

Centering Stonehenge: Aspects of modern social history,  
1900 – 2020

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## **Abstract**

Stonehenge is the most well-known Neolithic monument surviving from Britain's prehistoric past. It has become an internationally recognized icon of ancient times. The research reported here considers aspects of the modern social history of Stonehenge, focusing on the period between 1900 and 2020, producing a relativist narrative that places Stonehenge firmly in the centre of the story.

This research begins with the widely held idea of Stonehenge's contested landscape. Its aim is to look at how the site is both a catalyst and a crucible for social change. The study analyses how events at the monument, bring together sub-cultures of society. The work will also evaluate the extent to which Stonehenge's social history can tell us about the contemporary use of ancient monuments.

The research draws on three main sources. An examination of the literature, consideration of the media and a public perception survey of 143 participants, leading to a series of interviews. Also included is a small photo archive and a sample of Stonehenge paraphernalia. These data sets are brought together using eight intersecting themes that form a relativist view of Stonehenge and an insight into its' importance to society today.

Analysis of the data shows that many individuals have strong emotional connections to Stonehenge and its surrounding landscape. This influences their ideas about the monument. Most have firm opinions about its future. The nature and character of Stonehenge paraphernalia highlights the importance of Stonehenge in popular culture.

It is evident that Stonehenge can be a useful tool that the heritage sector can use to their advantage to engage the public in archaeology. It can also be used as a platform to expose and explore social issues.

Stonehenge is a strong presence throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, bringing together a range of diverse sub-cultures. It is the centre for many broad debates which orbit round its circle. This thesis provides a narrative of the monument's recent social history and contributes to an emerging new generation of research related to Stonehenge in the modern world.



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## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

BDO	The British Druid Order
CHAT	Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory
CIfA	Chartered Institute for Archaeologists
NIMBY	Not In My Back Yard
OBOD	The Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids
ONS	Office for National Statistics
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCC	Wiltshire County Council
WHS	World Heritage Site
WSHC	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre



## **Preface**

Growing up in the countryside outside Bath, Stonehenge was one of the ancient sites that I knew about but had never visited prior to my undergraduate archaeology degree. I was more familiar with the landscape of the North Wessex downs, having spent a lot of time in the area. I have fond memories of climbing up to West Kennet, sitting amongst the knotted roots of the Avebury trees and watching the mass of Silbury Hill looming in the dusk on drives back home from visiting family.

It wasn't until I visited Stonehenge with my archaeology course and started volunteering there for English Heritage that I really became interested in the monument and its impact on archaeology and culture. Hearing visitors' stories about Stonehenge, the recent photo exhibition and talking to a local Salisbury taxi driver about the generations of his family who worked at the Stonehenge café, back then and now, sparked an interest in researching our modern-day interactions with ancient sites, particularly prehistoric ones. I touched upon this topic a little with my undergraduate dissertation which explored how post-Neolithic societies interacted with Neolithic long barrows, for which I interviewed several people that visit and use long barrows today.

For this research project, I wanted to research and discuss aspects of Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 - 2020 because I thought it would be interesting to take a fresh look at it. Archaeology isn't just what lies beneath, it's also what we feel and do when we visit ancient sites and recording stories of this. How we interact with ancient monuments like Stonehenge, becomes part of the fabric of that site and how we perceive it. There is a rich modern culture that surrounds Stonehenge, one that is constantly evolving and changing with society. I hope that the research project that follows helps to capture and interpret aspects of Stonehenge's social background.



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A special thanks goes to the staff at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, I've loved visiting to view the Stonehenge archives. Thank you also to my mum, Penny Grist, for your creative interpretations of the word clouds, they look beautiful.

Finally, thank you to the English Heritage staff and volunteers at Stonehenge, part of the inspiration for this research project were my volunteer shifts at Stonehenge. If you'll still have me, I'd love to come back and volunteer in the future!



## **Chapter One – Introduction**

To the unknowing visitor, it would be easy to imagine that Stonehenge has remained largely constant in its appearance, over the centuries and millennia that it has stood. In reality, like many other ancient monuments, Stonehenge has undergone major conservation work, with many of the stones having been moved or consolidated during the last 100 years. What we see today is mostly held up by concrete, but Stonehenge's façade is somehow perfectly imperfect. A weatherworn figure, blooming with lichen, its lawn periodically weeded by English Heritage volunteers.

Jacquetta Hawkes, an archaeologist with romanticist leanings, is often cited when discussing Stonehenge. In her paper 'God in the Machine', published in 1967, she declares that 'Every age gets the Stonehenge it deserves – or desires' (Hawkes, 1967: 174). Stonehenge and its landscape have undergone many changes over the last century, metamorphosing into the monument and tourist attraction that best suits the times. Stonehenge is often thought of as a national landmark, a symbol of British culture representing the prehistory of this country. Barbara Bender refers to it as a 'highly contentious contemporary symbol' (Bender, 1998: 9) which is reflected in the wider appropriation of Stonehenge for political purposes and the occasional use of it to support far right political leanings. But it is also an important part of British identity (Bender, 1998: 9), that many people connect with. Despite the scheduling of Stonehenge as an ancient monument in 1882 and thus cementing its status as a place of archaeological interest; it is only over the last 50 years that Stonehenge has become what we know it as today. A popular visitor attraction with a well-oiled smooth-running visitor centre, that welcomes nearly a million and a half people in a normal year. It is also worth noting that Stonehenge is one of the most protected archaeological sites in the UK, the monument and its surrounding landscape are designated under many different pieces of legislation, including inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986.

This research project was designed to provide an overview of Stonehenge's modern social history, looking at the monument's story through a multivocal relativist lens. By providing an analysis of key events, communities, and subcultures that shaped the history of Stonehenge from 1900 to the present day, this thesis centres Stonehenge, looking at aspects of its modern social history to help understand something of its past. It is hoped that this research project will form the basis of further discussions about Stonehenge's modern social history and draw the monument into the centre of such debates. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the aims and objectives, the scope of the study and its background, and a brief account of how the dissertation will unfold.

### **Aim and Objectives**

The overarching theme of the research reported here is an investigation into how Stonehenge has been used and seen by different communities in recent times. The main aim (which converts into a series of objectives) is to produce an informative narrative of Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to 2020 using a relativist approach to give voice to a range of different and sometimes contradictory perspectives.

