundry other small buildings.

"A portion of the buildings have recently been used as feeding sheds and some are not used at all. Those built of brick would not I think pay for removal and it would be difficult to find a profitable use for them in situ but others have a break-up value. The dwellings

are let to soldiers and people employed in the camps nearby. The rents are very high but on account of their position and construction they form a very speculative investment.

"I have based my rough estimate upon an area of 50 acres. The bulk of the value is in the buildings. The land which is partly enclosed is Down pasture of no great value.

"When the Office of Works Representative spoke on Saturday morning last he told me that the enquiry must be regarded as Private, and that it was not desired that my inspection should be known. I was therefore precluded from doing more than making a cursory outside inspection. My figure therefore must be regarded as approximate.

"My rough estimate of value for the buildings and 50 acres of land adjoining is £2250" (note, 21st June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

Within the Office of Works, it was felt unlikely that any Government department would be either willing or able to purchase the site at that price, though "*there should be no great difficulty in raising this sum by public subscription, say through 'The Times'….*" (letter, 22nd June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488), although it was also suggested that "*the immediate result of making a bid for it would be to encourage neighbouring people to erect pig-sties, in order to be bought out by the archaeologists*" (letter, 23rd June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

On 8th July, the same day that the sale was apparently agreed between Cunnington and Crook, a Mr Davies from the Directorate of Land and Accommodation, representing the Office of Works, met with Isaac Crook and a Mr Knapman, Estate Agent, of Salisbury. The intention was to sound out the possibility of either persuading Crook to part with more land than the 50 acres believed to be for sale, or to get him to agree to a covenant ruling out any building within a mile of Stonehenge. It seems Crook and his agent were unaware that they were dealing with a representative of the Government, although Davies does not explain how he introduced himself to them. Crook reportedly informed Davies that any sale would be undertaken on his behalf by Knapman, the latter adding that on Crook's behalf "*he had sold some 185 acres to a gentleman who was connected with the Society of Archaeologists* [sic] *and that this sale was with a view to preserving the amenities of Stonehenge*" (TNA WORK 14/488).

Four days later, Davies met up with Messrs Rawlence & Squarey, Estate Agents and Auctioneers, of Salisbury. They had negotiated with Knapman on behalf of Cunnington, and it seems that Davies was now seeking their advice on the likelihood of either further purchases of getting Crook to agree to restrictions on building. Rawlence & Squarey "*promised that, as soon as the contract for the purchase of the 185 acres had been signed, they would approach Mr Crook and his agent further with a view to obtaining either a covenant not to build or an option for the sale of the remainder of his land. They, however, deemed it extremely undesirable to press these points until the first contract had been signed…*" (report, 16th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488).

The Office of Works first heard that the sale wasn't progressing as smoothly as had been suggested on 18th July (TNA WORK 14/488). Rawlence & Squarey wrote to the Directorate of Land and Accommodation to say that "*the contract for sale…has been received, but…there will probably be a discussion as to some of the clauses therein*". The main sticking point was that one of the hangars being sold to Cunnington had already been sold to another Salisbury-based firm, Messrs Wort & Way – Engleheart later claimed that the hangar had been sold to Wort & Way after Cunnington's offer for the entire aerodrome had been accepted (note, 25th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Crook's agent was refusing to amend the price.

Nine days later, Engleheart sent a telegram to Earle – 'CONTRACT SIGNED HAVE PAID DEPOSIT' – Williams' deposit money was finally handed over, allowing the public appeal to go ahead (27th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Earle announced the news the same day, 27th July, at a meeting of the Stonehenge Committee (the second such meeting according to Crawford's diary), and the following Day J.C. Squire went to meet the editor of The Times.

The Appeal

The details of the appeal, as published in The Times on 5th August, did not mention that the aerodrome and surrounding land had already been secured – instead it was merely stated that an option to buy the land had been agreed. The appeal took the form of a letter stating the basic aims, and was signed on behalf of the Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and by various other dignitaries, and featured an initial list of contributors to the fund. According to the letter,

"*Any visitor to Stonehenge may at this moment form a notion as to what, if steps are not at once taken, may happen to the Stonehenge section of the Plain. During the war the military authorities found it necessary to erect an aerodrome and rows of huts very near the circle. These have reverted to the owner of the land, but they are still standing… The solitude of Stonehenge should be restored and precautions taken to ensure that our posterity will see it against the sky in lonely majesty before which our ancestors have stood in awe throughout all our recorded history. We are glad to be able to state that options have just been secured for the purchase of an area of the Plain which includes the whole of what may be called the "Stonehenge sky-line." Should the purchases be effected, the Air Force Buildings will be removed, further building will be prevented, and the valuable archaeological remains of the site permanently protected from the plough*" (The Times, 5th August 1927, p7).

A further article on the same page, headed 'Dilapidated War Buildings, Spoilt Solitude', continued to put the case but in a more critical vein:

"*The surroundings of Stonehenge to-day are not creditable to the nation. The ugly ruins of a disused aerodrome, windowless and derelict, and showing an unsightly profusion of*

rusting metal on one side and on the other an aggregation of dilapidated military huts, would be a blemish upon any rural landscape in England. Here they are something worse. It is surely the very irony of events which has set the spectacle of these hurried improvisations of war passing to unsightly decay close to the most remarkable prehistoric monument which this or any other country has to show…

"Happily an option has just been secured by those who are concerned for the preservation of the amenities of Stonehenge which will enable [the Stonehenge Protection Committee] *to acquire the site upon which the aerodrome now stands and to demolish it…*

"So far as the aerodrome is concerned, it is probable that, in a comparatively short time, the land on which it stands will again become part of the open downs… When this site ceased to be occupied by the Government after the war (it was never owned by the Government) it was used as a place for pig-breeding, but it is again for sale, and there was a danger that it would pass into the hands of the speculative builder. It is from this danger that the amenities of Stonehenge have been rescued by the option to buy the site, and 185 acres adjoining it, being secured…".

An editorial (p11) continued in a similar vein – "*The danger is not yet over; but there is no doubt that it soon will be, that the land around Stonehenge will be bought for the nation, the aerodrome pulled down, and the great stones set apart for ever. Only so can they be free to cast their spell upon the modern mind, so sorely in need of calls upon its imagination and its reverence.*"

The appeal was aimed at raising far more than the £5,500 needed to cover the agreed cost of the aerodrome site – the target was £35,000, needed to secure around 1,444 acres of farmland in the area. Presumably the committee had been busy arranging options with the appropriate landowners. However, the first priority – despite Williams' guarantee – was to cover the cost of the aerodrome site. Even with the extensive publicity and the high hopes of the organising committee, the money didn't flow in as fast as expected. £5,300 had been raised by 12th September, and the initial £5,500 target was only passed after Cunnington managed to sell on a number of the upstanding buildings, including hangars, to a Devizes-based contractor, W.E. Chivers & Sons, for £1,500 on the understanding that they would be responsible for their demolition and removal. In the end, the purchase of the aerodrome site from Crook was not completed until 28th September.

On 5th October 1927, a letter from Squire appeared in The Times (p8) informing readers that "*As a result of your warm support… the first object has now been secured… [T]he demolition of the ex-Government buildings is to be begun this week. The purchasing firm has given a guarantee that the hutments and aerodrome buildings shall be all cleared away within a year.*" It took a lot longer, of course. One problem to be overcome was the small matter of the hangar that had been sold to Wort & Way. Remarkably, it seems that despite the dispute, Cunnington had sold it on to Chivers. The issue was not resolved by

the end of September, and the following January Wort & Way requested £125 from the National Trust to cover the cost of this hangar (letter, 10th January 1928: TNA WORK 14/488).

Meanwhile, demolition proceeded slowly. In September 1928, Lionel Earle wrote to the National Trust pointing out that "*People apparently are very disappointed with the progress of the demolition of the aerodrome. Can anything be done to expedite the contract for demolition?*" (letter, 26th September 1928: TNA WORK 14/488). A reply informed Earle that "*We have recently heard from …Cunnington that the work of demolition is going on very slowly and we are writing to Messrs. Chivers on this matter…*" (letter, 27th September 1928: TNA WORK 14/488). On 30th September, an Office of Works memo noted that "*Messrs Chivers have written explaining that they have had unexpected difficulty in demolishing and disposing of the hangars…*" (memo, 30th October 1928: TNA WORK 14/488).

Figure 18: The northeastern end of the Main Camp in 1930, showing the 'heaps of material' referred to in The Times. Extract from RAF vertical SU1141/15 CCC11828/6338 English Heritage Archives Crawford Collection.

On 27th March 1929 (TNA WORK 14/488), Sir Lionel Earle wrote to a Mr Bristowe, who had apparently complained about the ongoing lack of progress and the general appearance of the site (Fig. 18). Earle told him that "*The unsightly buildings near Stonehenge will soon be removed. The rubbish heap to which you refer is no doubt a dump resulting from the demolition of the war time buildings on the land bought by the National Trust. The contractor has been doing the work more slowly than expected, but*

the site will be cleared before long." Further progress towards 'isolation' was reported in The Times on 4th August 1930 (p7), nearly three years after the sale of the aerodrome site had been completed. "*The latest – and it is almost certainly the last – of the structures south-west of the circle to be removed is a large hangar, formerly one of three, which stood squat and unsightly a few hundred yards beyond the stones. During the past few weeks this has been demolished, and to-day it is reduced to heaps of material which lie on the ground to await a purchaser. As the bricks, timber, and window-frames have to be sold, the debris may not be taken away for months, but, fortunately, the irregular humps are not glaringly obtrusive as they are seen from within Stonehenge, and eventually they will disappear*." As noted earlier, the correspondent also pointed to the remaining "*ugly group of dwellings*", which were still occupied and "*cannot be cleared for another two years*".

The Appeal: what threat?

Throughout the whole process, the focus of the campaign was the desire to 'restore' Stonehenge to what was felt to be an appropriate landscape setting. To achieve this, it was considered necessary to (a) remove the aerodrome buildings and convert the whole site to downland; and (b) ensure that no buildings could be erected within the immediate environs of Stonehenge – a one-mile radius was the most often stated target, along with the less precise 'Stonehenge skyline'. In seeking support for the fund-raising from the public, the 'speculative builder' was often presented as the principal threat to the campaign's aims.

This particular threat was raised, as noted earlier, by BH Cunnington in the letter he wrote to Percy Hurd MP on 10th June 1927 – "*if the land in question falls into the hands of a speculating builder, bungalows & other undesirable buildings will spring up around Stonehenge & simply ruin the place*". In the letter sent by Cunnington and Goddard to The Times a few days later, they claimed that "*…if nothing is done to prevent it…it may fall into the hands of a speculative builder and be laid out as a bungalow town, to the further disfigurement of the surroundings of the most important prehistoric monument of the British Isles*". An Office of Works memo written in the wake of these letters seemed to take the threat seriously, noting that while the pig-farm was "*pretty distressing…a row of 'Stonehenge Villas' or 'Druid Bungalows' would be more discreditable still*" (memo, 17th June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Frank Stevens, in his response to the Office of Works' request for 'discreet enquiries' (see above) suggested that the aerodrome site would be "*just the place to set up some sort of café, where parties large or small could be catered for*" (letter, 18th June 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Referring to the families already occupying some of the aerodrome buildings, Stevens also pointed out disapprovingly the kind of people that housing in such a locality would inevitably attract: "*camp followers and small storekeepers, hawkers &c.*" (ibid.).

