

## **Examination of Highways England's A303 Stonehenge DCO Application TR010025**

**Written Representation by Brian Edwards**

**Reference number: 20020830**

**Issues around the past and present value of the A303 in the public consciousness under the Examining Authority's Principal Issue 9.**

### **Attachments:**

Appendix I: Relevant representation

Appendix 2: MP3 Greg Hancock, 2017, 'A303' (radio version), 6 minutes 35 seconds.

Appendix 3: MP3 Devonbird, 2015, 'Dead King's Land', 4 minutes 25 seconds.

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### **Introduction and summary**

Attribute 7 of the WHS's OUV is the 'influence of the remains of Neolithic and Bronze Age funerary and ceremonial monuments and their landscape settings on architects, artists, historians, archaeologists and others.' Travellers influenced by Stonehenge, the known list of which extends back to at least the 12th century, promoted the site as an inherent part of the national story. Numerous examples will be detailed below.

The removal of the above-ground section of the A303 in the vicinity of the Stones would, in my opinion, have an irreversible negative impact on the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the WHS. Tunnel portals and infrastructure would unacceptably damage the property and the public's cultural experience within the WHS. For this reason I oppose the Scheme.

Tunnelling of the A303 would end the nation's longest continual practice of mass encounter and engagement, by chance or intention, with an instantly recognisable large scale prehistoric built wonder from an adjacent main thoroughfare. When Stonehenge was given to the nation in 1918, there was expectation this tradition would be maintained.

At the time of inscription of the property on the World Heritage List in 1986, the A344 was projected for closure not the A303. Commitments of conservation and preservation made at the time included retaining the above ground A303 and its inherent traditions.

The effect of the A303, particularly regarding sight and sound of it, has been disproportionately cast as a negative issue in comparison with the immediate impact of tourist crowds, the turnstile and fencing experiences, visitor transportation, and closure of the A344 that passed immediately alongside the stones.

Despite the A303's potential, nothing has been done to recognise, research, understand and encourage instinctive engagement with roadside monuments within the WHS beyond eventually completing the installation of WHS entrance signs in 2016. The many identified and newly recognised archaeologically important sites could be more appreciatively celebrated individually and collectively by the captive audience journeying across the WHS. The travel experience could be enhanced through accessible smart equipment. Advancing technologies typified by handheld devices, and such as electric and driverless cars, pose advantageous refinements for travellers and visitors.

Since inscription of the WHS, an extensive tradition of engagement with Attribute 7 of OUV from and including the A303 is evident in writings, music, and photographs, countless examples of which are freely shared online. If this trend is not interrupted by removal of the road into a tunnel and cuttings, it can reasonably be expected to continue and evolve.

## 1. Travellers, visitors and access

1.1. Highways England's 'Case for the Scheme and NPS Accordance' (*A303 Amesbury to Berwick Down TRO10025* Volume 7, October 2018), includes repeated assertions<sup>1</sup> as fundamental principles about the Scheme and the A303 that are exaggerated and highly misleading.

1.2. In the Introduction to the 'Case for the Scheme and NPS Accordance' (page VI) it is stated:

*“At its closest point, the road is 165 metres from Stonehenge. This creates incongruous sights and sounds of traffic within an otherwise tranquil rural setting that seriously diminish people's enjoyment of the unique prehistoric landscape and degrade the setting of the iconic stone circle.”*

1.3. In reality the WHS is a living landscape, rural and tranquil in parts but also residential and bustling in others. If anything, *“creates incongruous sights and sounds of traffic within an otherwise tranquil rural setting”* is reminiscent of the “bus station”<sup>2</sup> atmosphere of the paying visitor experience. It is certainly not the experience from a main road that affords the best view of the stone setting from anywhere, a view that is freely shared with thousands of visitors to the WHS every day simply by travelling westbound on the A303.

1.4. For the vast majority then, the road does not *“seriously diminish people's enjoyment of the unique prehistoric landscape and degrade the setting of the iconic stone circle”*, but the conduit that enables the majority's enjoyment of this unique prehistoric landscape. Indeed were Highways England's statement even true for the minority of visitors, those that choose to pay for entry, then their numbers have not been found to “seriously diminish” when climbing to 1.25 million in 2013, continuing on a steep upward trend to 1.6 million in 2017.<sup>3</sup>

1.5. In the Introduction to the 'Case for the Scheme and NPS Accordance' (page VI) it is claimed that:

*“The A303 splits the southern Stonehenge WHS component in two, making it difficult for visitors to access and enjoy the wider landscape. Removing the road from part of*

*the WHS would reconnect Stonehenge with other ancient monuments, improving access to the WHS and greatly enhance the visitor experience.”*

1.6. To suggest that the A303 makes “*it difficult for visitors to access and enjoy the wider landscape*” is counterfactual when the occupants of thousands of vehicles travelling on this section of the road access the entire width of the WHS every day. In doing so these visitors have the opportunity to encounter Blick Mead, King Barrow Ridge, the Sun Barrow, and the Normanton and Winterbourne barrow groups in addition to the stones. Hence “*Removing the road from part of the WHS*” would not “*reconnect Stonehenge with other ancient monuments*”, which isn’t, of course, disconnected from them in any way whatsoever, but it would disconnect the vast majority of visitors from experiencing the WHS in future.