## Objectives

- To begin to research and map out Stonehenge's modern social history.
- To construct a comprehensive analysis and discussion.
- To document a select number of events in Stonehenge's modern social history.
- To analyse how events at Stonehenge bring together sub-cultures of society.
- To discuss why Stonehenge has a significant role in today's society.
- To question what Stonehenge's social history can tell us about the contemporary use of ancient monuments.
- To discuss whether Stonehenge is a catalyst for change in modern society.
- To discuss the contested landscape of Stonehenge.
- To discuss whether Stonehenge is a battleground between disparate sub-cultures of society.
- To create two small photo archives. One consisting of collated photos from archives and kindly donated by members of the public. The other of collated Stonehenge paraphernalia, supporting the role of Stonehenge in popular culture.
- To produce an informative and educational resource that contains a selection of people's personal stories and photographs that introduces the reader to Stonehenge's modern social history through key historical events, building a complex narrative between 1900 and 2020.

## Background

Over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, Stonehenge has been the centre of a changing landscape, both physically and within debates and discussions. As society progresses over the period documented in this thesis, ideas around Stonehenge developed and were undertaken; sometimes with little thought for the monument itself. The Stonehenge that the visitor sees today is a sanitised version of what it was. Within the 120 years discussed, Stonehenge has seen an aerodrome (English Heritage Podcast 2021a), several excavations, two visitor centres and changing roads. The major debate at the time of writing, was the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel scheme, a national infrastructure project long in the making which has divided opinion since its conception and will continue to do so, whether it is completed or not.

Among common themes often applied to Stonehenge is the idea of it as a 'contested landscape' (Chippindale 1990), which can be seen over the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries in a variety of ways, one of which is easy public access to the Monument. As early as 1901, Stonehenge has been surrounded by a fence of some kind throughout the decades, limiting how people can interact with it (Bender 1998: 12). What was once publicly accessible, became accessible for a fee for those who can afford it: 'a shilling a head' in 1905 (Bender 1998: 113) or £21 in 2021 (English Heritage 2021d). Another element of the 'contested landscape' of Stonehenge is politics, which is heavily linked to class and land ownership. Bender comments on this in relation to the police-dominated Solstices of latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which turn Stonehenge into a 'gulag' (Bender 1990: 114), with 'the physical force that sustains the power of the ruling classes... flexing their muscles' (Bender 1990: 114). This appropriation of Stonehenge for political gain is prevalent throughout the 1980s and 90s, with the Thatcher years being the most confrontational, bringing underlying British societal issues into focus at Stonehenge (Bender 1990: 114). This contributes to the idea of Stonehenge as a 'contested landscape' as it has been heavily politicised over 1900 to 2020.

Today, the two days on which Stonehenge is freely accessible, Winter and Summer Solstice, draw large crowds. This popularity of the Solstices at Stonehenge has given rise to the idea of Stonehenge as a modern pilgrimage site. This view of Stonehenge is supported by the numbers who tuned in to the 2020 virtual summer solstice. Streamed online due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the solstice at Stonehenge attracted more than 3.6 million people (Gibson, 2020). Although people were unable to visit, this interaction with Stonehenge indicates that for many, Stonehenge is an important place, whether for beliefs or curiosity. This is supported by academic research as Till states that Stonehenge has become ‘a site of pilgrimage for the postmodern homeless self’ (Till 2013: 25), which could link to the belief that Stonehenge is a healing site, based on 12<sup>th</sup> century folklore (Darvill et al. 2019: 69). It could be inferred that people seek out Stonehenge as a place to restore one’s wellbeing away from modern life. Stonehenge holds ‘contemporary spiritual significance’ (Partridge 2006: 42) that attracts the subcultures and communities that congregate at Stonehenge each solstice, with ‘contemporary Pagan spirituality’ (Partridge 2006: 42) forming part of the appeal.

In the provocatively titled book, *Who Owns Stonehenge?* Chippindale states that ‘The role of archaeologists in knowing Stonehenge is to keep separate the ancient from the current’ (Chippindale et al. 1990: 162), although he also mentions that to ‘study Stonehenge is to be a student of current affairs’ (Chippindale et al. 1990: 9). It could be argued that current happenings events at Stonehenge, such as the A303 Tunnel scheme, subsequent published opinion letters and occupation of Stonehenge’s circle by Extinction Rebellion are blurring the lines between ancient and current as it distracts from the Ancient Monument itself. But these events also add to our interpretations of Stonehenge. Throughout Stonehenge’s modern social history, the archaeological site has been used as a societal sounding board, a catalyst for change.

Although several literary sources have been written about Stonehenge’s modern social history, none have covered the entirety of it in recent years. ‘*Who owns Stonehenge?*’ (Chippindale et al. 1990) was one of the first to tackle the modern social history of Stonehenge, but it is worth noting it is now 30 years old. It also takes a linear chronological narrative regarding historical events that can be seen from many different viewpoints in society. Keeping this in mind, the following thesis aims to be a fresh perspective at Stonehenge’s modern social history, breaking it down into key themes to weave Stonehenge’s story between 1900 and 2020.



1.1: *The new English Heritage visitor centre at Stonehenge, which opened in 2013, 2019*  
(English Heritage)



1.2: *Stonehenge from a drone, 2020* (B. Arreaza-Seed)

## **Unfolding the Thesis**

This work is laid out thematically, rather than following the traditional chronological order that is often used in discussion Stonehenge's history. It made sense to use a thematic layout for this research project as it focuses on the relatively small time period (in relation to Stonehenge's lifetime) between 1900 and 2020. Other works, which cover the entirety of Stonehenge's history doubtless have more content, so a chronological approach makes sense. The work unfolds using eight key themes, (see Chapter Three) to explore aspects of Stonehenge's modern social history, interlinking to form the discussion. During literary and media data collection for this research project,

it became apparent that several themes were consistently appearing. It seemed evident that this was a useful way to present and organise the research for this thesis.

This research project is reported here in ten chapters. This chapter introduces the context and question that this thesis is attempting to answer, including a summary of overlapping studies of Stonehenge. Also included, are the aims and objectives for this research and a brief description of how the thesis will unfold. This leads onto Chapter Two, which describes the project and includes a Gantt chart summarizing the activities undertaken and, more importantly, the methodologies that were used to collect the primary data. Alongside literature and media research, this project collected an additional five forms of primary data, including a Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and two types of archives. Chapter Three covers the writing of Stonehenge's social history and presents the extensive literary and media sources gathered for this project in eight key themes.