The Times' appeal of 5th August continued in a similar fashion. Were it not for the Stonehenge Protection Committee, "*the solemnity which invests this famous*

neighbourhood might be disturbed by the intrusion of the garish 'bungalow town'." Alternatively, with reference to the nearby and recently built Stonehenge Café (see below, Chapter 11), it seemed "*extremely likely that this structure, if no preventive measures be adopted, will be the first of many and…the monoliths will in time be surrounded by all the accessories of a popular holiday resort.*"

Around the same time, Squire wrote in the London Mercury (vol XVI no 94) of the thin end of the wedge represented by the café: "*there seemed no reason why the rest of this wedge should not follow in the form of more cafés, a hotel, stationers' shops, a cinema or anything else that our enterprising corporals of industry might fancy to be potentially lucrative*" (a later but similar piece by Squire added petrol pumps and "*Daffodil and Geisha tea shops*" to this list of modern evils: The Times, 5th October 1927 p8). One of the final appeals, a letter to The Times published on 23rd March 1929 (p10) and signed by Arnold Bennett, Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West and others pleaded for one last effort – less than £2,000 of the £35,000 total was still needed – to protect Stonehenge forever from the threat of "*submergence under the rising tide of bungalows*".

Bungalows, the speculative builder, and other threats to inter-war rural amenity were common spectres in the British rural landscape in the inter-war years. This is not the place to discuss these issues in any detail – here it will suffice to note that in the case of the Stonehenge Aerodrome, these threats were non-existent (though see below). They were raised as a means to attract (a) attention and (b) donations, although some of those involved clearly believed in their plausibility to some extent.

When Cunnington first wrote to Percy Hurd in June 1927, he merely raised the possibility of the site falling into the hands of a speculative developer. The justification for the speed with which the deal with Crook was struck was not to prevent a builder from obtaining the land, but to ensure that the deal was in place before Crook realised that a public appeal to raise funds was imminent. In fact, evidence that the aerodrome had been put up for sale by Crook is rather thin. As noted earlier, the District Valuer had considerable trouble finding out what, if anything, was on the market, while Frank Stevens' response to the Office of Works' request for 'discreet enquiries' suggests that he too was unaware of any plans to sell the site.

The Threat: a postscript

On 28th March 1929 (p15), The Times published a letter from S.H. Hamer, Secretary of the National Trust, announcing that the appeal had finally reached its target. On the same day, an article appeared in the Wiltshire Gazette reminding readers of the part that Cunnington had played in saving Stonehenge. On 6th April (p6), a letter from EH Goddard was printed in The Times pointing out that the success of the Stonehenge Protection Committee was in no small part due to the vital work "*accomplished by a few Wiltshire archaeologists*". The letter is similar enough to the Wiltshire Gazette article to suggest that both stemmed from the same source.

Both letter and article contained a number of claims wildly at odds with the account of events outlined above. Goddard claimed that Cunnington had heard as early as February 1927 that the aerodrome and surrounding land was not just for sale but "*was about to be sold*". Moreover, it was not about to be sold to any speculative builder, but to "*a firm of manufacturers whose intention was to use the great aeroplane hangars as factories*". In addition, they wished "*to build cottages for their employees*" around the hangars. In this version of events, there was "*no time to lose. Captain B.H. Cunnington took immediate action…*", enlisting the aid of various acquaintances to raise the necessary money, whereupon "*the land passed into Captain Cunnington's possession*".

Elsewhere in his letter, Goddard claimed that the asking price had been £8,000 rather than £5,500, and also over-estimated the amount of land in question – he may have confused Cunnington's initial purchase with the subsequent sale of adjoining land. However, the various sources already cited make it clear that Cunnington's original purchase of the aerodrome site was a hurried affair occurring almost wholly in late June and early July 1927, before dragging on due to complications until the end of September. Most puzzling of all, however, is the belated introduction to the saga of an unnamed firm of manufacturers and their plans for factories and cottages on the aerodrome site. If this were true, it seems odd that Goddard and Cunnington would raise the issue of the Stonehenge Aerodrome initially – both publicly and privately – by referring only to a potential threat from speculative builders rather than a genuine threat from industrial and housing development. The same applies to the Office of Works, the National Trust and all others involved – even in unpublished memos, letters, minutes and other notes, no manufacturer is ever mentioned. In the December 1927 issue of Antiquity, OGS Crawford wrote of the "*revelation*", once demolition of the aerodrome buildings was underway, that "*the land would have been acquired for a factory!*" (Crawford 1927, 386), but offers no source for this snippet, let alone why he, as a leading figure in the campaign to 'save' the site, had known nothing of this. The only other piece of supporting evidence comes in a letter sent to Alexander Keiller by George Engleheart in the mid-1930s, when Engleheart was seeking to remind Keiller of the part played by Wiltshire-based archaeologists in the whole affair. As noted earlier, Engleheart "*was lying ill in bed when a note was brought to me from Cunnington*". According to Engleheart, the note stated that "*a commercial firm were about to buy the derelict aerodrome close to Stonehenge and some acres of land in order to build a factory…*" (letter, Engleheart to Keiller, 10th January 1935: AKM 88051523).

Goddard's 1929 version of events does recall something that (nearly) happened not at Stonehenge but at Avebury. On 4th August 1923 (The Times, p5: 'ARCHAEOLOGISTS' ALARM'), plans were reported for "*the great group of stations to be erected by the Marconi Company in connexion with the Imperial Wireless chain*". The Marconi Company chose Avebury, with a representative of the company offering some brief details: "*the erection of a large number of masts, 800 feet high, and a certain number of buildings. It is stated that a number of houses for the accommodation of the staff are also to be built on the outskirts of Avebury, and at two of the adjoining villages, Winterbourne*

Monkton and Berwick Bassett". He added that "*there was no reason why the wireless stations should interfere in the slightest with the archaeological remains*", adding "*We are neither Goths nor Huns*" – in other words, they would be careful not to build anything on top of a known archaeological site. Protests by archaeologists and others inevitably ensued, Alexander Keiller purchased Windmill Hill (presumably the intended location for some of the masts), and ultimately the scheme was dropped.

There were, however, two archaeologists who did not object to this scheme – EH Goddard and BH Cunnington. In a letter to The Times published on 17th August 1923 (p13), they explained that "*The Marconi Company expect to acquire some ten thousand acres in the neighbourhood both to the north and south of Avebury, an area enclosing many remains of great archaeological interest and value, including Windmill Hill and the Long Barrows at East and West Kennett. The nearest mast to Avebury that it is proposed to erect will be over half a mile distant from the village and Circle – there will be no other construction of any kind nearer than that – and the erection of dwelling-houses anywhere in the neighbourhood is not contemplated*". They went on to describe a meeting held at Devizes on 15th August involving a committee of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society at which "*plans of the positions of the masts, huts, &c, to be erected were on view, the whole question of the proposed station from an archaeological point of view was fully discussed, and a sub-committee, consisting of the Rev. E.H. Goddard, hon. secretary, Mr. B. Howard Cunnington, hon. curator, and Mr. A.D. Passmore, was appointed to watch further developments, with powers to act as occasion demands, and the following resolution was passed:*

"The committee of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, whilst deeply regretting that the neighbourhood of Avebury has been chosen as the site of a wireless station, having seen the plans and positions of the masts, &c., as at present proposed, finding that no actual material damage is threatened either to the circle of Avebury or to any other prehistoric remains on the site, and having had in addition received an assurance from the Marconi Company that they will respect the remains within the area, do not see sufficient grounds at present for offering opposition to the scheme".

One interesting postscript on this saga came from AD Passmore, Wiltshire-based archaeologist and antiques dealer, who was named at the Devizes meeting as a member of the sub-committee appointed to keep an eye on things. Passmore wrote into his notebook some brief comments on that meeting, although it is impossible to know how long after the meeting these comments were written – it is worth noting that they were written with posterity in mind: his stated aim for the notebook was to fill it "*with little notes which when completed may find a resting place in some museum where the archaeologists of a future time may peruse it with advantage*" (note dated 9th June 1903, Passmore notebook: Wiltshire Museum, Devizes DZSWS: AA2009.130).

Of the Devizes meeting, he wrote that:

"*Cunnington had seen the Marconi people in town they had thrown dust in his eyes, told him that this was the only suitable place in England (real reason, cheap land) & had stated that if there was no interference they would respect antiquities. So without giving one shot of protest the W.A.S. tamely surrendered. A disgraceful betrayal of their trust. One & one man only fought against it for 1 ½ hours right through the meeting, myself alone, A.D.P.*"

He later added a pencil annotation, connected by an arrow to the comment about throwing dust in Cunnington's eyes, which said "*Champagne lunch*", and beneath that, "*Such nice people*".

Opposition to the scheme, and to the Wiltshire Archaeological Society's adopted position, was plentiful, vociferous and international. While many of those protests drew attention to the impact that the scheme would have on the setting of Avebury, and drew direct comparison with the situation at Stonehenge, Cunnington and Goddard concentrated on the physical integrity of the upstanding monuments. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that their subsequent concern with the setting of Stonehenge – and their desire to do something about it – was stimulated in part by the considerable opposition to their earlier stance at Avebury.

CHAPTER 9: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE AERODROME

The goal of the Stonehenge Protection Committee, and the ultimate aim of the Stonehenge Appeal, was to return the site to an appropriate landscape setting for the monument, which generally meant the pastoral setting, stripped of all modern intrusions, that was presumed to be the 'natural' state of the chalk downlands. Contemporary ideas were summarised by Frank Stevens in his guide to Stonehenge, first published in 1916 and the 'official' guide to the monument until after the Second World War. Stevens (1916, 8) wrote of "*a vision of rolling downs a short, crisp, elastic turf dotted with flocks, and broken here and there by some crested earthwork or barrow, which rears itself from the undulating Down, and breaks the skyline with its sharp outline*", a setting which he accepted could prompt a sense of disappointment on first viewing: "*the circle appears so much smaller than it really is*", the cause being "*its isolated situation. Its proportions are dwarfed by the wide expanse of the downland which surrounds it. The feeling of disappointment, however, gradually gives place to one of wonder, as the stones are approached more closely, and their bulk is seen in true proportion*" (Stevens 1916, 12). Restoring Stonehenge to something approaching its perceived prehistoric setting would require the removal of certain modern intrusions and distractions within the landscape, chief among them being the buildings belonging to the Aerodrome's Main Camp.

The process of separating Stonehenge from the present is discussed later. In this chapter, the main concern is the aerial photographic evidence for the removal of the aerodrome buildings, and for their continuing survival as sub-surface features. While most of the surviving documentary evidence focuses on the Main Camp, the disappearance of the Night Camp is also documented here. As with previous chapters, the main focus is on the period down to the Second World War.

There is reasonable, though far from perfect, aerial photographic coverage of the Main Camp from 1921 through to circa 1930. The available images comprise both verticals and obliques, with most of the verticals being individual prints, plates or negatives rather than overlapping stereo pairs, something that reflects both RAF training practice during this period as well as the apparent collecting habits of OG S Crawford during his time as the Ordnance Survey's Archaeological Officer – these early images derive mainly from English Heritage's Crawford Collection, which for the inter-war period mainly comprises photographs selected by Crawford from prints and negatives seen at, or requested from, various RAF bases, supplemented from around 1933 onwards with aerial photographs taken by George Allen.