1.7. Should visitors wish to experience the WHS landscape to the south and north of the A303 on foot, many do exactly that every day. It is significant that the anecdotal information and incredibly small sample offered in what Highways England describes as the ‘English Heritage Phase 1 Visitor Survey’, nonetheless still cites 80% of those interviewed from the local community visited the area of the WHS north of the A303 and 50% the area south of the A303.<sup>4</sup> Just one example of how visiting the areas of the WHS to the north and south of the A303 can be achieved in a single trip, or day, is illustrated by the itinerary set out in Highways England’s ‘Updated accompanied site inspection’.<sup>5</sup>

1.8. It should also be noted how frequently the forthcoming site inspection itinerary cites permission of the landowner being sought to allow the site inspections to take place, thus underlining that the majority of land within the WHS is in private ownership and inaccessible to visitors, especially south of the A303. Much of this land can, however, be seen from roads, including the A303.

1.9. On page VIII of the ‘Case for the Scheme and NPS Accordance’ (page VI) it states:

*“The removal of the A303 and its traffic will greatly improve the setting of Stonehenge. Visitors will be able see the stone circle and appreciate its connection to the rest of the WHS without the sight and sound of traffic intruding on their experience. This will help to protect and enhance the WHS and maintain its Outstanding Universal Value.”*

1.10. The numbers of visitors paying to visit the stones each year pales in comparison with the numbers accessing the entire width of the WHS and witnessing numerous monuments from the A303.

1.11. The only complaint obviously shared by all visitors is queueing – either on the road or during the official visit via the visitor centre. Impromptu complaints made by the minority of visitors paying to access the stones are likely to be various. Judging by online comments on such as Trip Advisor<sup>6</sup> and media/online commentary,<sup>7</sup> complaints extend from the price of entry/parking to the provision/efficiency of the toilet facilities and crowding/queueing. Where the transport and management of tourists between the visitor centre and the stones does feature as an issue online, the “*sight and sound of traffic*” from the A303 does not appear to be a topic for complaint. Unless then we are given some measure of impromptu complaints about the “*sight and sound of traffic*” as a percentage of all complaints about the paying visitor experience, the suggestion that this is an issue cannot be considered meaningful.

1.12. It is furthermore specious in connection with the A303 Scheme to suggest the “*removal of the A303 and its traffic*” will “*help to protect and enhance the WHS and maintain its Outstanding Universal Value*”, when there is no proposal to remove the entire surface A303 from the WHS. The Scheme in reality would result in more tarmac road surface than it removes and introduce enormously damaging tunnel portals in addition to a cutting of around 1km through a Beaker cemetery, a complex of long barrows and an area thought to have been an early occupation site. The Scheme also plans to install a flyover at Countess that will elevate four lanes of fast moving traffic and all the noise and light pollution that goes with it immediately alongside the Mesolithic site of Blick Mead.

1.13. The UNESCO World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS’ Final Report on the joint World Heritage Centre / ICOMOS Advisory mission to Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites 5 – 7 March 2018 (page 6) clearly states:

*“...the construction of four-lane highways in cuttings at either end of the tunnel would adversely and irreversibly impact on the integrity, authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the WHS, particularly through disrupting the spatial and visual links between monuments, and as a result of its overall visual impact.”*

## **2. OUV and Attribute 7**

2.1. UNESCO defines OUV as: “*cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.*”<sup>8</sup> Operational Guidelines issued by UNESCO state that the listed Attributes of OUV detail the significance of a World Heritage property.<sup>9</sup>

2.2. Attribute 7 of the OUV of the Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated sites is the ‘*influence of the remains of Neolithic and Bronze Age funerary and ceremonial monuments and their landscape settings on architects, artists, historians, archaeologists and others.*’ In contrast to the claims made by Highways England, it can readily be seen in relation to Attribute 7, that the removal of only a short central above-ground section of the A303 in the vicinity of the stones would have an irreversible negative impact on the OUV, denying the experience of this element of OUV to the majority of visitors to the WHS who would otherwise enjoy it.

## **3. The records of travellers to and past Stonehenge**

3.1. The known list of travellers influenced by Stonehenge and subsequently promoting the site as an inherent part of the national story extends back to at least the 12th century. Within this history of travel and encounter with Stonehenge the importance and influence of not only the route in arriving at this place but also the views from and including the adjacent main road are often apparent. The following examples serve to make the point.

3.2. Of witnessing Stonehenge in 1599 Samuel Daniel wrote:

*“Whereon, when as the gazing passenger  
Had greedy looked with admiration,  
And fain would know his birth, and what he were,  
How there erected, and long ago,*

*Inquires and asks his fellow traveller,  
What he hath heard and his opinion.  
And he knows nothing. Then he turns again,  
And looks and sighs; and then admires afresh,  
And in himself with sorrow doth complain  
The misery of dark forgetfulness,  
Angry with time that nothing should remain,  
Our greatest wonders' wonder to express.*"<sup>10</sup>

3.3. On 22 July 1654 John Evelyn travelled by road "*over the goodly plaine, or rather the sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of the most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we reade of in Romances*".<sup>11</sup>

3.4. Much weight is placed behind John Aubrey being one of the fathers of archaeology and the first to comprehend Stonehenge and Avebury were pre-Roman: writing after his 'discovery' of Avebury Aubrey related to what is seen "*when a traveller rides along by the ruins*" when reasoning that Stonehenge and Avebury were Druid temples.<sup>12</sup>

3.5. In the satirical *A Fool's Bolt soon shott at Stonage*, a seventeenth century author makes fun of an Englishman having "*did ramble to Rome to gaze at antiquities*", yet had never seen Stonehenge.<sup>13</sup>