Chapters Four to Eight present the main forms of primary data collection and the analysis of the results, using both quantitative and qualitative analysing strategies. Chapters Four and Five go hand in hand, discussing the data from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and subsequent interviews. Chapter Six focuses on the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, discussing them and comparing the participants' views and experiences. Chapter Seven consists of the collated photos which make up the Stonehenge photo archive for this project, including the collection tables to show the variety of sources used to collect them. Chapter Eight takes a similar approach with the Stonehenge paraphernalia archive, and both include a brief commentary on what these archives can tell us about Stonehenge.

Chapter Nine is the preliminary chapter, which brings all the research detailed above together, producing a new history based upon the primary research. Using the eight key themes set out in Chapter Three, it discusses the research and its relevance to Stonehenge's modern social history, bringing the research full circle. The final chapter, Chapter Ten, summarises the project and its conclusions, including a section on the potential for further research.



## **Chapter Two – Methodologies**

This chapter will cover the methodologies used at each stage of this research project, showing how the research project was planned and carried out. The chapter is split into an introduction, some information on the project's Gantt chart and the six types of research that were used. The research types, for example, Literature and Media research or Public Perceptions of Stonehenge, are discussed using four subheadings to break down the stages. Each research type is discussed via the methodological approach, data collection methods, methods of analysis and evaluation of methodological choices. By setting this chapter out in this way, it gives a clear idea of how the research was done and the methods used for this project. It is also potentially useful if another researcher wanted to use similar research methods or replicate this research.

The types of research used for this thesis were carefully chosen so that they would inform the aim and objectives set out in Chapter One. Six different research types were used to contribute to the research, helping it become an informative and educational resource. These research types, particularly the online survey and two sets of interviews meet the main aim of taking a multivocal approach for this thesis to provide a narrative of Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to 2020.

The literature and media research was the primary way of constructing a comprehensive analysis and discussion, documenting a select number of events in Stonehenge's modern social history and allowing discussion of Stonehenge as a battleground for subcultures, a contested landscape and a catalyst for change in modern society. The Public Perception survey, subsequent interviews and the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews aided with discussion of Stonehenge's significant role today. They also provided information on the sub-cultures of society that gather at Stonehenge. The photo archive and paraphernalia archive for Stonehenge partly consist of images kindly donated by participants from the survey and two interview sets. Overall, the different types of research that were used in this thesis have begun to map out Stonehenge's modern social history and are useful in the forming of this research project's key ideas.

### **Gantt Chart**

When the research began, a Gantt chart was created to show an ideal timeline of how the research project would unfold. This is shown below. This was a good basis for the project as it gave an idea of the various deadlines that would have to be met over the course of the research. It also provided an easy checklist for which tasks needed to be done and when.

Of course, as the thesis began to take shape it was evident that some tasks would take longer than others and additional things would also need to be done. For example, it took longer than expected to do the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews because of issues with the Ethics paperwork. But it was useful to have a starting point for the research, even if the timeline of the Gantt chart was optimistic regarding timings. COVID-19 had a noticeable impact on the research project, which led to adaptation of the research when necessary to overcome obstacles presented by the pandemic. For example, the researcher was not able to do archive research when planned, due to numerous UK national lockdowns. Some archive research was done later in the project, visiting the WSHC several times in one week to make up for time missed earlier on.

## 2.A: The Gantt Chart for the Research Project



## Relativist and Multi-Vocal Theory

Right from the beginning of this research project, it was decided that it should take a relativist approach. Relativism can be defined as ‘the view that there are no universals, and that things like truth, morals, and culture can only be understood in relation to their own socio-historic context’ (O’Leary 2007). This approach was thought to be of benefit in relation to the content of this research as it concerns perspectives and views from a range of communities, all of whom have different relationships with Stonehenge.

By taking a relativist approach, key events in Stonehenge’s modern social history could be analysed in ways that allow for continual interpretation because the research was not bound by a universal ideal. This enabled the social history to be interpreted in relation to different peoples’ experiences. For example, for the primary data it was acknowledged that there was not a universal experience shared by all interview participants, which allowed key events like the Stonehenge Free Festivals to be understood regarding their own socio-historic context. It was also important to consider how the researcher related to Stonehenge. Living in the local area was advantageous as many people had experiences of Stonehenge and wanted to contribute to the project. In addition, previous volunteering at Stonehenge gave an idea of the site is managed by EH and the experiences that tourists took away with them.

In addition to relativism, this research project also adopted a multi-vocal perspective. As these two research theories are closely interlinked it proved convenient to use both for this research. Multi-vocalism was used as a research method for this thesis as a way of including the voices of different individuals and groups in the primary research. As one of the key objectives for this research project was to determine the extent to which events at Stonehenge bring together sub-cultures, multi-vocalism was decided to be a cohesive way of doing this. The main concept of multi-vocalism theory is to allow for the participation of more voices, groups, and individuals in academic research (Hodder 2008: 196), which can often include those from marginalized or small groups in society. Multi-vocalism is a way of allowing different stories to be heard (Hodder 2008: 197),

contributing to and changing our understanding of past social history grounded in metanarrative. Metanarrative can also be referred to as the ‘grand narrative’ (O’Leary 2007). It is the historical account that is seen as the ‘true’ one which links together other smaller stories to form an overarching philosophy (O’Leary 2007).

By including different voices relating to Stonehenge’s social history, a range of viewpoints could be brought together to form a new vision of Stonehenge from 1900 to 2020. Multi-vocalism was enabled through gathering primary data in several different ways, such as the two interview data sets and the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey. Overall, 147 participants took part in these three primary data sources which was a large sample when compared to the timescale for the project. This allowed for lots of people to take part and for numerous interpretations of Stonehenge’s modern social history. approach of multi-vocalism formed an image of Stonehenge over the course of the research project, one that was made up of many different people’s experiences and relationships with the ancient monument.