Complete coverage of the Aerodrome, including both the Main Camp and the Night Camp, is provided by the sets of survey verticals dating from the 1940s onwards. Taken as part of lengthy runs of overlapping images with automated cameras, they provide stereoscopic cover from the Second World War (RAF and USAAF) through to the 1990s (Fairey Surveys, Hunting Surveys, Ordnance Survey etc). The post-war vertical cover is supplemented by archaeological reconnaissance photography, generally oblique,

taken mainly by RCHME and English Heritage aerial photographers, as well as by the Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography (CUCAP) which, for the period covered here, were primarily the work of JK St Joseph. For the 21st century, additional online sources include the vertical imagery provided by Google Earth and others.

The aim of this section is not to provide a comprehensive illustrated narrative detailing the later history of the Aerodrome site, but to use some selected images to highlight the process of transformation from a dense cluster of buildings and associated structures to the uneven pasture and arable visible today – from extant, functioning buildings to earthworks, soilmarks and cropmarks. The lengthy saga surrounding the removal of the Aerodrome buildings has already been described, so it is not surprising to see structures remaining into the 1930s. What may be more surprising is the continued above-ground survival of parts of the Aerodrome as earthworks, something recently confirmed by both archaeological survey and laser scanning (Field and Pearson 2011)

The Main Camp

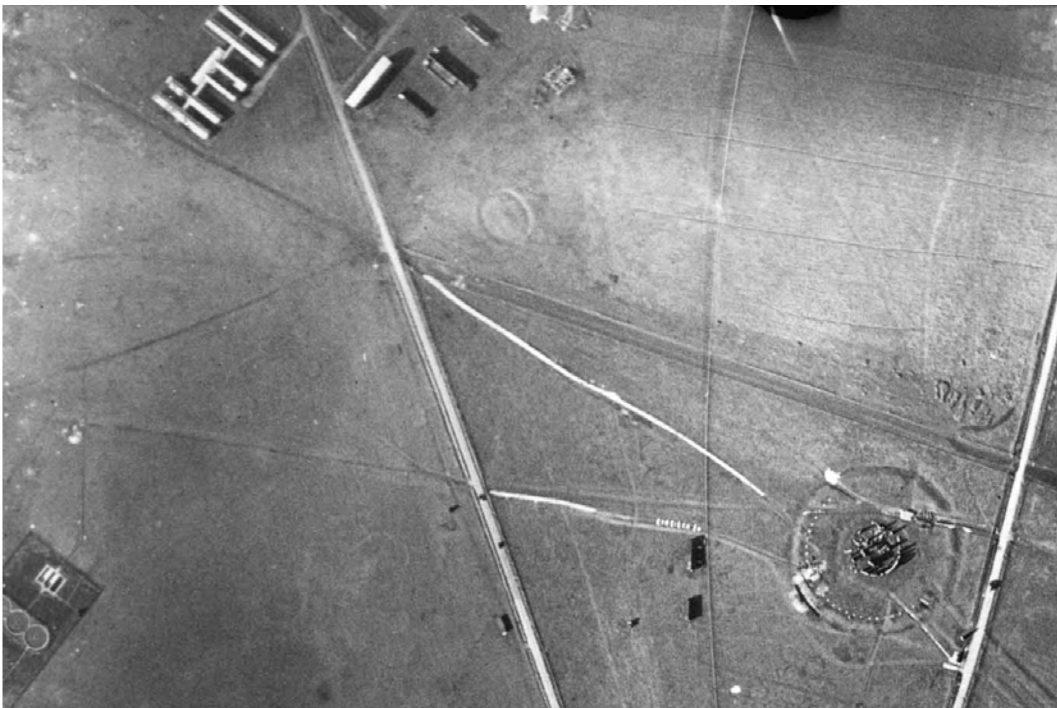
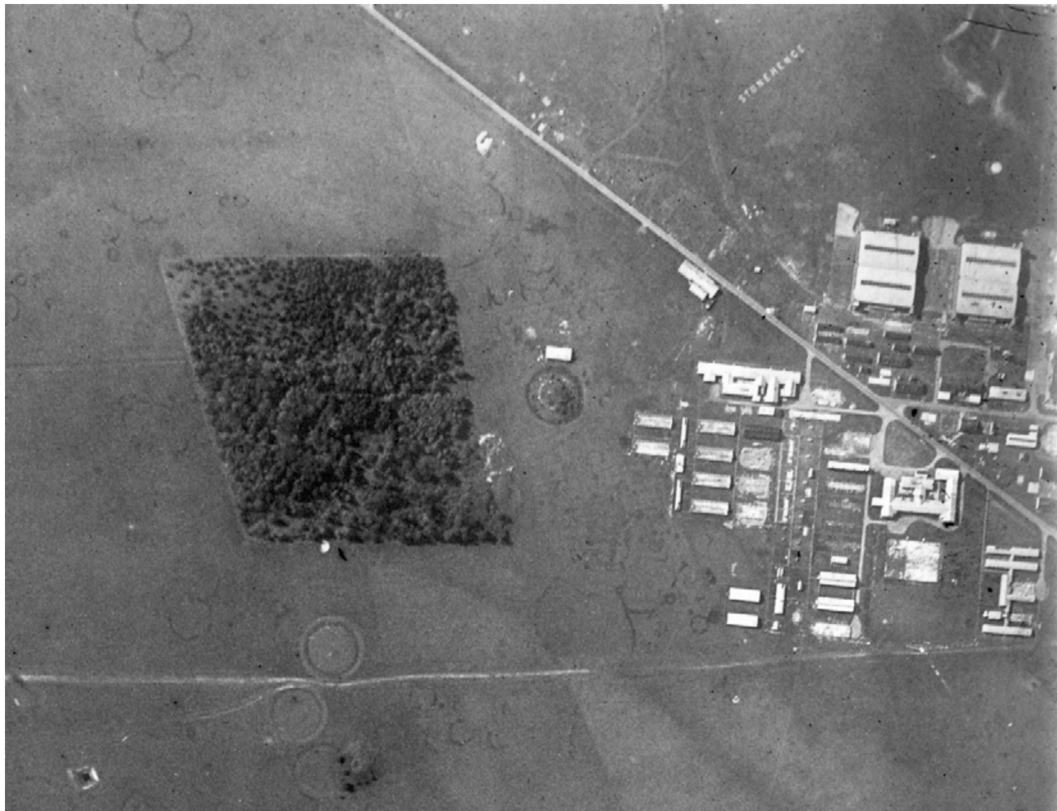


Figure 19: Extract from Fig. 17, showing Stonehenge and the closest aerodrome buildings. The last day of the auction, a few buildings are caught within this image – principally the women's block on the domestic site, south (left) of the A303, and the line of small buildings in advance of the hangars on the technical site. The Camp's sewage facility can be seen bottom left. Note that only one of the barrow group between the aerodrome and Stonehenge is clearly visible on this RAF vertical. SU1242/14 CCC 8651/73 10 February 1922 English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection.

Figure 20: RAF vertical, 24th April 1923 – print from a damaged glass plate showing evident signs of repair, including traces of adhesive tape. 11 months on from the auction, and the process of dismantling at least some of the buildings has clearly begun. The easternmost hangar, far left of centre, has disappeared, presumably removed almost entirely by whoever bought it at the auction, as have a couple of the smaller buildings on the Domestic Site (bottom centre, immediately left of the white strip). A number of the smaller structures within the Technical Site also seem to have been removed. Obviously this is a far from ideal image, but there is little sign of activity. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1141/6 24 April 1923.

Figure 21 (below): Another RAF vertical taken just nine days after Fig. 20, and capturing all but the easternmost sections of Main Camp. This shows the removal of a fair number of buildings on the Domestic Site, south of the A303 which crosses the photograph from top left to bottom right. Note also the structure immediately adjacent to the round barrow Amesbury 15. Traces of former structures, temporary or otherwise, and assorted tracks can also be seen as lighter patches within the grass, especially towards the centre of the photograph, north of the A303. The overhead viewpoint and lack of shadow means that the other round barrows within the aerodrome are very difficult to pick out. As with Fig. 20 there is little indication of any activity on site at this point – compare, for example, with Fig. 22 – which may mean that neither people nor pedigree breeding stock were present yet. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1141/57 CCC 8591/OS/1030 3rd May 1923.



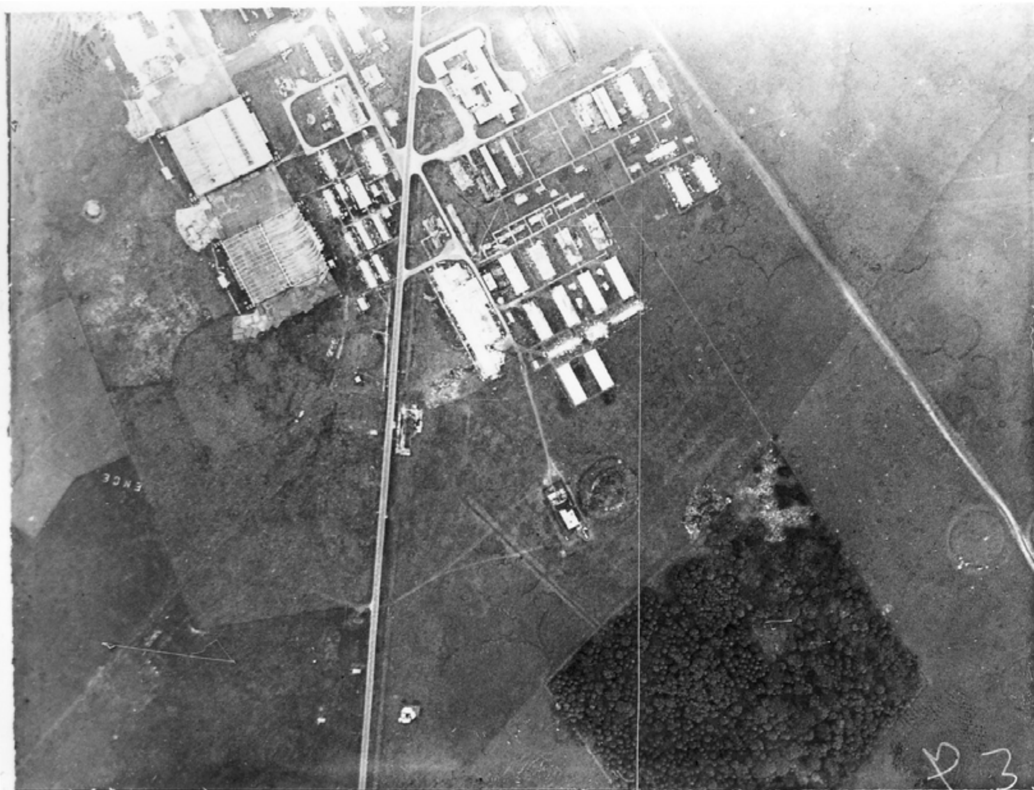


Figure 22 (above): RAF vertical, undated but clearly later than the vertical in Fig. 21. It depicts a situation similar to that shown on the 1924 Ordnance Survey 25" mapping,

although some buildings shown on that map appear to have been either partly or wholly removed by the time the photograph was taken. Note in particular that the Aerodrome's name has been shortened to 'ENGE'. This clearly relates to the change in land-use from aerodrome to stock-breeding, the fence enclosing land adjacent to the hangars cutting through the location of these chalk letters. The arrangement of fences is almost identical to that mapped by the Ordnance Survey, which showed the whole of the Technical Site surrounded on three sides by a fence-line, the fourth side of the enclosed area being the A303. A smaller area behind the southwestern-most hangar (centre-left) is further enclosed by another fence. Within this smaller enclosed area, numerous rectangular features can be seen, with further similar features visible on the hardstanding between this hangar and the next. As this end hangar is clearly missing its roof, these features may well represent building material in the process of removal.