3.6. On 11 June 1668 Samuel Pepys found Stonehenge "*worth going this journey to see*".<sup>14</sup>

3.7. Riding towards Stonehenge from the direction of Newton Tony and travelling on to Yeovil, before 1688, Celia Fiennes noted the "*country is most champion and open*".<sup>15</sup>

3.8. One of the earliest works by the antiquary William Stukeley was an early eighteenth century tour of monument sites that could be seen from Roman roads.<sup>16</sup>

3.9. Leaning on Camden and others, Daniel Defoe announced on his famous eighteenth century tour that: "*The downs and plains in this part of England being so open, and the surface so little subject to alteration, there are more remains of antiquity to be seen upon them than in other places*".<sup>17</sup>

3.10. Of Stonehenge in 1756, Benjamin Martin's *Natural History of England* highlighted that "*at the distance of half a mile it has a stately and august appearance*", which remains familiar to modern westbound road users.<sup>18</sup>

3.11. At Stonehenge in 1812 this "*remarkable monument*" was found by the antiquary Sir Richard Colt Hoare: "*near the extremity of a triangle formed by two roads, the one leading on the south from Amesbury to Wiley, the other on the north from the same place, through Shrewton and Heytesbury to Warminster*".<sup>19</sup>

#### **4. The Stonehenge landscape recorded by artists**

4.1. The fork in the road, more recently recalled as the junction between the A303 and the A344 until the latter was closed in 2013, was noted by Colt Hoare the year after J.M.W.

Turner famously sketched the scene, with the signpost in the foreground and the stones silhouetted on the horizon. This sketch, 'Stonehenge from the Amesbury Road' was the basis for a painting now in a private collection.<sup>20</sup>

4.2. The same view of the fork in the road and Stonehenge beyond was captured by John Constable when visiting the site in July 1820.<sup>21</sup> David Lucas's mezzotint print of a lost watercolour from the same spot, published in 1855 after Constable's death, includes road haulage traffic.

4.3. A similar view of the road fork with the characteristic signpost and Stonehenge beyond was adopted by William Turner of Oxford 1789-1862, in his 'Stonehenge – Twilight' from around 1840, which features driven sheep departing the drove to access water, and is the earliest known depiction of standing water in Stonehenge Bottom. In addition to drovers and shepherds this painting also features bird activity above the barrows on the skyline, portraying murmuration perhaps which is still witnessed in the vicinity.<sup>22</sup> The fork in the road and stones similarly feature in William Turner's painting of a shepherd with his collie dog and sheep in the foreground with the stones beyond in the distance.<sup>23</sup>

4.4. The unique aspect of these images of human presence and activity portrayed at Stonehenge and in the surrounding landscape, is not that it presents a catalogue of accuracy and inaccuracy of a hengecentric record of the stones produced over so many centuries.<sup>24</sup> It is that, since the fourteenth century, it highlights human awareness and self-consciousness measured against and compared to something mysteriously unfathomable that represents not only a wonder but infinite time.

4.5. The earliest depiction of direct human engagement with Stonehenge, dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Whilst commonly interpreted as a giant helping Merlin construct the monument, the image clearly relates to transporting the stones. The clothing, mannerisms and such as the hair colour convey important details about who and what is involved. The central figure, a relatively smaller well-dressed clean-shaven individual wearing a hat, appears to be standing on a shoreline and gestures as if in instruction. Two much larger bearded men in plainer clothing feature: the figure on the left kneels apparently on dry land and welcomes the stones with open arms, the figure on the extreme right has his garment drawn up and legs or leggings the same colour as the waves lifting him and the stones. These sea legs and this figure's hand positions suggesting he has transferred the stones across the water, whilst his hair colour and beard styling distinguishes him from the other characters.<sup>25</sup>

4.6. In terms of influences upon artists it is then noticeable that the same level of detail can be seen in the many illustrations that depict transport in association with Stonehenge, including Lucas de Heere's sixteenth century watercolour painting of a figure on horseback within the stone circle.<sup>26</sup> Human figures that feature in a number of topographical and antiquarian illustrations differentiate locals from visitors through role, pose and accoutrements. Typically locals familiar with Stonehenge are portrayed as bystanders, sometimes with crooks or staffs, sometimes reclining or sitting. Visitors are generally better dressed, they lean or gesticulate, sometimes with walking sticks, and some feature on horseback. Outings and through traffic can be signified by carriages, coaches and haulage waggons.<sup>27</sup> These figures appear in illustrations of many sites, but Stonehenge offers so many examples and their regularity offers patterns and contrasts for comparison, for example in respect of interpretations of working class roles and clothing compared to the posturing and fashions of visitors.

## 5. Roadside Heritage

5.1. Paintings, drawings and printed images of Stonehenge frequently illustrate opportunities for human engagement with the stones and the monumental landscape from the road.