## **Literature and Media Research**

Literature and media search was a primary concern for the research project because it allowed the construction of a framework (Chapter Two: Writing Social Histories) and was essential in the structuring the ongoing discussion and analysis. This research was extensive and used several different sources, including publicly available databases such as Cambridge Core and archives such as the WSHC to look at how Stonehenge’s role in society evolved and changed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **Methodology**

The main aim was to gather all the relevant information that could be found and was accessible about Stonehenge’s modern social history from 1900 to 2020 to produce an informative narrative of its history during the focal time period. This literary and media research was then presented in eight key themes that were used throughout the thesis, linking the timeline of Stonehenge together. This method of data collection was used to construct a comprehensive analysis of main events in Stonehenge’s modern social history, discussing its contested landscape and role in society amongst other objectives.

The eight key themes for this project are detailed below in order:

1. Interpreting Stonehenge
2. Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape
3. Stonehenge and Politics
4. Memories of a Free Festival
5. Admission and Accessibility
6. The A303 Tunnel
7. Stonehenge and Pop Culture
8. Paganism and Stonehenge

## Data Collection Methods

For this section of data collection, a variety of sources were used. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, most of the research was conducted online, using online databases with some visits, when possible, to the WSHC in Chippenham, which holds a large amount of the archives that relate to Stonehenge. Source materials included newspapers, academic papers, books, and magazine articles amongst others. Video footage was particularly useful when researching the Stonehenge free festivals and solstice celebrations, to understand what a festivalgoer or solstice celebrant's experience of Stonehenge would have been like.

Several sources were used to find documentation that was relevant for this thesis, a sample of which is listed below. To search for relevant material, searches were conducted using key words and dates, for example: 'stonehenge', 'modern history', '1900-2020'. Once the initial search was made on a database, this was then narrowed down to decades from 1900 to 2020, specifically looking for commentary on Stonehenge's modern social history rather than archaeological content. Archaeological content was still useful when in the context of commenting on interpretations of Stonehenge over 1900 to 2020, but the primary interest was in the societal changes at Stonehenge.

The key sources accessed were:

- Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre
- National Archives
- Bournemouth Library MySearch
- JISC Library Hub
- Google Scholar
- Cambridge.org
- Academia.com
- YouTube
- Sage Journals
- Wiley
- AbeBooks
- Taylor & Francis Online

Examples of literature and media used:

- Academic papers and journal articles
- Book reviews
- Podcasts
- Newspapers
- Radio broadcasts
- Conference presentations
- Books

To collate the literary and media research, I used a basic table to catalogue sources and had a document of notes for each source. This proved to be the most useful way to keep track of the data collected as there were several sources and they were often revisited to check details. The below table shows an example of how sources were catalogued. This made it easy to search sources and check what had been previously read or cited in the thesis.

## 2.B: Example Table of Cataloguing Sources

Author and name of source	Type of source	Date published	Date accessed
Carole Cusack Charmed Circle: Stonehenge, Contemporary Paganism, and Alternative Archaeology	Academic paper/Journal article	2012	December 2020

## Methods of Analysis

While collating the data for this section of the project, the research was analysed using the eight key themes previously mentioned. The sources were then sorted into the themes based on their content. For example, an academic paper might primarily focus on Pagans and Druids at Stonehenge, but also mention political debates. In which case, it might be mentioned in both Stonehenge and Politics and Paganism and Stonehenge themes.

## Evaluation of Methodological Choices

Overall, the methodological choices chosen for the literature and media research for this thesis worked well. Using online academic databases to find most sources was a good solution to the lack of access to archives and libraries due to UK lockdowns because of the COVID-19 pandemic. This was supported by other types of media, including podcasts, YouTube, and television. When archives were accessible, it made sense to add to literature and media research by visiting archives such as the WSHC for council documents and newspapers.

## Primary Data

The main aim for the primary data section of this research project was to gain an understanding of people's experiences, current views, and opinions of Stonehenge. This data was collected because it informed the ongoing discussion throughout the work and help to fulfil the objectives set out at the beginning of the research project. It was thought that participant answers would give an insight into Stonehenge's role in society, what sub-cultures were attracted to it, the contemporary use of Ancient Monuments and to what extent Stonehenge was a catalyst for social change.

The primary data consisted of five separate sections. An online JISC Public Perception survey, Public Perception interviews (streamlined from the survey), Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, a small Stonehenge Photo Archive and a collection of

Stonehenge Paraphernalia. By using both qualitative and quantitative research methods for this research project it gave a wide range of data to analyse that supported the literary and media research and to discuss in relation to the eight key themes that are the core of the thesis.

### **Primary Data Readings**

Kohler Reissman (2011) discusses Personal Narratives and the analysis of this research concept. She notes that ‘narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the story itself’ and that by doing so it enables the researcher to learn about the participants’ own experiences by disregarding other narratives such as media representation (Kohler Reissman 2011). This was an important research concept to consider when collecting and analysing the data for both the Experiences of Stonehenge and Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews. By allowing oneself to be absorbed by the story the participant is telling, it opens the researcher’s mind to new interpretations of the social history of Stonehenge. This is more beneficial for the research as the researcher is more receptive of concepts that occur in an interview participants’ personal narrative, rather than immediately disregarding it since it does not adhere to ‘master narratives’ (Kohler Reissman 2011).

The interviews for this research project, particularly the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, are at their most basic form a storytelling activity, a way of collecting oral history of Stonehenge’s modern social history from people with personal experiences. This research method allows for different interpretations of Stonehenge’s modern social history regarding ‘particular cultural milieus and historical contexts’ (Kohler Reissman 2011). It is also worthwhile to note that in the context of the interviews, the participants build their narrative to ‘negotiate how they want to be known’ (Kohler Reissman 2011). The storytelling that is performed by the interview participant allows them to present themselves as a preferred self rather than their essential self (Kohler Reissman 2011). The interview participant puts on a show for the interviewer, positioning themselves in the story to tell it in the way they feel is best (Kohler Reissman 2011). Although use of personal narrative is not appropriate in all cases, i.e., large numbers of people (Kohler Reissman 2011), it was useful in the context of the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. Personal narrative opened up discourse surrounding the modern social history of Stonehenge through this particular set of interviews, allowing for interpretative theories.