South of the A303 there have also been development since the previous photograph, particularly around barrow Amesbury 15. The structure adjacent to the barrow seems to be in use, with new tracks connecting it both to the Domestic Site's internal road layout, and directly to the A303. The corner of Normanton Gorse also appears heavily disturbed – far more so than in earlier photographs, in which this area is generally clear of vegetation. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1141/5.

Extant aerial coverage of the Main Camp is relatively sparse in subsequent years, despite the number of oblique views taken during Hawley's excavations by the RAF, Aerofilms and others. As far as English Heritage's Crawford Collection is concerned, the next image that incorporates a reasonable view of the Main Camp was not taken until mid-July 1928 (Fig. 23), by which time Hawley's investigations were complete, although there was still some tidying up to be done. The earlier photographs all feature at least one of the barrows located close to the Aerodrome, and this may well be the reason why Crawford collected them. The July 1928 photograph, on the other hand, appears to represent a deliberate attempt to frame Stonehenge with the remaining buildings in the background. Crawford was known to supply RAF bases with lists of sites that he wished to be photographed – perhaps he requested this photograph to use in support of the Stonehenge Appeal?

Figure 23 (below): This RAF oblique view was taken 12th July 1928, around 10 months after Crook had handed the Aerodrome site over to Cunnington and the National Trust. As far as the Technical Site is concerned, only three buildings can be seen standing – a long single storey structure adjacent to the A303, the ARS Shed and, right at the top of the photograph, one of the hangars. Obviously more extant buildings may lie out of shot. What is not clear, of course, is how much of this demolition and removal occurred after the sale, and how much was done by Crook while he was still owner. On the other side of the road, the only structures visible in the photograph are the former Women's Block and the Officers' Mess, but it is unclear from this image whether either (or both) were occupied at the time. Note the line of cars parked immediately outside the entrance to

Stonehenge. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/89 CCC 11796/4519 12 July 1928.

Figure 24 (below): RAF vertical dated only to 1930, showing the eastern end of the Main Camp and the Cursus Barrows, with the A344 running down the centre of the photograph. Two years on from Fig. 23, this view of roughly the same extent of the former Technical and Domestic Sites offers a relatively clear indication of the situation on the ground. On the Technical Site, only the ARS Shed is still standing – this presumably was the structure causing difficulties in terms of both ownership and demolition. The shadow it casts offers a useful indication of its scale compared to other features in the area. Very little of the Domestic Site can be seen, although there still appears to be an extant structure on the site of the Women's Block.

This vertical view appears to show stockpiles of debris, perhaps the result of an orderly approach to demolition and dismantling, but also presumably to aid resale and/or subsequent disposal. It is impossible to tell what efforts, if any, were underway to reinstate any parts of the site, in the sense of making them suitable for agricultural use. There is little sign of building floors being broken up, for example. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1141/15 CCC 11828/6338 1930.

Thirteen years later, a sequence of overlapping USAAF verticals (e.g. Fig. 12) provides a clear view of what happened to the Main Camp site in the years after the handover to the National Trust. Clearly, all the above ground elements of the buildings had been dismantled and removed, but the land had not been 'restored' – the presence of floors, footings and surfaced roads and tracks is clearly evident, although all appear to have been grassed over. The photograph shows a mixture of arable and pasture – notwithstanding the promises made at the time of Appeal, some of the farmland acquired by the National Trust continued in arable use (notably the area between the Cursus and the A344), while other areas were converted during the Second World War.

Nearly two years later, RAF vertical cover (Fig. 25) shows that some of the surfaces concealed by vegetation in 1943 were now exposed. Perhaps this is due to the use of the site for pasture? Both the areas of the buildings and the former landing ground feature numerous animals, their presence presumably being the reason for some of the more irregular trails among the debris as well. A similar situation is still evident on RAF verticals taken a decade later (Fig. 26), but by the1970s the area of the Main Camp's domestic site, south of the A303, was under the plough, the location of the former buildings and other structures clearly visible as soil marks. During subsequent decades, the remainder of the Main Camp itself came increasingly under the plough. Thus in 2001(Fig. 27), only the area within the Stonehenge Triangle itself remained under grass, although by 2010 the entire site of the Main Camp and former landing ground (as well as the Night Camp) had been returned to pasture (Fig. 28). Beyond Normanton Gorse and the former Aerodrome

boundary, however, as the February 2010 oblique makes clear, pigs had once more returned to this landscape.

Figure 25: Extract from RAF vertical taken in October 1945, indicating that the floors of some of the buildings at least were still in situ beneath the turf. Presumably the same applied to the surfaces of the roads within the Camp. Other notable features include what looks like a succession of sheep pens between the Aerodrome site and Stonehenge, approached by a curving track heading north from the A303. Extreme top, right of centre, the surface of the Stonehenge Car Park is highly visible, and empty. At the bottom of the photograph, the Normanton Down barrow group stretches from left to right across the frame, in the process changing from earthworks to more ghost-like soil- and cropmarks. English Heritage Archive RAF Photography RAF 106G/UK/915/3203 11 October 1945.

Figure 26: Extract from an RAF vertical taken in October 1955 showing a situation broadly similar to that of ten years earlier, although the pennings have gone, and Normanton Gorse's vegetation has recovered considerably from its denuded wartime state. The Aerodrome site remains outside the areas being used for arable agriculture. The impact of cultivation on some of the Normanton Down barrows is beginning to become apparent – the previous summer, the farmer had been prosecuted for ploughing across some of the scheduled barrows in the group. The prosecution failed after Paul Baillie Reynolds, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, told the court that "no serious damage has been done to the barrows" as the barrows concerned were among those with little above-ground earthwork survival (The Times, 7th July 1954, p5). English Heritage Archive RAF Photography V/82/RAF/1297/0123 2 October 1955.

Figure 27 (below): Oblique view from February 2001 showing almost the entire area of the Main Camp under the plough, traces of the former buildings now visible only as cropmarks and soilmarks. The area of grass at top centre forms part of the Stonehenge 'Triangle', the area in Guardianship. Otherwise only the extant prehistoric earthworks –

the barrows – have been protected from the plough. English Heritage Archive NMR 21171/02 25 February 2001.

Figure 28 (above): Oblique view taken in January 2010, showing the pig farm west of Normanton Gorse. The predominance of arable in the lower half of the picture now contrasts with the increasing amount of grassland around Stonehenge itself, a process that has continued since this photograph was taken. English Heritage Archive NMR 26548/17 30 January 2010.

The Night Camp

As noted earlier, aerial photographic evidence of the Night Camp area showed evidence for the construction of buildings post-dating the October 1918 Quarterly Survey, and the gradual process of removal of structures after the individual buildings and their contents had been auctioned off. Also as noted previously, the Night Camp barely featured in the documentation and debate surrounding the Aerodrome, which was mainly concerned with the fate of the Main Camp. Tucked away (for the most part) behind Fargo Plantation, once the hangars had gone the visual impact of the remaining Night Camp buildings seems to have been of little concern – even Cunnington made only passing reference (in a 1927 leaflet publicising the Appeal: copy in TNA WORK 14/488) to the presence of "*derelict concrete buildings*".

Figure 29: Extract from RAF vertical Fig. 16 showing World War Two activity west of Fargo Plantation, on the site of the former Night Camp.

Unfortunately, the available aerial photographic record for the Night Camp area is largely a blank until the Second World War, although it is hoped that some views will materialise. The RAF and USAAF images of the 1940s show that by 1943 (Fig. 11), the buildings had not entirely disappeared – the concrete footings and/or floors of the buildings extant on

the 1923 photos are still there, although their visibility was greater in October 1945 (e.g. Fig. 29) than December 1943 – perhaps some effort had been made to reduce their visibility from the air during the war. There are also signs that the area was in use during the Second World War, although the nature and function of the structures visible is currently uncertain.

The December 1943 verticals show the presence of a rectangular celled structure, comprising two rows of roughly square earthwork-defined enclosures, each containing a pit or hole dug onto the chalk each of these surrounded with spoil showing varying degrees of whiteness (and thus, presumably, of freshness). The whole complex is surrounded by a curvilinear banked track which has direct access from the A344.

The other notable feature of this area is the presence of what appear to be the sites of several explosions – perhaps shell holes – each taking the form of a central (dark) hole surrounded by chalky spoil radiating out in all directions. There are two clusters towards the top of Fig 11, for example, as well as other isolated cases, including a pair within the area of hangar footings south of the road. Two or three at the northern extent of the site are actually on the line of the path, suggesting that in this area at least, it was no longer in use.

Two years later, little seems to have changed, although the spoil around the presumed shell holes visible in 1943 has a more weathered, compact appearance – note the contrast with the examples at the very top of the photograph, which post-date USAAF photograph. Additional, similar, shell holes have also appeared since the1943 verticals in other parts of the site. The remains of the buildings are also more visible in October 1945, most notably the large building in the southeast corner of the complex, adjacent to the round barrow 'Monarch of the Plain', which also has a linear group of what appear to be slight mounds or structures along its western side, an area that is again empty in the earlier verticals. It is also noteworthy that a path entering Fargo Plantation from the A344 and crossing over the top of the barrow appears to be at least as well used as the one that runs past the barrow's western side.

South of the road, the traces of the First World War hangars can be seen. In the December 1943 USAAF vertical, the site of the Handley Page hangar is surrounded by a dark line suggesting that it has or had been enclosed or fenced off. However, on the eastern and southern sides the ploughing ignores the presence of this line, suggesting that no barrier existed on the ground at this time.

The 1943 and 1945 verticals also highlight the extent to which the Cursus terminal was being encroached upon during the Second World War. This encroachment continued after 1945, as is evident from the observations of archaeologists who undertook fieldwork in and around the Cursus. In 1947, JFS Stone remarked that "The western end [of the cursus], which lies just outside the western edge of Fargo Plantation, has suffered from the erection during the 1914-18 war, and subsequent demolition, of buildings in the immediate vicinity; and a more recent pig farm upon it has not improved matters" (Stone

1947, 9). By the early 1960s, the pig farm had apparently gone, Christie (1963) reporting that the area was "now used mostly for crops and grazing".

Aerial photographs from the mid-1950s (Cambridge University (CUCAP) collection – e.g. CAP/8154/33, 22 April 1954) appear to show that the whole of the area of the former Night Camp was under the plough by this time with the exception of the areas containing the floors and footings of the former Night Camp buildings. The celled structure evident in the 1943 and 1945 verticals had, however, been levelled and was under the plough. The 1954 CUCAP obliques show that post-war, a cottage had appeared on the site as well as some other, smaller structures including what appears to be a corrugated hut amidst the bushes to the west. Presumably this unploughed area was home to the pig farm mentioned by Stone. Fargo Plantation was still largely devoid of trees at this point save for the area nearest the A344 and the area within the cursus.