5.2. This opportunity for travellers to engage with the monuments from the adjacent road is evident in John Speed's engraved map of Wilshire published by Roger Rea in 1662, which features an engraved vignette of Stonehenge. A more familiar example would be J.M.W. Turner's 'Stonehenge at Daybreak', which features coach travellers and a woman standing at the side of the road.<sup>28</sup>

5.3. Another though less well-known view would be E.J. Pegrum's late nineteenth century oil painting of a magnificent coach with splendid horse team passing Stonehenge on the main road, with a shepherd depicted north of the present A303 and, to the south, a laden donkey that characteristically features in several of this artist's paintings and is shown here with parents and child with their dog presumably travelling to market.<sup>29</sup> A painting of the same period saw John Charles Maggs (1819-1895) portraying huddled coach travellers shrouded in brollies atop 'The Salisbury – London mail coach passing Stonehenge'.<sup>30</sup> Maggs produced at least six paintings of horse drawn coaches passing Stonehenge.<sup>31</sup>

5.6. John Murray's renowned travel guide of 1859 tells of: "...the huge ruin of a temple, which looming through the misty air, served the traveller as a landmark."<sup>32</sup>

5.7. In a "Sketch of Stonehenge made on the occasion of a drive with Mrs Wilkins and her daughter from Salisbury to Stonehenge and back August 1878", it is clear the drive was the event, not visiting the stones.<sup>33</sup>

5.8. In *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* published by Thomas Hardy in 1891, Tess and Angel made their way "across country without much regard to roads", but once out of Melchester (Salisbury) encountered Stonehenge when they "followed the turn-pike road which plunged across an open Plain."<sup>34</sup> Notably J.M.W. Turner's painting of his 1811 sketch of 'Stonehenge from the Amesbury Road', which highlights the fork in the road and the signpost, was adopted this century for the covers of the Penguin English Library and Penguin Classics paperbacks of Hardy's *Tess*.

5.9. In 1907 Hugo Massac Buist published *Motoring to Stonehenge*, celebrating the experience of driving to the stones then quickly departing for Salisbury and a hot lunch.<sup>35</sup>

5.10. In 1908 the public's idea of a close association between the road and Stonehenge was adopted by the Avon India Rubber Company, naming a tyre model 'Stonehenge' and registering a Stonehenge *Trilithon* trademark. This trademark continued in use for over twenty years, being presented in various forms, including cartoons and serial stories in newspapers and popular magazines. The trilithon was aided before the Great War by a supporting cast that included a Druid known as 'Father Avon', who would comfort and advise an assortment of contemporary motorists. 'Ancient Britons', John Bull and Britannia also featured as well as the countryside and modern imagery. Morphing yet again in the early 1930s, a reversed element of a single trilithon design from as early as 1916 was retained, but now as the central figure in a grouping of stones with the overall appearance of an international Art Deco factory. This version of the trademark was still titled *Stonehenge* in

1963, but was superseded by the company name in 1969.<sup>36</sup> The Avon Stonehenge trademark featured in advertisements in 1931, but now appears overshadowed being the same year as Edward McKnight Kauffer's more widely acknowledged Shell poster made its debut. Angled against the sky they are more than a little reminiscent of each other.

5.11. The advice that the Salisbury to Amesbury '*road will give the motorist a fine idea of what the Plain once was*', appeared in Frank Stevens' 1916 guide, *Stonehenge To-day and Yesterday*. Illustrated by Heywood Sumner, this was the first guidebook officially adopted at Stonehenge following the donation of the site to the nation by Cecil and Mary Chubb in 1918.<sup>37</sup>



Figure 1. The famous westward travelling view of Stonehenge from the A303, this in 1939 (Private Collection).

5.12. Operating a twice daily service from Somerset to London since 1920, Berrys Coaches' announcements inform passengers when Stonehenge will come into view. Today these announcements result in even regular passengers tending to take photographs on their phone cameras of the passing spectacle, as do other passengers on the A303 of course that share them on social media.<sup>38</sup>

5.13. This close association between the road and Stonehenge continued in the public consciousness in the 1940s, one notable example being the promotion for Hercules Cycles: "*Stonehenge has lasted well*" says a woman peddling on a bicycle on a road alongside the stones, with her male companion replying "*So has my good old Hercules*".<sup>39</sup>

5.14. The trend continues in the 1950s through such as the Vanden Plas Princess II coachbuilt saloon appearing alongside the stones in an advertisement published in newspapers and magazines.<sup>40</sup> Photographs of vehicles on the road alongside the stones have their own long history.<sup>41</sup>

5.15. Barbara Merrifield Collins, joint curator of the Merrifield Collection of Road Art, said her most memorable collecting trip for petroliana and automobilia was in 1976:

*"It was a most enjoyable trip around the countryside to Salisbury and Stonehenge, when you could actually touch the stones."*<sup>42</sup>



5.16. The enthusiasm continues into the present century. A recent example would be Alan Spillett's 2013 acrylic painting of *The 303 Scrapped cars, bound for London, FIAT artic driven by Tony Steer from Yeovil*. The scene is set on the A303 near Stonehenge on a winter day in the 1970s, it features the signpost indicating the route to Devizes via the A344, now removed of course.<sup>43</sup>

5.17. The contemporary sense of our roadside heritage links with Stonehenge was captured in *Highway to the Sun*, a documentary on the A303 first broadcast on BBC4 2011. It was well-received and known to be championed on social media when repeated numerous times on television, is also a favourite online.<sup>44</sup>

5.18. Tom Fort's book of the aforementioned documentary, *A303: Highway to the Sun* (2012),<sup>45</sup> features Garry Walton's cover artwork of the iconic view of Stonehenge presented on a westward journey on the A303. The same view has featured in English Heritage postcards and tea towels sold at the Stonehenge Visitor Centre.