Prior to transcribing the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, the researcher consulted chapter eight: Transcribing Interviews in *Doing Interviews* (Brinkmann & Kvale 2018). This was a useful introduction to how to transcribe interviews in the most appropriate way, transforming the oral narratives into a collection of written texts, suitable for analysis. These transcripts are the translations of the live social interactions that the researcher had with the interview participants (Brinkmann & Kvale 2018). It was thus important that they were cohesive and easily understandable for the reader, whilst still retaining the participant’s voice. The transcripts themselves are a form of initial analysis (Brinkmann & Kvale 2018), so it was important not to lose sense of the participant’s character as this relates to their personal narrative and experiences. For this reason, the transcripts are a close representation of the conversation between the interviewer and the participant, including some paralinguistic utterances such as ‘ums’ and ‘ers’ and emotional expressions e.g. (both laugh). By including these little details, it animates the

interview for the reader, lifting the words off the page to illustrate the content and immerse the reader in these stories relating to Stonehenge.

For these transcripts, brackets indicate emotional expressions or participant actions, e.g. (clears throat). Dots (...) and hyphens (-) indicate breaks in the participants' speech. Italicised words indicate that there was a stress of some sort placed on this word, reflecting the participants' emotions or speech patterns (Brinkmann & Kvale 2018). Words that are in square brackets are [ ] included information that helps to clarify the interview topic, for example 'When I was injured [Mark is an ex-soldier]'.

Once all the interviews were transcribed and any identifying information redacted, they were thematically coded in accordance with the thematic code detailed in the Methodologies. An example of this is available in Appendix C. The use of thematic coding in this research project denotes the interests of the research which shapes the analysis of the data (Kohler Reissman 2011). This way of data analysis allowed them to be cross analysed with the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews, for example were Experiences of Stonehenge interview participants more likely to mention politics than the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge participants? This also allowed for an overall indication of how the people regard Stonehenge. How do the participants in the primary data see Stonehenge regarding their personal experiences? The interviews are discussed below, separated into the individual participants, using key examples from the transcripts to illustrate the participants' experiences of Stonehenge.

### **Analysis of the Qualitative Data**

Because there are several primary data types for this research project, there was a wide variety of qualitative data collected over the research period. This was mostly textual and included transcripts from the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, and the answers from the follow-up interviews conducted after the survey.

The transcripts of the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews were the initial analysis for this data set and took a lot of time. But it was important that these transcripts were correct as they were relied upon heavily, as they were the only way of analysing the interview contents (the audio files were deleted after transcription in accordance with the participant agreement forms). Although with transcription, it is not imperative to transcribe the recorded audio exactly (Gibbs 2018), the majority of audio collected was transcribed to retain the natural flow of the researcher and interviewee in conversation. Some of the interviews were edited for clarity when they covered information that was not relevant to the research topic.

Thematic coding and categorizing was a primary way of analysing data for this research project. This was applied to sections of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, the subsequent interviews, and the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. Thematic coding was chosen as it allowed for exploration of relationships between codes and comparison of different participant responses to the interview questions (Gibbs 2018). The thematic code was separated into five categories, which reflected the nature of the data set and overall key themes for the thesis.

Using these analytical methods for the qualitative data produced in this research project was useful and allowed for breakdown of the data into categories that could then be

easily put together to form the discussion. For example, the thematic coding was extremely useful regarding the two interview data sets as these produced a large amount of data which would have been very time-consuming to analyse otherwise. Using key themes for analysis, sped up the process as the results were easily categorized, the text coded with the same label could be easily retrieved when needed and formed a structure for the researcher (Gibbs 2018). It also defined the data in a way that was easy to understand and cross-analyse (Gibbs 2018).

### **Thematic Coding**

This is the thematic code which was used for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey interviews, the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, and parts of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey.

Themes for the thematic coding analysis:

Archaeology and History – Words that relate to the archaeological or historical context of the site of Stonehenge

Religions and Beliefs – Words that fall into this category, for example ‘Druid’ or ‘Pagan’

Culture – Words that relate to the cultural importance of the site of Stonehenge.

Emotive – Words that convey a person’s emotions, for example, Stonehenge makes them feel ‘wonder’ or ‘happy’.

Politics – Words used by participants to describe Stonehenge that relate to political debates that surround the Monument.

Additionally, these five key themes, that were outlined in detail in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey section of this chapter, easily slot in with the overall key themes for the thesis. For example, the thematic coding theme ‘Archaeology and History’ can be discussed in relation to ‘Interpreting Stonehenge’ or ‘Politics’ can be applied to ‘Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape’ or ‘Stonehenge and Politics’. The use of the thematic coding gives a lot of flexibility within both the analysis and ensuing discussion and allows for the continuing development of ideas.

### **Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey**

The Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey was created for the purpose of collecting data that could be used to determine current public opinions and experiences of Stonehenge. This quantitative method of data collection was used for this research because it would give a largely numerical data set that could be generalised and analysed for thematic patterns. This would then inform the research and the consequent discussion.

## **Methodology**

An online JISC survey was created for the purpose of collecting the data for this section of the primary data collection. This approach was chosen because once set up, it allowed the survey to run without the constant need for input from the researcher. It also allowed the possibility of a wide-reaching pool of participants as the survey was easily accessible via a link. In other circumstances it might have been preferable to carry out the survey in person, perhaps by asking visitors to Stonehenge, but with the COVID-19 pandemic this was deemed the best option.

The online survey that was created for this research project was the first time that the researcher had used JISC Online Surveys. It was important to get the online survey right so that it ran smoothly, was easy for participants to use and collated a large amount of primary data. JISC Surveys were chosen as it allowed for an easy data collection that could quickly gather a lot of research (Toepoel 2016). The survey also enabled access to particular groups, internet communities, (like the Battle of the Beanfield Facebook group) that would not otherwise have been accessible (Toepoel 2016).