Figure 30: Extract from a 1978 RCHME reconnaissance oblique, showing most of the Night Camp area under arable. English Heritage NMR 1352/242 11 October 1978.

By 1978, the cottage and other structures had gone, and the area occupied by these and the presumed pig farm was also being ploughed (Fig. 30). North of the A344, only the area immediately adjacent to the barrow 'Monarch of the Plain' remained out of cultivation. Likewise on the other side of the road, the location of the two former World War 1 hangars remained unploughed, and a building had appeared on the site of the more westerly of the two.

Figure 31: Oblique view looking east with the former Night Camp site in the immediate foreground. Stonehenge itself is just right of centre. English Heritage NMR 18664/10 9 January 2000.

In January 2000, the situation was broadly the same (Fig. 31) – only the cursus remained out of arable, although the building on the hangar site had gone. However, again since the turn of the millennium, the balance between arable and pasture has continued to shift in favour of the latter (Fig. 32).

Figure 32: The site of the Night Camp (and beyond) in December 2012, showing the general retreat of arable agriculture in the immediate environs of Stonehenge. A small portion of the now largely levelled field system is visible as soilmarks towards bottom left. English Heritage Archive 27569/027 10 December 2012.

CHAPTER 10: DID THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS – OR ANYONE ELSE – *REALLY* WANT TO KNOCK DOWN STONEHENGE?

For many years, the standard reference work on Stonehenge was Professor Richard Atkinson's book 'Stonehenge', first published in 1956 during the excavation and restoration work that he undertook with Stuart Piggott and JFS Stone during the 1950s and early 1960s. Until the mid-1990s, it was the principal published source for information about the discoveries of those years, and the place to go for Atkinson's explanation of his phasing of the monument's construction and history. The book also appears to have been the first occasion on which the following story appeared in print:

"*It may be noted in passing that towards the end of the Great War an aerodrome was constructed immediately south-west of Stonehenge. It is said that the authorities concerned demanded, in all seriousness, that the monument should be demolished, as its stones constituted a dangerous hazard to low-flying aircraft*" (Atkinson 1956, 195).

In the half-century or so since, the story has been repeated many times, both in the archaeological literature and in books dealing with military history, but with the precise detail and degree of scepticism varying from author to author. Some seem to assume that the story is essentially true – for example, Balfour (1983, 176-7) wrote that "*…the Bomb Squadron, who had their new runways and building just to the south-west, had twice demanded the destruction of the stones because they were a potential air hazard.*" Cresswell (1996, 74) claimed that the RFC "*requested the demolition of Stonehenge as it was a danger to low-flying aircraft*". Souden (1997) stated that "*In the Great War, the Air Ministry even wanted Stonehenge demolished as a danger to low-flying aircraft: wiser heads prevailed*". Priddle (2003, 300) suggested that it was "*the CO of Stonehenge Aerodrome* [who] *once requested that Stonehenge itself be removed as it was a hazard to flying.*"

Others seem to doubt that any official request was made, but presume that some expressed desire to be rid of the stones, whether informal discussion or wishful thinking during the war, lies at the root of the story. In his '*Stonehenge Complete*', Christopher Chippindale (2004, 175) noted the "*persistent rumour…that the military wanted to have Stonehenge torn down*" as it represented "*an impediment to low-flying aircraft.*" In a footnote, Chippindale, who was – unsurprisingly – unable to find any formal evidence to support the story, suggested instead that "*I guess it was talked about in the mess, and perhaps towards the end of a social evening began to seem a serious proposition. If it ever was formally proposed, it did not get very far*" (Chippindale 2004, 300). TS Crawford (1999, 61) repeated the story of the desire for demolition, but added that "*One wonders what, if any, official backing there was to this idea which, one suspects, was merely the fervent wish of trainee pilots as they took off from, and landed at, the airfield in very cumbersome aircraft*".

Still more opt to repeat the story in a way that implies doubt about its credibility but without rejecting it completely. This usually involves a variant of Atkinson's "*it is said…*" approach to introducing the tale, such as "*according to rumours…*" (Richards 2004, 35), or following the tale with a "*perhaps more credible one*" (Richards 2007, 98, in which the more credible story involves pilots attempting to skim the top of Stonehenge's lintels with their landing wheels).

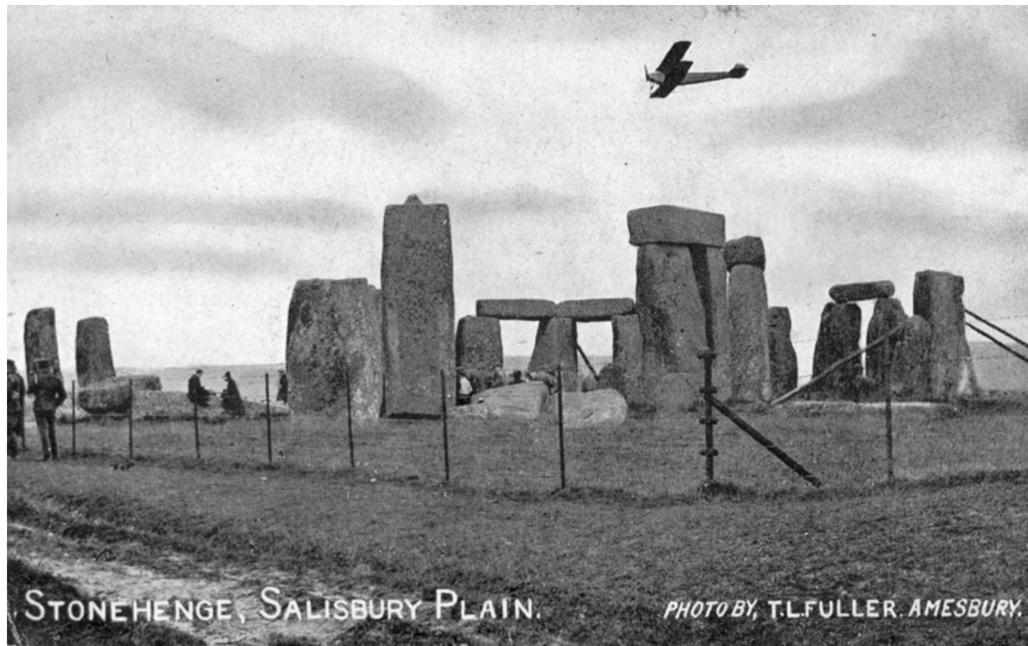


Figure 33: One of a number of postcards produced by Fuller of Amesbury during the war juxtaposing the ancient stones with modern flying machines. The latter were generally taken from the pages of aviation magazines, which explains why the people in this photograph seem unconcerned by the presence of the biplane.

Finally, there are those who relate the story without any comment or judgment, implied or otherwise, at all. A good recent example is the variant offered by Alexander Frater, apparently told to him by a "*man with a long bony nose and a mane of white hair*" who claimed his grandfather had been "*a pilot with the Royal Flying Corps who'd been stationed at Stonehenge Aerodrome*". Frater (2011, 235) quotes this unnamed gentleman as saying that the aerodrome "*was owned by a pig farmer and known only for its solstice gap – hangars placed to give views of the midsummer sunrise. The only problem was the stones themselves; they interfered with visibility, so some genius in the War Office proposed dropping bombs on them*".

One thing that all the published variants of the story have in common is that none of them provide a source (including Frater, whose informant is anonymous and unidentifiable). Most versions are essentially similar to each other and, of course, to Atkinson's 1956 version, but in the absence of sources, the differences are harder to explain. The account that seems to offer the most detail – Frater's – is, because of that

detail the easiest to dismiss, conflating as it does several different elements spread across a couple of decades of flying history – the pre-war sun-gap at Larkhill, the post-war pig-farming – while the suggestion that the stones interfered with visibility suggests a lack of awareness of their actual height.

Chippindale is the only author encountered so far who wrote about his efforts to find evidence to back the story up. He was unable to find any, but preferred to speculate about the possibility of an informal origin in the absence of a documented one, rather than to opt for what seems more obvious – that no request was ever considered or made. If anyone in the Royal Flying Corps, 'Bomb Squadron', RAF, Air Ministry, War Office, etc ever expressed the wish, or made a request, for Stonehenge to be knocked down, then one might expect someone at the time to have mentioned it. The Office of Works were alert to the possibility of military damage to Stonehenge and its surrounding monuments throughout the war – reports of damage to earthworks such as barrows and the cursus, and to Stonehenge itself, were made by locals, by visiting archaeologists, and by serving military officers, and were followed up on the ground by Office of Works staff and by locally-based archaeologists. The Office of Works was concerned about the presence of the aerodrome from a very early stage, and sought its removal as soon as the war ended. Others campaigning for its disappearance referred not just to the damage that the aerodrome was doing to the skyline, but mentioned the potential harm that the ongoing military presence could do to Stonehenge and surrounding monuments. Indeed, Colonel Hawley, the man who was to lead the post-war excavations at Stonehenge, was appointed in 1918 with the joint agreement of the military authorities, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Office of Works, to keep an eye on archaeological monuments on Salisbury Plain to ensure that no damage, inadvertent or otherwise, was caused by the military. If a request, serious or otherwise, to knock down Stonehenge (or bomb it) had been made, then surely one of the many individuals or organisations who wished to be rid of the aerodrome might have mentioned it at the time. There is nothing in the press coverage, or the relevant Office of Works, War Office or Air Ministry files to suggest that such a request was ever aired, let alone made. Obviously there is an inherent difficulty in proving that something didn't happen – not everything was archived, and even the most scrupulous of civil servants, government officials, archaeologists etc tend not to spend time documenting things that didn't occur – but the complete absence of any contemporary or near-contemporary reference to this story must constitute reasonable circumstantial evidence at the very least.

That the story may have originated in more informal, humorous circumstances among airmen is possible, although so far only one such joking reference is known. In his diary, after arriving at Stonehenge Aerodrome in December 1917, 2nd Lt F.S. Briggs RFC wrote:

"*Arrived at Stonehenge today with a corporal and six men. What a bleak hole! The aerodrome is just a bit of open plain, no hangars, no nothing. At sometime or another somebody has set up a bloody big heap of massive stones likely to prove obstructions on*

the edge of the drome. A native of 'ere parts tells me that the locality is named after then. What offers!..." (Tim Brown, pers comm., 15 April 2013).

However, no other diaries or letters seen to date repeat the joke. In fact, in his account of his stint at Stonehenge in 1918, PE Butcher (1971, 74) mentioned that some of the larger barrows were more of a problem for landing aeroplanes. Stonehenge was, of course, some distance from the main landing ground.