5.19. When the new Stonehenge Visitor Centre opened in 2013, *The Times* published an editorial titled 'Enjoy the View' which stated that "Driving east at dawn or west in the evening along the A303, motorists can count themselves lucky... This is most people's experience of Stonehenge".<sup>46</sup>

5.20. *The Times* editorial in 2013 echoed what many of its readers had articulated over the years. Lady Bowman wrote to *The Times* in 21 November 1995 (p.19): "Before a decision is made to put the road past Stonehenge into a tunnel (report, November 10), will somebody please spare a thought for the passing motorists? I drive frequently between Somerset and Berkshire, and the glimpse that I get of Stonehenge, halfway through such journeys, never fails to rejoice my heart."<sup>47</sup> This in turn echoed what V.S. Naipaul, Richard Stilgoe and others stated about themselves and 5 million other motorists being annually "deprived of the outstanding view of Stonehenge they now enjoy driving west from Amesbury."<sup>48</sup>

5.21. Those with personal recollections of magical journeys on the A303 include David Cameron who, when Prime Minister, nostalgically enthused in 2014 about having nagged his mother to stop and visit the stones:

*"I didn't get stuck in traffic on the way in, the traffic is moving ... It reminds me of all the times going down to Devon and Cornwall on holiday and sitting in the car often shouting at my mum saying when we are going to get there... those conversations we've all had. I've been many times before, the times when I did pester my mother to stop on the way."*<sup>49</sup>

5.22. The assistant editor of the Daily Telegraph, Philip Johnston, published an article in 2006 titled 'Leave our glimpse of Stonehenge alone'.<sup>50</sup> In 2017 Johnston cited the view of the stones from the A303 would top his list of this country's greatest vistas,<sup>51</sup> and in 'Spare Stonehenge from this tunnel vision' in 2014 he wrote:

*"These days, the Johnston family are content to drive past Stonehenge, something we have done scores of times over the years. It remains the highlight of the journey, suddenly appearing as the car crests the hill just after the Amesbury roundabout, the monument silhouetted against the panoramic Wiltshire landscape. Even if we no longer stop at the stones, at least we can still see them."*<sup>52</sup>

5.23. A recent blog post ‘On the road with Tanya Gold: The Ferrari’, posted Saturday 20 April 2019, shared an enthusiasm:

*“This week I have a Ferrari GTC4 Lusso. It means Luxury Ferrari and it is a four wheel drive grand tourer with four seats: the Ferrari family car, a ludicrous phrase until you own one. I collect it in Slough and drive it along the A303 past Stonehenge. It is only slightly less monumental than Stonehenge. It looks like a very beautiful foot.”*<sup>53</sup>

5.24. Dan Hicks, Associate Professor and Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum and School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, has made the point that whilst 1.3 million paying visitors will be herded through the gift shop of the Stonehenge Visitor Centre this year perhaps ten times that number get the opportunity to engage with the monument from passing vehicles:

*“Today, the A303 is a crucial part of the monument’s setting. Yes, we must reduce the traffic. But why hide the stones from the world?”*<sup>54</sup>

5.25. A similar point was made by David C. Harvey, Associate Professor in Critical Heritage Studies at Aarhus University, Denmark, and an Honorary Professor of Historical Cultural Geography at the University of Exeter:<sup>55</sup>

*“...when pondering the question of which landscape best represents the ‘essential landscape’ of the South West, I came up with the A30 trunk road (which is, essentially, the continuation of the A303, which passes Stonehenge, further up-country). “If we try to be honest about the aspects of the present-day landscape that the people of the future will remember us for, then the A30 would be a very good example. Today, the road provides an axis and backbone to the region and is a symbol of the region .... [memories of sitting in traffic jams, and glimpsing the countryside as you go] is a far more meaningful memory to preserve than the typical picture-postcard images ... the road network (love it or hate it) is surely among the most enduring symbols of early 21<sup>st</sup> century life”.*



Figure 2. Spare wheel cover with idealized icon celebrating Stonehenge, on a car being topped up with fuel at Tilshead Garage (Private Collection).

5.26. And as Adam Gary, author of *Southwest on the A303: A Novella* (2017), has explained:

*“Creatively speaking, I’ve not written about the A303 before the book, but I have travelled down it many times and listened to many stories. There’s also a number of songs inspired by it, and a fantastic documentary from the BBC (I think it’s the BBC.) There’s certainly a love for the A303 and its history within a lot of people, myself included, so I was saddened when I heard about the tunnel.”*<sup>56</sup>

5.27. Since 1991 there have been at least six songs published featuring the A303, which is perhaps the highest number of songs produced about a single road in the UK.<sup>57</sup> Four of these are titled ‘A303’, which is also perhaps a record. Two of these songs include lyrics that relate to the A303 and Stonehenge.

5.28. In 1991 the Levellers released their second album, *Levelling the Land*, the final track of which recalls the 1985 ‘Battle of the Beanfield’ and features the A303 within the WHS.

*“Down the 303 at the end of the road  
Flashing lights - exclusion zones  
And it made me think it’s not just the stones  
That they’re guarding”*

5.29. A track titled ‘A303’ from an album of the same name was released by Greg Hancock on 1 September 2017. Greg’s interest was fed by childhood engagement with Stonehenge and nearby barrows from the A303, encountered on his many family holidays in Devon and Cornwall. The lyrics are autobiographical, relating at first to the experience of being an archaeologist in Britain and how, even when doing something one is entirely committed to, there are moments of reflection. Unexpectedly changing, the lyrics suddenly transport the listener to Palmyra, another WHS.<sup>58</sup>

*“When you’re driving on the A303  
I wonder if you’ve ever had the same thoughts as me  
Fascination mixed with irony  
Taking pictures with my mobile phone  
Of piles of ancient stone”*