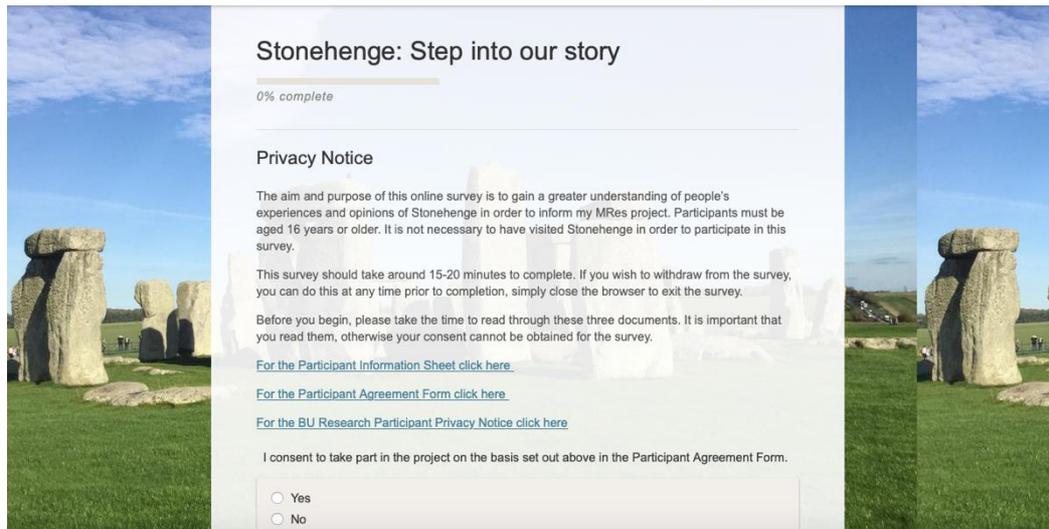
## **Data Collection Methods**

After applying and receiving ethical consent for the survey, it was set up using JISC online surveys software. The survey consisted of 33 questions overall, although depending on the questions the participant answered would take them on a different route through the survey. There was a mixture of question styles, including multiple choice, rating scales and word answers. It was important that all survey participants were aged 16 years or older, so they were required to give their date of birth. If participants were too young, they were sent to an exit page which had this screening statement.

Screening statement for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey exit page:

‘Thank you for your interest in the 'Stonehenge: Step into our story' survey. Unfortunately you are not part of the target group so have been screened out. You may now close this window, thank you for your time.’

After the survey was launched, it was revised which meant having two surveys (as the original couldn't be changed once live). The original was closed and a new one launched, with some changes. There were some cosmetic tweaks and reformatting of questions to make the front page more accessible and friendly to potential participants. For example, the wallpaper for the survey was a bright photo of Stonehenge and the number of questions on the front page were reduced by adding an extra participant document. The survey ran for a period of two months from the 5 February to the 5 April 2021. The target was 150 participants and the survey had 143 participants total.



2.1: Entry page for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

To recruit participants for the survey, several social media sites and groups were used to advertise and distribute the survey, as well as emails to certain organisations. It was advertised on several Facebook groups that would be interested (e.g., the Battle of the Beanfield group, the OBOD Druid group) as well as on the researcher's Archaeology Instagram and Twitter accounts. It was also emailed to the local archaeology group (BACAS) and around the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology in Bournemouth University. A full list of the distribution is below.

Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey distribution:

- LinkedIn article
- Pinned tweet about survey
- Link in Twitter bio for survey
- Post on Archaeology Instagram
- Link in Archaeology Instagram bio
- Posted in the BAJR Facebook group
- Posted in the Mentoring Womxn in Archaeology and Heritage Facebook group
- Posted in the Battle of the Beanfield Facebook group
- Posted in the U.K. Pagans, Heathens, Witches and Spiritual People Facebook group
- British Druid Order (BDO) posted it on their Facebook page
- OBOD posted it on their Facebook page
- Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society (BACAS), emailed it to members in the newsletter
- It was emailed round Bournemouth University BU Archaeology and Anthropology Department

The full survey is included in the Appendix B, with the set of blank questions and the results.

## **Methods of Analysis**

To analyse the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, both qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques were used as the survey produced both numerical and literary data. For the numerical data, it was set out into graphs and pie charts, to clearly show the number of responses and breakdown of data.

As detailed previously, thematic coding was also used to analyse parts of the survey data, as with the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews and the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews. The same thematic code was used for all these data sets to ensure continuity. For example, with questions 13 and 15 of the survey, thematic coding was used to establish word frequency.

Questions 13 and 15 asked the participant to describe to describe using three words:

Q. 13: How would you describe Stonehenge in three words?

Q. 15: How would you describe Stonehenge's relevance to contemporary culture in three words?

The data from these two questions was first organized into usable and unusable responses. It was then put into data tables for word frequency to establish the commonality of word choice across the participant responses. These words were then thematically coded and grouped by theme, using the five key themes established for the thematic coding of sections of the primary data: Archaeology and History, Emotive, Religion and Beliefs, Culture and Politics. Finally, the data was presented in two separate creative word clouds, to provide a visual account of the word frequency and themes present in the data set.

## **Evaluation of Methodological Choices**

Although the preparation for the survey took time as the researcher had to familiarize themselves with the software, it proved to be an invaluable way of collecting primary data that informed the research about people's views and experiences of Stonehenge today. It also provided a set of participants for the subsequent Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews.

## **Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews**

These interviews were undertaken after the Public Perception survey finished. Survey participants were asked if they would like to contribute further to the project and a select number were chosen from those who had expressed an interest in doing so. The purpose of carrying out and including this set of interviews in this research project was that it provided another form of quantitative data, and the responses could be cross analysed with those from the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews.

## **Methodological Approach**

These interviews contributed to the main aim of the primary data for this research project, which was to gain a greater understanding of people's experiences, current views, and opinions of Stonehenge. It also helped to inform the ongoing discussion

throughout the work and help to fulfil the objectives set out at the beginning of the research project. It was thought that participant answers would give an insight into the role of Stonehenge in their lives, their experiences at Stonehenge and their opinions on its preservation. A useful source for understanding how to carry out this interview set was SAGE Research Methods online, particularly chapter five of ‘Analyzing Qualitative Data’ (Gibbs, 2018).

### **Data Collection Methods**

The public perception interviews were conducted after the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey closed. In the Public Perceptions survey all participants were asked if they wanted to be interviewed further for this research project. Out of 143 participants, 60 responded. To collect the data for this interview set, these participants were numbered 1-60 and tabulated. The numbers were then put into a random number generator and 20 were chosen. By choosing to invite a third of the participants, it kept the potential data set small and meant that the data could be collected quickly and effectively.

To ensure that the chosen participants had privacy, they were each emailed separately with an invitation to the interview and a set of the interview questions. If they chose to take part, they could then fill in the interview questions at their leisure and email them back. The email template that was sent to Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interview participants is available in the Appendix C.

### **Methods of Analysis**

To analyse the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews, thematic coding was used. Thematic coding was also used for parts of the survey and the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. The same thematic code was used for all these data sets to ensure continuity. The data was analysed and organised into these five themes: Archaeology/History, Emotive, Religion/Beliefs, Culture and Politics. This method of analysis resulted in an outcome which clearly showed what the reoccurring main themes were when people are asked about Stonehenge.