The risk of the stones being knocked down may have circulated locally as a joke, but it was raised in all seriousness by opponents of the military presence on Salisbury Plain in general and at Stonehenge in particular. The possibility – opportunity – of destruction was raised by a correspondent of The Times, who wrote of "*the end of the old stones*" (27th August 1918 (p9)) – "*As we looked, a big aeroplane came swooping down on to them, mocking their immobility with its movement, hinting at the unseen death which could blow tem all to dust*". A decade later, Clough Williams-Ellis (1928, 130), writing of the "*scandal*" that allowed the construction of "*the hangars and all their sprawling appurtenances within a few hundred yards of what should be the most hallowed stones in England*", suggested that "*our late enemies having declined our military invitation to obliterate the circle with their bombs, an offensive pink bungalow is being completed hard by that, with the outrageous café adjoining, makes one almost pray for a destructive air raid*". He continued "*As it is now, Stonehenge is intolerable, and by no means to be visited save by blind archaeologists. Hemmed in by iron railings, guarded by a turnstile and a post-card kiosk, glowered at by the café and bungalow, this sacred place is indeed painful beyond bearing. If it were an even chance that a hostile air raid would destroy the circle or, alternatively, obliterate the parasitic growths about it, there are probably those who would favour the place being well and truly bombed*".

More pertinent, however, are comments made in the wake of the Stonehenge Appeal by those who felt that sprawling appurtenances could be dealt with by less violent means than Williams-Ellis proposed, but that this would not deal with all problems. The wider context of this debate, which led to the 1931 Ancient Monuments Act, surrounded the fact that the activities and requirements of Government departments and the military seemed to present a major and ongoing threat to the preservation and general well-being of both ancient monuments and beauty spots (Lulworth Cove, for example, was a notable contemporary cause celebre), and that existing legislation was inadequate to safeguard these places. The belief was that there was nothing to stop the demolition of Stonehenge if the War Office, for example, decided that it was interfering with military needs. For example, in the early stages of the Stonehenge Appeal, George Engleheart wrote (8th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488) to Kenworthy complaining that "*The War Office – with who, and with successive Commanders-in-Chief on the Plain I have had many encounters – has destroyed some 40 barrows and earthworks at least during the occupancy, and would no doubt clear away Stonehenge if it thought it in the way*".

Similar concerns were also voiced publicly. In a letter to The Times (13th November 1930, p10) following the announcement of the new Ancient Monuments Bill, the archaeologist J Reid Moir wrote that:

"*Mr Lansbury stated at the meeting held in the House of Commons that the proposed Ancient Monuments Bill will aim at the removal of some of the obscurities and defects in the existing Act. In my opinion one of the chief defects in the latter is the possibility it allows of any Government Department invading a scheduled area and of doing what it likes with it. It is not so long ago that the Forestry Commission had no scruples in planting trees over that portion of the land, adjoining the ancient flint mines at Grime's Graves, which had been scheduled as an ancient monument. As far as I know this power of invasion by Government Departments of such places still exists; but it is, of course, preposterous and should be taken away. To mention an extreme and I doubt not unlikely possibility, if the War Office, for some reason or another, decided to remove Stonehenge, I do not believe that anything but public indignation could prevent such an outrage. If the proposed Ancient Monuments Bill does not put an end to such possibilities it will surely fail in one of its main purposes*".

The story of the desire to knock down Stonehenge is itself part of a longer history of destruction myths, including later 19th century concerns that the monument (or parts of it) were on the verge of falling down, and the early 20th century belief that Sir Edmund Antrobus (4th Baronet) was looking to sell the site to a wealthy American who wanted to transport the stones across the Atlantic for re-erection somewhere in the United States, as well as the alleged threat, described above, of encroaching suburbia during the inter-war years. The fear of Stonehenge falling down by itself was particularly prominent during the last few decades of the 19th century, and was mainly raised in the context of contemporary debates concerning access, ownership and restoration. In more recent times these stories – and the one about the RFC wanting to knock the stones down – serve to support a narrative that depicts Stonehenge as under threat until it passed into state hands.

The RFC story differs from the others in a number of key respects though. Apart from its longevity, perhaps the most distinctive aspect is the fact that while the others represented contemporary concerns, this particular tale did not emerge until some time after the period it refers to. Nonetheless, it is always presented as part of the story of Stonehenge in the First World War. Many of the elaborations or differences in detail reflect assumptions about how military flying worked in 1917-18, or conflate different episodes into a single anecdote. In many respects, the story's origins and development conform quite well with discussions of 'urban myths' or 'contemporary legends' (see for example Bowie 2006, 296-8; Dégh 2001, 90-92).

CHAPTER 11 – FREEING THE CIRCLE

"There have been ambitious schemes to resite the visitor facilities to attempt to restore some tranquillity to the site… There is one school of thought that says this is merely another chapter in the long history of Stonehenge and that cleaning up the landscape would be just another form of inauthenticity" – Patefield 2009, 47.

Beginning in the later 19th century, an emerging professional and scientific archaeology sought to replace the speculations of earlier generations of antiquarians with new understandings of Stonehenge and its surroundings, rooted principally in the analysis of 'facts' recovered from the ground by excavation. At the same time, both monument and landscape began to undergo considerable transformation – stones were straightened and set in concrete, earthworks were enhanced for the paying visitor, and the first calls were made to provide this new Stonehenge with a more appropriate backdrop.

Figure 34: Stonehenge post-excavation and restoration, but pre-car park. Hawley's huts, pits and latrine are bottom left, while in the distance, the Cursus Barrows lie within extensive arable. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/1 CCC 8850/4522 12 July 1928.

Over the last century or so the actual contours of the landscape have changed little, but a complex and shifting mosaic of land use reflecting the combined and, at times, conflicting needs of agriculture, the military and heritage has altered its appearance considerably (Fig. 34). Much that has happened is the result of changing perceptions about how to achieve a setting worthy of the monument, something closely entwined with ideas about how it should be experienced by visitors.

The belief that Stonehenge's impact was "*lost and the spell broken unless it stands in solitary grandeur dominating the bare plain*" (Office of Works memo, 19 November 1936: WORK 14/837) has been at the heart of efforts to manage this landscape since Stonehenge entered public hands in 1918. However, this desire to turn the clock back to a particular vision, or version, of the past has always had to accommodate modern needs, and has itself been shaped by shifting perceptions of that past. The expansive pastoral idyll envisaged in the appeal literature never materialised, and only in the late 20th century was the arable closest to Stonehenge converted to pasture.

As noted earlier, in the first (1916) edition of *Stonehenge Yesterday and Today*, Frank Stevens had offered a "*vision of rolling downs, a short, crisp, elastic turf dotted with flocks…*" (1916, 8), but with Stonehenge itself "*dwarfed by the wide expanse of downland which surrounds it*" (ibid., 12). In subsequent editions, Stevens complained that Stonehenge was now dwarfed by the "*recent erections of the Great War*" (Stevens 1929, 9), the grandeur of the Downs themselves now obscured by the immensity of the concrete, metal and timber constructions of the military. Much was made by contemporaries of this unwanted juxtaposition of ancient and modern, as well as the apparent contrast between the endurance of Stonehenge and the transience of the aerodrome, particularly as the latter was gradually abandoned and its buildings began to decay, ironically at the same time as Stonehenge's sarsens were being shored and secured using reinforced concrete, metal and timber. The last thing anyone wanted, it seemed, was a ruin in this landscape.

The idea that Stonehenge 'belonged' to a landscape of rolling downland pasture, populated solely by sheep, barrows and the odd shepherd was rooted in a longstanding acceptance of the timeless nature of that setting, "*untouched, unploughed, centuries old*", solemn and silent (Jefferies 2006 [1885], 161-6). The Stonehenge Appeal of 1927 had at its core an insistence that the landscape around Stonehenge should be 'restored' to this particular pastoral vision, one that emphasized peace and solitude, and isolation from the intrusions of modern life. Stonehenge belonged in the past.

This idealized and romanticized setting had little to do with what was known of the landscape in more recent times. During the 18th and 19th centuries the surroundings of Stonehenge were characterized almost as much by arable as by pasture, but the presence of the former was ignored or glossed over by many contemporary writers and artists, and if acknowledged the plough was disparaged as a recent intruder. With some notable exceptions, such as William Stukeley, the plough was also seen as disruptive rather than

destructive, the damage caused being largely aesthetic – "*a ploughed down is a down made ugly*" (Hudson 1987 [1907], 20). This popular vision of Stonehenge occupying a romanticized natural wilderness – the extensive upland pasture that, it was argued, must have proved so attractive to the first primitive herdsmen to encounter Salisbury Plain (Stevens 1916, 9, 89) – may have been inspired as much by depictions in art (Turner and Constable being perhaps the best known) and literature as by the orthodoxies of early 20th century archaeology (Wickstead 2013). Few visitors will have come to Stonehenge without first having seen some form of illustration or representation of it, and that representation will not have featured cornfields, farm buildings, cottages or cars.

At the same time, of course, the idea that when built, Stonehenge would have occupied an open grassy plain had become entrenched archaeologically, especially in the wake of the geographical approaches being introduced by the likes of OGS Crawford (1921; 1922) and Cyril Fox (1932). Distribution maps confirmed the idea that the earliest agriculturalists occupied chalk downs such as Salisbury Plain, where the thin soils, believed to have been incapable of sustaining dense woodland, offered an ideal habitat for the flocks and crops of the first farmers. In other words, as Stonehenge itself was being returned to something that more closely resembled its prehistoric state, by straightening the leaning stones and re-erecting the fallen ones, and by deepening its ditch, the landscape too was to be restored by removing anything which struck "*an inappropriate note of modernity*" (letter, Raby to Cunnington, 16 December 1934: WORK 14/480).

However, in practice establishing a balance between modernity and prehistory proved difficult to achieve. The restoration work at Stonehenge was aborted after just a handful of sarsens had been straightened, as a gulf began to emerge between the restored monument and the archaeological evidence (Barber 2014). Meanwhile, keeping the 20th century at a distance was equally problematic as visitor numbers increased. Additionally of course the timeless pastoral setting conjured up by the appeal literature didn't transpire. The land purchased as a result of the fund-raising was handed over to the National Trust, who leased much of it back to the farmers who had previously worked it. Much of it, therefore, remained arable.

Getting rid of the aerodrome was the vital first step in transforming the monument's surroundings, but its presence allowed campaigners to point to other distressingly modern intrusions, chief among them being the roadside café built adjacent to the A344 in Stonehenge Bottom in 1927 (Fig. 35). As far as the appeal was concerned, the timing couldn't have been better – the presence of the café was seized upon as an example of what lay in store for Stonehenge if the surrounding downland wasn't placed in safe hands.

As ever, things were not straightforward, and the story of the café (Wickstead et al 2013) highlights some of the difficulties encountered in trying to make the landscape look less modern whilst simultaneously attempting to deal with increasing numbers of visitors. The land on which the café stood had formed part of Countess Farm, sold in March 1917 to Salisbury firm Wort & Way by Sir Cosmo Antrobus with a covenant attached in favour of

whoever owned Stonehenge that no new buildings could be erected within 400 yards of the nearest stone (Office of Works memo, 5th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Just over 400 yards away, adjacent to the Office of Works' own caretakers' cottages (located the other side of the road), and located in Stonehenge Bottom, the site was barely visible from the monument ("*the site is not in any way conspicuous from the direction of Stonehenge*" – District Valuer, Office of Works memo, 5th July 1927: TNA WORK 14/488). Adjacent to the A344, it was also ideally situated to attract traffic en route for Stonehenge.