5.30. In addition to the above songs written about the A303, Devonbird’s *Dead King’s Land* was written on the A303 within the WHS, influenced by encountering Bush Barrow, the Normanton barrow group and other monuments seen from the main road. To Sir Richard Colt Hoare in the early nineteenth century this was a “*noble group of barrows*”, they are integral to a highly impressive skyline, in which enigmatic funerary earthworks populate the ridges around the bowl in which Stonehenge sits. Wholly unaware of the history of archaeological investigation, Devonbird consists of singer songwriter Kath Bird, violin player Sophia Colkin and in 2013 guitar player Rob Wheaton. Released as a single on 8 May 2016, having been a track on the folk band’s second album *Turning of the Year* (released 10 September 2015), *Dead King’s Land* was written by Kath Bird when the band was returning to Devon, from a live performance at Hadfest in Much Hadham, Hertfordshire, on Saturday 16 August 2013. The traffic was slow moving and having passed the stones a song came to Kath as the road rises towards the intersection with Byway 12. What was particularly unusual was that songs had never previously or since come to Kath in transit, and as the words came they were written down in around five minutes, when it usually takes considerably longer. In recalling the experience, the band joke that this is a “special song”, they feel very privileged to be

telling someone's story, as if those buried in the surrounding landscape had influenced the words in a message to the present.<sup>59</sup>

*“Look for me among the rolling hills  
Beneath the barrows ridge  
Now I wait until I am ready to rise again  
As I lie here alone In the Dead King's Land.”*

Please listen to the attached MP3s: Annex 2 and Annex 3.

## 6.0 Finale

6.1. There is a traceable line from Greg Hancock and Kath Bird back to fourteenth century artists and travellers and beyond. If this rewarding vein of experience is not halted by removal of the road into a tunnel and cutting, it can be expected to continue and evolve, enriching those of future generations who are inspired to create, and those who simply observe.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Case for the Scheme and NPS Accordance’, October 2018, *A303 Amesbury to Berwick Down TRO10025* Volume 7, pp. VI, VIII, 2-2, 2-13, 2-14, 2-15, 2-19, 5-23.

<sup>2</sup> Online comment 13 September 2017 by Camlock Trelawney in response to *Daily Telegraph* article: ‘Stonehenge is (unfortunately) not a magical place. If you walk a few hundred yards from it, turn and look back, it resembles a badly built bus station with the drivers on strike. Buses, having delivered visitors, sitting with idling engines, queues of people waiting to return to the visitors centre, orange fencing everywhere and supposedly hidden concrete service buildings very obviously not hidden. The dual carriageway that we are told spoils the feel of the place is a distant sight, hardly noticeable.’  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/12/stonehenge-tunnel-just-latest-example-britains-soaring-infrastructure/>

<sup>3</sup> Visitor numbers cited by Highways England, DCO Volume 6.3 Environmental Statement Appendices, Appendix 6.1, Annex 9 Tourism and visitor experience, page 17.

<sup>4</sup> *A303 Amesbury to Berwick Down TRO10025* Volume 6.3 Environmental Statement Appendices, Appendix 6.1, Annex 9 Tourism and visitor experience, page 15.

<sup>5</sup> *A303 Amesbury to Berwick Down TRO10025* Volume 8 (April 2019)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction\\_Review-g528762-d188527-Reviews-Stonehenge-Amesbury\\_Wiltshire\\_England.html](https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g528762-d188527-Reviews-Stonehenge-Amesbury_Wiltshire_England.html)

<sup>7</sup> *Daily Telegraph* 13 September 2017: ‘A 50-minute queue for the loo? Stonehenge should spend less money on tunnels and more on toilets’, by Mark Henshaw.  
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/united-kingdom/england/wiltshire/articles/stonehenge-queues-toilet-roll-problems-tunnel-investment/>

<sup>8</sup> UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris (July 2017) paragraph 49.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, paragraph 99.

<sup>10</sup> Online versions vary but see Daniel, Samuel., 1599, ‘Musophilus, Containing, A general Defence of all Learning’, 1602-3 edition in, Grosart, Rev. Alexander B., 1885, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel* (4 vols.), Vol. I., privately printed, pp. 236-8. See Sprules, John., 1884, *The Visitor’s Illustrated Pocket-Guide to Stonehenge and Salisbury Plain*, Oxford: John Sprules, 58. For the impression Stonehenge made upon Samuel see Merchant, Peter, 2012, ‘The Writings and West Country World of Samuel Daniel (1562?-1619)’, *Frome Society Year Book*, 15, pp. 5-16.

<sup>11</sup> Evelyn, John., 1654, 22 July. *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S., Comprising of his Diary from the year 1641 to 1705-6*, William Bray (ed.), London: Alex Murray, 1870, pp. 233-4.

<sup>12</sup> Aubrey, John., 1862, John Edward Jackson (ed.), Wiltshire: The Topographical; Collections of John Aubrey 1659-70, Devizes: H. Bull, p. 317.

<sup>13</sup> Anon, 1725, *A Fool’s Bolt Soon Shott at Stonage*, in T. Hearne, *Peter Langtoft’s Chronicle (as illustrated and improv’d by Robert of Brunne) from the death of Cadwalader to the end of K. Edward the First’s reign. Transcrib’d, and now first publish’d from a Ms. in the Inner-Temple Library by Thomas Hearne. To which are added, besides a glossary and other curious papers... Two Tracts, ... the second concerning Stone-henge*, Oxford, 2 Vols. Vol. II, pp. 480-517. The object of this satire was evidently Inigo Jones. The author of this work is often argued as either John Gibbons or Robert gay of Nettlecomb – see Vines, Angus., 2010, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 124. The object of this satire was evidently Inigo Jones.