As well as the use of thematic coding for these three primary data sets, they were also analysed as to which key themes they fit in. This was done because in the Chapter Eight, the Discussion chapter was broken down into the eight key themes previously mentioned. By analysing them prior to this, it allowed for discussion of the primary data sets throughout the chapter. Analysis of the data retrieved from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey gave a deeper insight into how these interview participants perceived Stonehenge and the influence it has on their lives.

### **Evaluation of Methodological Choices**

As with the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, informed ethical consent was important for this set of interviews. The Ethics for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey (which also applied to the participants for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews) were revised and discussed with supervisors to ensure that potential participants were aware of what they were taking part in. It was useful to have another set of interviews to compare with the Experiences

of Stonehenge set. Because this set was conducted over email, it allowed participants to take their time and really think about what they wanted to say about Stonehenge, without feeling embarrassed or the addition of any accidental interviewee influence.

## **Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews**

The Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews were a set of interviews done with participants who had personal links with key aspects of Stonehenge's modern social history, for example, someone who witnessed or was part of the Battle of the Beanfield. The interviews were designed to give a large amount of qualitative data, bringing a story-telling narrative to the thesis, and acting as the counterpart to the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, the majority of which was quantitative data. By including these interviews in the thesis, it also contributed to the multi-vocal aim of this research and the key themes that are referenced throughout the research.

## **Methodological Approach**

The use of interviews in this research project links back to the aims and objectives set out at the beginning. By interviewing several participants from different backgrounds, it created a multivocal approach to the discussion of Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to 2020. Interviews were chosen as a research method for this thesis because the qualitative data gained from it allowed for deeper knowledge of Stonehenge's modern social history and acted as a useful resource for understanding personal connections to Stonehenge.

These interviews were carefully planned and the product of many discussions with the supervisors. Ethical considerations and consent were paramount for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews because of the nature of potential content. For example, it was expected that some participants may have personal experiences related to violent periods in Stonehenge's history. It was essential that potential participants were informed of the nature of the interview, the potential questions, and their rights prior to being interviewed so that they could give their informed ethical consent and feel empowered about the interview.

For the interviews, it was important that participants had ownership of their narrative and felt in control. To assist with this, ethical provisions included the option to skip any questions they weren't comfortable with and the personal choice of remaining anonymous, using a pseudonym or their own first name. Participants were also encouraged to not disclose anything (for example, potential drug use or violence) that may incriminate them, but it was their own choice what they wanted to talk about in their interview.

## **Data Collection Methods**

When planning the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, there was originally a list of around 16 people who were thought to have interesting experiences of Stonehenge and may like to be interviewed. As the research project developed, it was evident that this was overly ambitious and that some potential participants might have been difficult to get in contact with. The list was narrowed down to five participants who all had

different stories relating to Stonehenge, although several were in a similar timeframe, and were happy to be interviewed for this thesis.

To find potential participants for these interviews, a wide range of techniques were used. The researcher's Archaeology Twitter and Instagram as well as personal Facebook were used to find potential participants for the survey and the photo archive, this also drew attention to the research project and its content. The result of this was that two of the interviewees reached out to the researcher and expressed an interest in being interviewed.

Several participants were also emailed and asked whether they wanted to take part in the project. Another participant heard about the thesis and expressed in person that they would like to share their experiences. It was expected during the planning of this thesis that members of the Pagan, Druid, and wider spiritual community, as well as the New Age Traveller community may be difficult to get hold of. Although twitter and Instagram were useful in raising awareness of the research project and gathering participants for the survey as well as content for the photo archive; it was difficult to find potential participants for these interviews from the sub-cultures mentioned above.

Through Facebook, two Facebook group pages were posted in, but people seemed reluctant to participate. This is understandable as both Pagans and New Age Travellers are often mocked in mainstream media. The Pagan and Druid community are careful in talking about their beliefs, particularly with archaeologists as in the past, some archaeologists have been less than polite when discussing Paganism and Druidism in relation to Stonehenge. Because of this, the researcher reached out to an old friend who is part of this community and was delighted to be asked to participate in this set of interviews.

It is also worth noting that as the researcher lives relatively close, or within the larger local area of Stonehenge, many of the people they know have experiences of Stonehenge. Over the course of this research project, they have heard from many friends about their stories of Stonehenge, particularly with the Free Festivals. For a lot of people around here, these were a fun thing to go to when you were younger. The researcher's proximity to Stonehenge was beneficial when recruiting participants for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. An old Peace Convoy member lives nearby, and a friend was a BBC runner at the Battle of the Beanfield. Both of them both agreed to be interviewed for this research project.

The key criteria for interview participants was that they had to have personal experiences of events or interactions with Stonehenge and that they had to fit into one of the eight key themes that reoccur throughout this thesis. For example, the Pagan participant was present at the Battle of the Beanfield but also has a strong emotional connection with Stonehenge. Thus, their experiences can be used to discuss 'Memories of a Free Festival' and 'Stonehenge and Paganism'.

Most of the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews were conducted over Zoom, with the audio recorded for transcription purposes. Two of the interviews were done in person, socially distanced, due to the locality of the participants and in accordance with the government regulations on Covid-19 at the time of recording. Prior to the interview, the researcher had a brief but thorough discussion with the interviewee about their rights, what the interview would contain, and they went through the interview participant

documents together. The participant was also encouraged to ask any questions that they may have. Interview participants all chose to use their first name only. After the interview, participants were sent a copy of the transcript and were given the option of removing any information that they felt uncomfortable sharing. This was done so that the interview participants felt in control of their own narrative.

The researcher attended an Introduction to Podcasting and Archaeology workshop as part of the CIfA Innovation Festival (Boyle, 2021) and part of it focused on the comfort of participants. The use of transcripts and sending the participants them in case they wanted to remove any information was discussed in this workshop. This was applied to these interviews so that the participants felt comfortable and at ease during the interview. If they read the transcript back and later wanted to remove a comment it gave them this option and allowed them to retain the control of their own narrative. The interviews were also edited for clarity, as some included discussion of other topics which weren't applicable to the thesis.