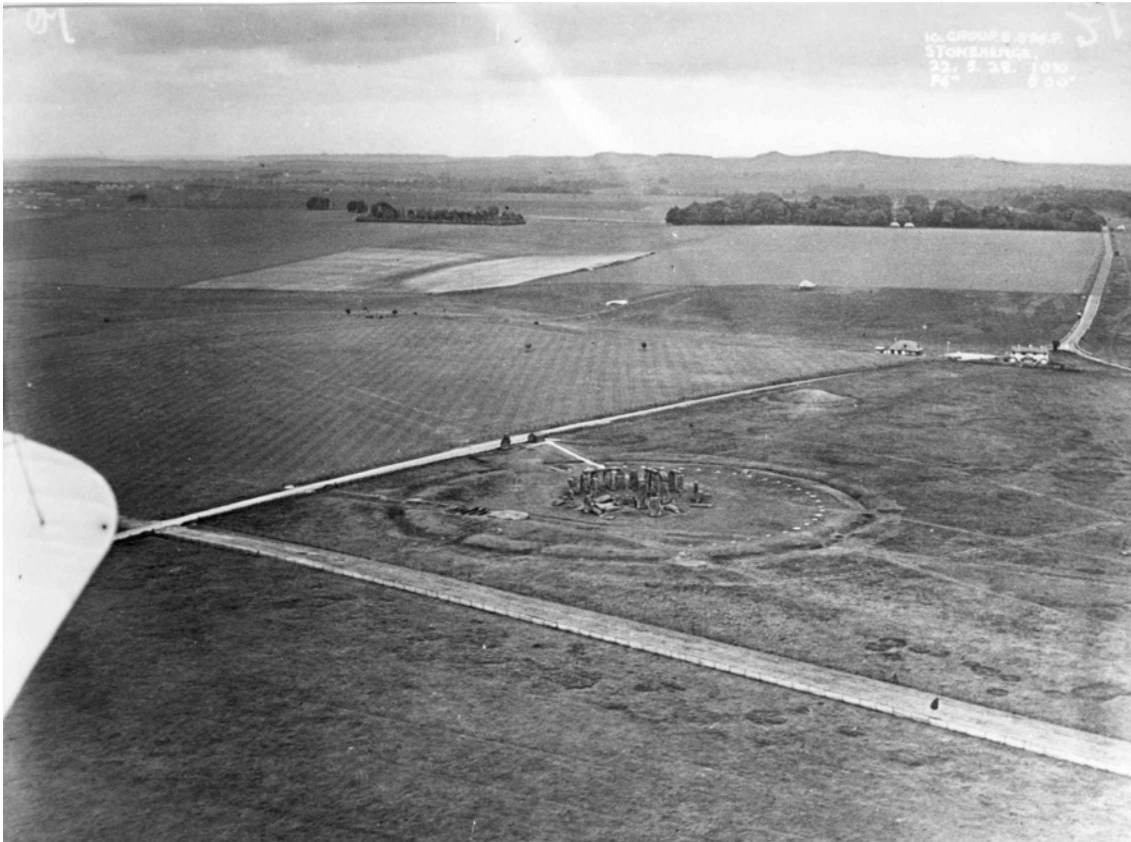


Figure 35: RAF oblique from May 1928 showing the café and custodians' cottages in Stonehenge Bottom. These buildings were largely invisible from Stonehenge itself. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/190 CCC 22 May 1928.

Incidentally, when they bought the café site (and leased it back to the original owners), the National Trust and the Office of Works were unaware of the 400-yard covenant (letter, 17th January 1935: TNA WORK 14/488), despite the fact that its existence was mentioned in the speeches given on the day of the formal handover of Stonehenge by Chubb to the Office of Works (although on that occasion it was stated that the 400 yards was to be measured from the milestone beside the A344 rather than the nearest stone: English Heritage Archives AA071786). That guarantee may also (partly) explain the location of the custodians' cottages – the closest they could be to Stonehenge on state-owned land (Figs. 36, 37).

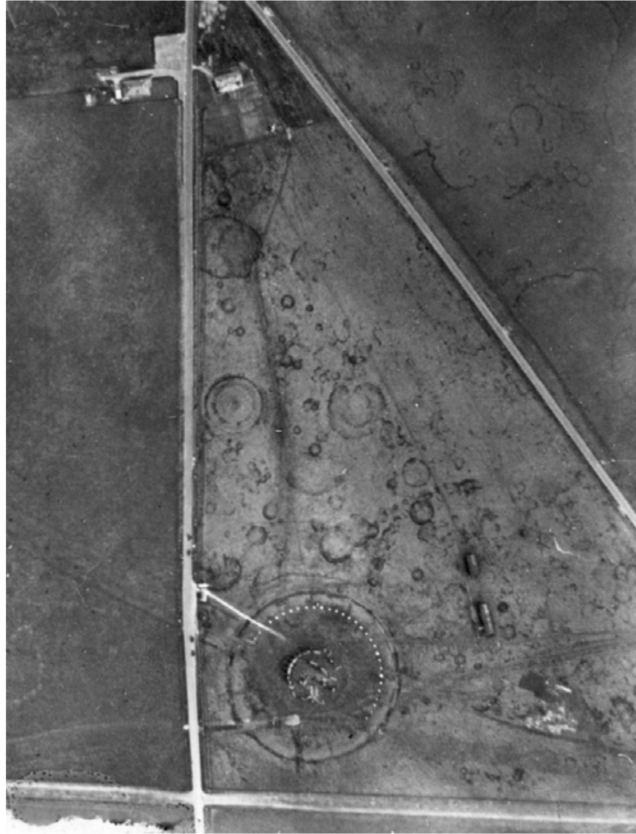


Figure 36: RAF vertical dating to the early 1930s showing the café and custodians' cottages in relation to Stonehenge. Note the off-road parking provided behind for the café's clientele. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/30.

As well as the thin-end-of-the-wedge arguments, objections to the café focused as much on the perceived social and cultural trappings of such places as they did on its location and architecture. However, both the Office of Works and the National Trust noticed that it served a purpose. One of the growing problems at Stonehenge was what to do with the cars – visitors tended to park by the roadside, as close to the monument as possible. In January 1935, Sir Patrick Duff, Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works complained of being "*horrified when I saw Stonehenge several times in the summer holidays almost dwarfed by their char-a-bancs, etc…and at the untidiness and disharmony to which this monument was being subjected*" (letter to GM Young, 15th January 1935, TNA WORK 14/840). Intriguingly, however, as a subsequent Office of Works memo noted, like Stonehenge, "*the Café collects cars*" (23rd April 1935: WORK 14/837).

Commitment to the demolition of the café wavered at times, but by 1934, with the aerodrome buildings demolished and, for the most part, removed, the Office of Works and the National Trust had agreed to a plan that would involve the removal of the caretakers' cottages in Stonehenge Bottom (built in 1918) and the construction of replacements at a more suitable distance from the stones, the demolition of the café, the closure of the road running past the café and Stonehenge (the modern A344), the

provision of a car-park for visitors, and the removal of some particularly unsightly telegraph poles.

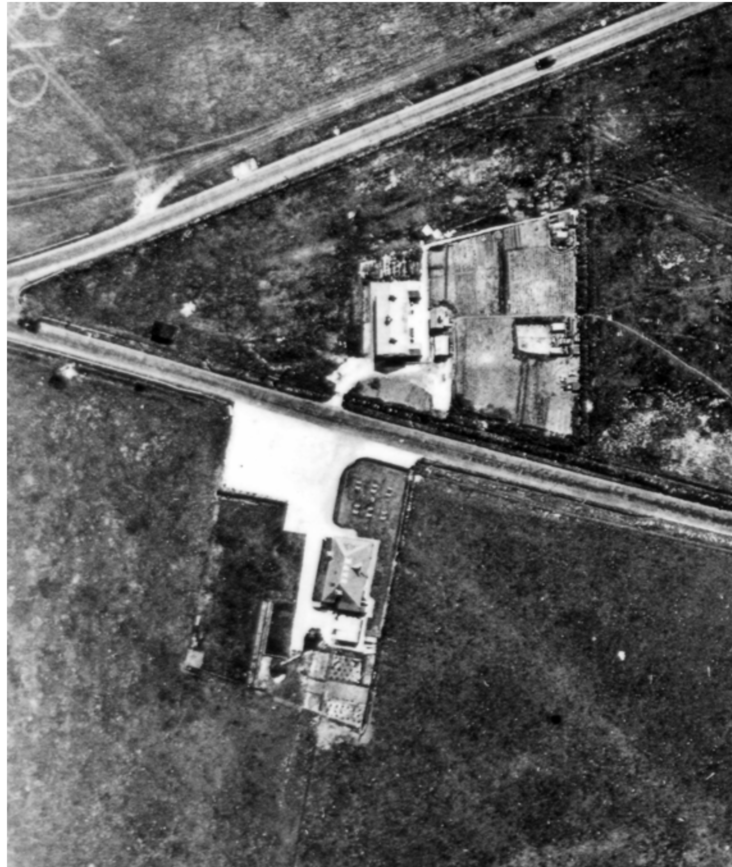


Figure 37: Enlarged extract from an RAF vertical dating to the early 1930s showing the ground plan of both café and custodians' cottages. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/83.

There were, in the end, too many objections to closing the road. Meanwhile, the café may have attracted cars that might otherwise park nearer the monument, but ultimately it was felt that "*To retain a cheap flashy little building like the worst type of bungaloid growth spoils the whole scene and vulgarises unspeakably this world famous and most impressive monument*" (Office of Works memo, 19th November 1936: TNA WORK 14/837). It was "*a conspicuous and architecturally incongruous erection, noticeably detracting from the amenity of the monument*" (letter, Office of Works to National Trust, 25th November 1936: TNA WORK 14/837). Ironically, part of the problem was not its visibility from Stonehenge (Fig. 38) – it was, as already noted, 'inconspicuous' from that direction – but the fact that it was highly visible to visitors approaching, by road, from the direction of Amesbury. It was to protect this view that, as well as removing the café and the cottages, the new car park was to be sited to the northwest of Stonehenge, on lower ground – it was impossible to stop people coming, but at least their cars could be placed out of sight of the stones themselves, and of visitors from the favoured direction: "*as you come up*

the road from Amesbury you would see the Stones in something like complete isolation" (letter, Raby to BH Cunnington, 16th December 1934; TNA WORK 14/840).

Figure 38: Probably the most familiar view of the café and cottages, taken in the 1930s. In order to enhance the apparent obtrusiveness of these buildings, it was necessary (a) to photograph them from the east rather than from Stonehenge, and (b) to climb up the hill a little distance. A similar approach had been used in the 1920s to highlight the visual impact of the aerodrome buildings. English Heritage Archive fl01500/02/003.

The car park proposals were objected to, of course – it was to be constructed on land bought by the appeal and now belonging to the National Trust; it would be a blot on the landscape to anyone approaching Stonehenge from the west; and its very presence would encourage more visitors (Fig. 39). Meanwhile, a rumour that the car park was to be surfaced with concrete provoked more anger – the use of such a material was "*repellent*", and would contribute to the continued "*vulgarisation of the monument*" (Wiltshire Gazette, 3rd January 1935). However, Sir Patrick Duff sought to assure doubters that the Office of Works was "*keenly anxious…that nothing prejudicial to this wonderful Monument should be done and that our whole aim is to enhance its beauty and dignity by producing a little more seemliness and order in the way that it is approached…*

"The increased use of motors among all classes, whether we like it or not, is going to make places once solitary and remote accessible to crowds; and I am bound to say that I,

personally, feel that the more people that see Stonehenge, and places like that, the better so that they may get some conception of the deep roots of our history and the grandeur of our past, and feel more reverence for England. I do earnestly hope, and I do believe, that the proposals…will, as they remove a little further from Stonehenge the trivial and discordant medley of motor traffic, do something to restore the solemnity and influence of this unique monument" (letter, Duff to BH Cunnington, 31st December 1934: TNA WORK 14/840).