<sup>14</sup> Pepys, Samuel, 1668, Robert Latham, William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Vol. IX: 1668-9, London: Bell and Hyman 1976, pp. 229-230.

<sup>15</sup> Fiennes, Celia. 1947, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, Christopher Morris (ed.), London Cresset Press, pp. 15-16.

<sup>16</sup> Piggott, Stuart., 1950, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth Century Antiquary*, London: Thames & Hudson, enlarged and revised edition 1985, p. 64.

<sup>17</sup> Rogers, Pat., 2008, ‘Defoe’s *Tour* and the identity of Britain’, in Richetti, John., (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 102-120. Defoe, Daniel., 1724, *A tour thro’ the whole island of Great Britain: Divided into circuits or journeys. Giving a particular and entertaining account of whatever is curious and worth observation*, London: G. Strahan, W. Mears, R. Francklin, S. Chapman, R. Stagg, J. Graves, I, pp. 41-5.

<sup>18</sup> Martin, Benjamin., 1756, *The Natural History of England; or, A Description of each particular County, In regard to the curious Productions of Nature and Art*, Vol. I: V Wiltshire, London: W. Owen and the author, p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> Hoare, Sir Richard Colt., 1812, *The Ancient History of Wiltshire* 2 Volumes. Vol. I. London: William Miller, 128.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Mallord William Turner 1775–1851, Folio 216 Recto: ‘*Stonehenge from the Amesbury Road*’, 1811, D08752, Turner Bequest CXXIII 213. Matthew Imms, ‘*Stonehenge from the Amesbury Road* 1811 by Joseph Mallord William Turner’, catalogue entry, June 2011, in David Blayney Brown (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, Tate Research Publication, December 2012. In respect of the painting Imms cites: Thos Agnew & Sons, exhibition catalogue, 1988, p.[18]; see also C[harles] Lewis Hind, *Turner’s Golden Visions*, London and Edinburgh 1910, pl.VIII (colour) and Ian Warrell (ed.), Franklin Kelly and others, *J.M.W. Turner*, exhibition catalogue,

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National Gallery of Art, Washington 2007, p.82 no.47, reproduced (colour).  
<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-stonehenge-from-the-amesbury-road-r1137230>

<sup>21</sup> Graham Reynolds, *The Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable*, New Haven and London 1984, p.50 no.20.18, pl.145; see also ‘smaller repetition’, p.50 no.20.19, pl.146: cited by Matthew Imms <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-stonehenge-from-the-amesbury-road-r1137230>

<sup>22</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum 2004.80: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/224408/william-turner-of-oxford-stonehenge-twilight-british-about-1840/>

<sup>23</sup> Catalogue of *British Drawings, Paintings and Watercolours*, Sotheby & Co, 1940, 171 p. 49. William Turner of Oxford, ‘Stonehenge a Showery Day’, Ashmolean Museum WA1948.40.

<sup>24</sup> Highways England: *A303 Amesbury to Berwick Down TRO10025* Volume 6, 6.3 Environmental Statement Appendices, Appendix 6.1, Annex 7 Influences of the monuments and landscape of the Stonehenge part of the World Heritage Site on artists, October 2018.

<sup>25</sup> The British Library, Egerton MS 3028 f. 30r.  
<https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMINBig.ASP?size=big&IllID=11718>

<sup>26</sup> Lucas de Heere c.1560-1576, *Corte Beschryvinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland*, British Library Add MS 28330, f. 36r. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/stonehenge-corte-beschryvinghe-van-engheland-schotland-ende-irland>

<sup>27</sup> See for example: Kip, Johan., c.1695, *Stonehenge, Wiltshire*, Gibson, *Camden’s Britannia*, London, 1722. Herbert Pugh, *Stonehenge*, watercolour, early nineteenth century (Chippendale, Christopher., 1983, *Stonehenge Complete*, London: Thames and Hudson, 100-101.). Alexander Hogg, *Stonehenge in Wiltshire*, engraving, nineteenth century (Chippendale, Christopher., 1983, *Stonehenge Complete*, London: Thames and Hudson, 100-101.).

<sup>28</sup> British Museum 1889,0724.267:  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1466456&partId=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1466456&partId=1)

<sup>29</sup> Pegrum, E.J., ‘A coach passing Stonehenge’, c.1898 (Private collection). Many thanks to Dr Terence Meaden for sharing a copy of this painting on social media.

<sup>30</sup> Maggs, John Charles., ‘The Salisbury – London mail coach passing Stonehenge’ c.1870s, oil on canvass 34.5 x 64.5 cm. Copy in private collection.

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.artnet.com/artists/john-charles-maggs/>

<sup>32</sup> Murray, John., 1859, *A Handbook for Travellers in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire*, London: John Murray, 108.

<sup>33</sup> <https://darklanecreative.com/leaves-from-a-commonplace-book-2/>

<sup>34</sup> Hardy, Thomas., 1891, *Tess of the d’Urbervilles*, New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1892 edition pp. 500-502.

<sup>35</sup> Buist, Hugo Massac, ‘Motoring to Stonehenge’, *The Morning Post*, Tuesday 1 October 1907, p.3; *Motoring to Stonehenge*, Anglo-American Oil Company: Proprietors of Pratt’s Motor Spirit, n.d. pp, 8, 14-15.

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<sup>36</sup> Mostly from contemporary newspapers and magazines, see Edwards, Brian., 2018, ‘Mr Toagis’s Stonehenge: An exploration of an uncelebrated benchmark in replica henge monuments to mark the tenth anniversary of Clonehenge’, in *The Regional Historian, Annual Journal of the Regional History Centre*, New Series No 1, 2018, pp. 26-31. Additional trademark detail from the *Rubber Journal*, 1969, vol. 151 p.26; *Kenya Gazette* vol.65:10, 26 February 1963, p.213; Barker, R.L. 1994, ‘The Avon Rubber Experience’, Turner, G.R. and Hadfield, R.P. *Top Quality Management in the Chemical Industry: Strategies for Success*, pp. 100-112, esp. 101. See also: Jeremiah, David. 2007, *Representations of British Motoring*, Manchester and New York; Manchester University Press, pp. 150-151; Jeremiah, David. ‘The image of motoring’, in Bryan J. H. Brown (ed), 1997, *Explorations in motoring history: the Proceedings of the First United Kingdom History of Motoring Conference, 12th October 1996*, pp. 13-16; Horrall, Andrew. 2017, *Inventing the Cave Man: From Darwin to the Flintstones*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 127-8.

<sup>37</sup> Stevens, Frank., 1916, *Stonehenge To-day and Yesterday*, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd.

<sup>38</sup> Steve Marshall, Pers. Comm. Email and telephone conversation, 26 February 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Hercules Cycle and Motor Co, Aston, Birmingham advertisement, 1945 (Private Collection).

<sup>40</sup> See for example run of advertisements in *The Motor* during 1951.

<sup>41</sup> See for example Shackleton, Robert., 1917, *Touring Great Britain*, Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co., cited by Coulbert, Esme Anne., 2013, ‘Perspectives on the road: narratives of motoring in Britain 1896-1930’, Nottingham Trent University.

<sup>42</sup> Hinsenkamp, Chelsea., September 2018, ‘The Merrifield Collection’, *Mecum Monthly* pp. 96-99.

<sup>43</sup> Spillett, Alan., ‘The 303 Scrapped cars, bound for London, FIAT artic driven by Tony Steer from Yeovil’, acrylic on canvass, approximate size 13” x 21”’: Pers. Comm. Emails 11/12/2015.

<sup>44</sup> Highway to the Sun, <https://vimeo.com/25813595>

<sup>45</sup> Fort, Tom., 2012, *A303: Highway to the Sun*, London and New York: Simon & Schuster. [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=H8G1AAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A303:+Highway+to+the+Sun+\(2012\),&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj2q43Pv\\_fhAhWitXEKHagqA0gQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=H8G1AAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A303:+Highway+to+the+Sun+(2012),&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj2q43Pv_fhAhWitXEKHagqA0gQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false)

<sup>46</sup> ‘Enjoy the View’, *The Times*, October 1 2013, page 28.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Approach to the Henge’, *The Times*, 21 November 1995, page 19.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Controversy over Stonehenge views’, *The Times*, 18 August 1993, page 15.

<sup>49</sup> *Western Daily Press*, ‘David Cameron on Stonehenge’, 1 December 2014. <http://www.westerndailypress.co.uk/Stonehenge-tunnel-Obama-brought-tourists-Cameron/story-24969987-detail/story.html> See also <http://www.itv.com/news/west/story/2014-12-01/west-roads-to-get-billions-for-major-improvements/> And <http://www.itv.com/news/west/update/2014-12-01/david-cameron-says-road-improvements-can-start-tomorrow/>

<sup>50</sup> Johnston, Philip., 24 July 2006, ‘Leave our glimpse of Stonehenge alone’, *Daily Telegraph*: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/3626579/Leave-our-glimpse-of-Stonehenge-alone.html>

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<sup>51</sup> Johnston, Philip., 12 September 2017, 'Stonehenge tunnel is just the latest example Britain's soaring infrastructure costs', *Daily Telegraph*: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/12/stonehenge-tunnel-just-latest-example-britains-soaring-infrastructure/>

<sup>52</sup> Johnston, Philip., 29 April 2014, 'Spare Stonehenge from this tunnel vision', *Daily Telegraph*: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/10793225/Spare-Stonehenge-from-this-tunnel-vision.html>

<sup>53</sup> 'On the road with Tanya Gold: The Ferrari', Saturday 20 April 2019. <https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/on-the-road-with-tanya-gold-the-ferrari-gtc4-lusso>

<sup>54</sup> Hicks, Dan., 23 January 2017, Archaeologist: the A303 is a crucial part of Stonehenge's setting,' <http://theconversation.com/archaeologist-the-a303-is-a-crucial-part-of-stonehenges-setting-71451>

<sup>55</sup> Harvey, David C., 7 February 2017, 'Stonehenge, Big Roads and the Heritage Process', <https://geographiesofheritage.wordpress.com/2017/02/07/stonehenge-big-roads-and-heritage-process/>

<sup>56</sup> Adam Gary, Pers. Comm. Email 28 December 2017.

<sup>57</sup> In 1996 Kula Shaka released the album *K* which included the track 'A303'. First Played in Concert July 16, 2001 by Joe Strummer & the Mescaleros at HMV Oxford Street, London, 'Mega Bottle Ride' from *Global a Go-Go* (Released 24 July, 2001) features the A303 in the form of the 'Illminster Bypass'. Mothboy included an electronic sounding music track with few lyrics titled 'A303' on his album *The Fears*, released on 1 October 2004. 'The A303' by Beans On Toast features on the album *Cushty*, which was released 01 December 2017 and is his ninth studio album.

<sup>58</sup> Greg Hancock, Pers. Comm. Email. 24 February 2018.

<sup>59</sup> Kath Bird, Pers. Comm. Email 26 February 2018.