Figure 39: The Stonehenge car park on 8th September 1935, during its first season in use, notably failing to attract all vehicles. English Heritage Archive Crawford Collection SU 1242/71 8 September 1935.

Providing a car park, diverting traffic and removing 'incongruous modernities' would help in "*freeing the Circle of discordant elements [by] moving further away the restless and commonplace current of every day life*" – Stonehenge would be allowed to "*re-assert itself again*" (letter, Office of Works to Marquis of Bath, chairman of Wilts County Council, 20th December 1933: TNA WORK 14/838). The car park was constructed in 1935; the caretakers' cottages and the café were pulled down three years later. Like the aerodrome, these buildings survive in the 21st century landscape as 20th century earthworks (Fig. 40), now being joined as archaeological sites by the A344, the late 1960s visitor centre, and of course the car-park itself, albeit in its expanded early 21st century guise. These recent removals are explained as part of "*the long-held vision of a more*

tranquil, uncluttered setting, worthy of the monument…" (Knowles 2013), of "*physically and intellectually re-uniting Stonehenge with its landscape*", a landscape essentially created in the wake of the aerodrome.

Figure 40: The Stonehenge Café as 75-year old earthworks, adjacent to the A344 which has subsequently also been converted into an earthwork. English Heritage Archive 26554/013 10 December 2012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anon. 1856 *A Handbook for Travellers in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, with a travelling map*. London: John Murray.

Ashworth, C 1990 *Action Stations 5. Military Airfields of the South-West*. Wellingborough: Patrick Stephens Ltd.

Atkinson, RJC 1956 *Stonehenge*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Balfour, M 1983 *Stonehenge and its Mysteries*. London: Hutchinson.

Barber, M 2006 Palaeolithic Contrivance over Stonehenge. *British Archaeology* July/August 2006, 18-23.

Barber, M 2011 *A History of Aerial Photography and Archaeology: Mata Hari's Glass Eye and Other Stories*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Barber, M 2014 *'Restoring' Stonehenge 1881-1939*. English Heritage Research Report Series 6/2014. Portsmouth: English Heritage.

Bax, S, Bowden, M, Komar, A, Newsome, S 2010 *Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads. Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project*. Research Dept. Report Series 107-2010. Portsmouth: English Heritage.

Bond, J 1991 Appendix H: landscape regression analysis; in Darvill, TC (ed) *Stonehenge Conservation and Management Project: environmental statement*, 383-444 (limited circulation printed report: 3 vols). London: Debenham, Chewson and Chinnocks.

Bowden, M, Soutar, S, Field, D, Barber, M forthcoming *The Stonehenge Landscape*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Bowie, F 2006 *The Anthropology of Religion. An Introduction*. (2nd Edition). Oxford: Blackwell.

Brown, TC 2013 *Flying with the Larks. The Early Aviation Pioneers of Lark Hill*. Stroud: The History Press/National Trust.

Butcher, PE 1971 *Skill and Devotion: A personal reminiscence of the famous No. 2 Squadron, Royal Flying Corps*. Radio Modeller Books Division.

Capper, JE 1907 Photographs of Stonehenge as seen from a war balloon. *Archaeologia* 60, 571 and plates 69 & 70.

Chippindale, C 2004 *Stonehenge Complete* (3rd edition). London: Thames & Hudson.

Christie, PM 1963 The Stonehenge Cursus. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 58, 370-82.

Crawford, OGS 1921*Man and his Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crawford, OGS 1922 *The Andover District: an account of Sheet 283 of the One-inch Ordnance Map (small sheet series)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crawford, OGS 1927 Editorial Notes. *Antiquity* vol I no IV, 385-88.

Crawford, OGS. 1955. *Said and Done. Autobiography of an Archaeologist*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Crawford, TS 1999 *Wiltshire and the Great War: Training the Empire's Soldiers*. Reading: DPF Publishing.

Crawford, TS 2012 *Wiltshire and the Great War: Training the Empire's Soldiers*. Ramsbury: The Crowood Press.

Cresswell, T 1996 *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Crutchley, S 2002 *Stonehenge World Heritage Site Mapping Project: Management Report*. Aerial Survey Report Series AER/14/2002. Swindon: English Heritage.

Cunnington, ME 1914 List of the Long Barrows of Wiltshire. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 38, 379-414.

Dégh, L 2001 *Legend and Belief: Dialectics of a Folklore Genre*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Delve 2006 *The Military Airfields of Britain. South-Western England, Channel Islands, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire*. Ramsbury: The Crowood Press.

Dobinson, C and Lake, J forthcoming *Building for Air Power: Britain's Military Airfields, 1905-1945*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Emerson, RW 1870 *The Prose Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

Farrer, P 1917 *Excavations in "the Cursus" – July 1917* [annotated typescript report in English Heritage library, Swindon].

Field, D, Linford, N, Barber, M, Anderson-Whymark, H, Bowden, M, Topping, P, and Linford, P 2014 Analytical Surveys of Stonehenge and its Immediate Environs, 2009-13: Part 1 – the Landscape and its Earthworks. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* [published online August 2014: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0079497X14000061]

Field, D, Pearson, T 2011 *Stonehenge Down and the Stonehenge Triangle*. Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Report. Research Report Series 105/2011. Portsmouth: English Heritage.

Fox, C 1932 *The Personality of Britain: Its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early prehistoric times*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.

Frater, A 2011 *The Balloon Factory: The Story of the Men Who Built Britain's First Flying Machines*. London: Picador.

Goddard, EH 1913 A list of prehistoric, Roman and pagan Saxon antiquities in the county of Wilts, arranged under parishes. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 38, 1913-14, 153-378.

Grinsell, LV 1957 Archaeological Gazetteer. *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* Vol. 1 part 1. London: Oxford University Press.

Hardy, D and Ward, C 1984 *Arcadia for All: the Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape*. London: Mansell.

Hoare, RC 1812 *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* vol 1. London: William Miller (Facsimile edition 1975 EP Publishing/Wiltshire County Library).

Howarth, P 1963 *Squire, 'Most Generous of Men'*. London: Hutchinson.

Hudson, W 1987 [1910] *The Illustrated 'A Shepherd's Life*'. London: The Bodley Head.

Hutton, R 2009 *Blood and Mistletoe: the history of the druids in Britain*. London: Yale University Press.

Jefferies, R 2006 [1885] *The Open Air*: Stroud: Nonsuch Publishing Ltd.

Knowles, L 2013 New Beginnings: Stonehenge; *English Heritage Members Magazine* issue 3, October 2013 (www.english-heritage.org.uk/support-us/members/magazine/oct-2013/new-beginnings-stonehenge/)

Komar, A and Bishop, S 2011 *Fargo South. Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project*. Research Dept. Report Series 96-2010. Portsmouth: English Heritage.

Lane, R 2011 *Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project: Architectural Assessment*. Research Dept. Report Series 42-2011.

Long, HH 1859 *A Survey of the Early Geography of Western Europe, as connected with the First Inhabitants of Britain, their Origins, Language, Religious Rites, and Edifices*. London: Lovell Reave.

Long, W 1876 Stonehenge and its Barrows. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* vol XVI, 1-239.

Patefield, J 2009 *Wiltshire Teashop Walks*. Newbury: Countryside Books.

Priddle, R 2003 *Wings Over Wiltshire*. Sheffield: ALD Design & Print.

RCHME 1979 *Stonehenge and its Environs: monuments and land use*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Richards, J 2004 *Stonehenge: A History in Photographs*. London: English Heritage.

Richards, J 2007 *Stonehenge. The Story So Far*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Richards, J. 2013. *Stonehenge*. London: English Heritage.

Semple, C 2008 *Diary of a Night Bomber in World War I*. Stroud: Spellmount.

Souden, D 1997 *Stonehenge. Mysteries of the Stones and Landscape*. London: Collins & Brown for English Heritage.

Stone, JFS 1947 The Stonehenge Cursus and its affinities. *Archaeological Journal* 104, 7-19.

Stout, A 2008 *Creating Prehistory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wickstead, H 2013 Another Proof of the Preceding Theory: film materialities and Stonehenge; in Cochrane, A and Russell, I (eds) *Art and Archaeology: Collaborations, Conversations, Criticisms*. One World Archaeology series, New York: Springer.

Wickstead, H and Barber, M *forthcoming* Concrete Prehistories: The Making of Megalithic Modernism. Paper submitted to the Journal of Contemporary Archaeology.

Wickstead, H, Lawrence, D, Barber, M 2013 *'Sconehenge': Heritage Tourism, Motoring Histories and the Stonehenge Tea-Room, 1927-1938*. Unpublished project design.

Williams, FJ 1998 JC Williams – An Enthusiast; Presidential address to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1998; http://www.caerhayw.co.uk/page.cfm?page=fjw_article (accessed 10 January 2014)

Williams-Ellis, C 1928 *England and the Octopus*. London: Geoffrey Bles.

ENGLISH HERITAGE RESEARCH AND THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

English Heritage undertakes and commissions research into the historic environment, and the issues that affect its condition and survival, in order to provide the understanding necessary for informed policy and decision making, for the protection and sustainable management of the resource, and to promote the widest access, appreciation and enjoyment of our heritage. Much of this work is conceived and implemented in the context of the National Heritage Protection Plan. For more information on the NHPP please go to http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/protection/national-heritage-protection-plan/.

The Heritage Protection Department provides English Heritage with this capacity in the fields of building history, archaeology, archaeological science, imaging and visualisation, landscape history, and remote sensing. It brings together four teams with complementary investigative, analytical and technical skills to provide integrated applied research expertise across the range of the historic environment. These are:

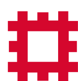
- Intervention and Analysis (including Archaeology Projects, Archives, Environmental Studies, Archaeological Conservation and Technology, and Scientific Dating)
- Assessment (including Archaeological and Architectural Investigation, the Blue Plaques Team and the Survey of London)
- Imaging and Visualisation (including Technical Survey, Graphics and Photography)
- Remote Sensing (including Mapping, Photogrammetry and Geophysics)

The Heritage Protection Department undertakes a wide range of investigative and analytical projects, and provides quality assurance and management support for externally-commissioned research. We aim for innovative work of the highest quality which will set agendas and standards for the historic environment sector. In support of this, and to build capacity and promote best practice in the sector, we also publish guidance and provide advice and training. We support community engagement and build this in to our projects and programmes wherever possible.

We make the results of our work available through the Research Report Series, and through journal publications and monographs. Our newsletter *Research News*, which appears twice a year, aims to keep our partners within and outside English Heritage up-to-date with our projects and activities.

A full list of Research Reports, with abstracts and information on how to obtain copies, may be found on www.english-heritage.org.uk/researchreports

For further information visit www.english-heritage.org.uk



ENGLISH HERITAGE

ISSN 2046-9799 (Print)
ISSN 2046-9802 (Online)