### **Methods of Analysis**

To analyse the data from this interview set, the researcher looked for storytelling structures and interpreting of the meanings, e.g., how did this participant and their experience make them view a particular event? As in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and subsequent interviews, thematic coding was also used. The five codes were Archaeology and History, Emotive, Religion and Beliefs, Culture and Politics. As well as this, as mentioned in the methodological approach detailed above, the participants' experiences were organised into the eight main themes for the thesis and in some of the participants' experiences there was expected to be some crossover between themes. This was set in place so that when it came to Chapter Eight, the thematic coding and organisation into the main themes meant that the discussion chapter was being built as the primary data collection was carried out. It was important that there was reference to primary data analysis across the eight key themes.

### **Evaluation of Methodological Choices**

Overall, it was a good decision to include these interviews in the thesis. They did take a longer time than expected to do, largely because of transcription. All the transcripts were done by the researcher due to the potential sensitive content that was included in the interviews. Although the interviews were time-consuming, they are useful and relevant because they provide another insight into people's experiences and stories of Stonehenge. They also add to the multivocal nature of this research and provide their own interesting narratives. Everyone's experience with Stonehenge is different and this is evident from these interviews. Social history is always multi-faceted, and the true narrative is often not the widely presented narrative when the data is analysed.

As with the survey and the survey set of interviews, informed ethical consent for the participants was paramount. The Ethical assessment for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews was revised several times and discussed with the supervisors. It was important that the interview participants were properly informed of their rights prior to the start of the interview, and they were encouraged to not disclose any information that could possibly implicate them in any negative actions. The interview participants were very generous to share their stories and time for this thesis, therefore it was imperative that they felt in control of their own narrative.

## **Stonehenge Photo Archive**

When researching modern social history, photos of ordinary people seem to be easily forgotten, although they can often tell us a lot about societal norms, fashion and historical events. For this section of primary data collection, people were asked to share photos of them at Stonehenge, visiting, at solstices and more. This method of data collection was used to contextualise the interviews and surveys, providing a visual guide to the research and another way of documenting Stonehenge's modern social history.

### **Methodological Approach**

The purpose of creating a small photo archive for this thesis was to provide another set of primary data to help document the social history of Stonehenge, how people interacted with the Monument and the landscape and how they presented themselves whilst doing so. Another reason for the inclusion of a photo archive was to show how the appearance of Stonehenge changed from 1900 to 2020. This was to give the prospective reader a visual narrative of the changing presentation of the Ancient Monument.

### **Data Collection Methods**

To collect the photographs for this section of the primary data, a range of sources were used. The below diagram shows the data collection process. As with the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, social media proved to be a useful source for the Stonehenge Photo Archive. The researcher's Archaeology Twitter and Instagram were used, with screenshots of posts/tweets available in Appendix E. The posts on both social media sites had positive reactions, with the tweet about the photo archive retweeted 10 times. The interview participants for both interview sets were also contacted, and the researcher made several visits to the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre to view their archives on Stonehenge. The National Archives website also proved to be relatively successful as several images of Stonehenge were digitised and freely available online. Although Historic England has some amazing photos of Stonehenge, including of excavations, these weren't included in the archive as the price per item was too expensive for an MRes project.

It was important that ethical issues were considered when collating the data for this chapter. Of primary concern was copyright and ownership. Using found photos usually requires permission from the copyright holder of the photo (Tinkler 2014). The researcher visited the archives at the WSHC several times over the course of the thesis to gather research. To take photos of documents and images held in the archive, the researcher purchased a daily photography licence and filled out a form detailing the reference numbers, so that the WSHC had a record of what had been photographed. When known, the photographer of the image was referenced in the Stonehenge Photo Archive, if this was not recorded in the archival documents, the reference was WSHC to indicate that the photo was in their archives. All photographs from the WSHC and the National Archives have individual references in the bibliography of this thesis.

Photos that were collected from social media were all given voluntarily by participants responding to the researcher's social media posts. All participants were messaged and

gave their consent for their photos to be used in this thesis (Tinkler 2014). For each photograph included in the Stonehenge photo archive, the person's full name was used (with their prior consent) to acknowledge their ownership of the photo (Tinkler 2014).



2.2: Diagram showing the collection methods for the Stonehenge Photo archive, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

## Methods of Analysis

The photos that were collated of Stonehenge were analysed by studying the material culture present in each image (Tinker 2014). For example, what type of clothes were people wearing, Sunday-best or everyday ones? How did Stonehenge look, was it propped up by beams? If there was a car present in the photo, was this a ‘posh car’? All this material culture was taken into consideration, to explore insights into the people in the photographs (Tinker 2014) and what the photos said about Stonehenge at the time they were taken.

The researcher was interested in whether people dressed up to visit Stonehenge and how the Ancient Monument had changed from 1900 to 2020. It was also interesting to note the change of access depicted in the photographs. For example, the use of gravel around the stones, where the fences are placed, how near were visitors allowed to the stones.

## Evaluation of Methodological Choices

Collecting photographs for the archive using these methods proved to be a good way of doing it. Using social media to reach out to people proved to be popular and many photographs were gathered that way. Visiting the archives at WSHC to view photographs was also informative as many are not digitised or available online. The photos provide a visual background to the thesis and useful to put the content into context. The prospective reader can clearly see the transition of Stonehenge through the photographs into what it is today and how the Stonehenge visitor experience has changed.

## Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive

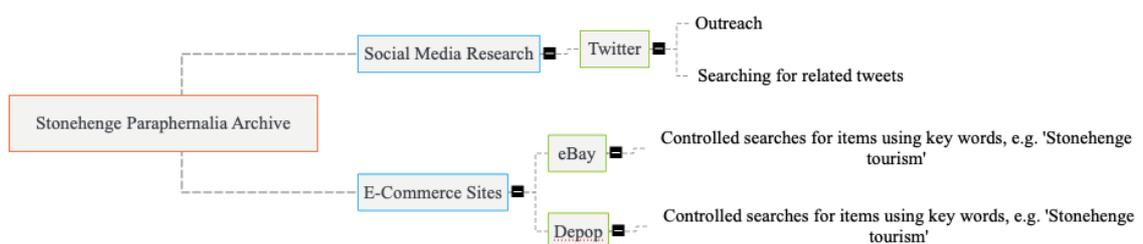
It was decided to include a Stonehenge paraphernalia archive in this research project to compliment the Stonehenge photo archive. Stonehenge is a large part of tourism in England, particularly in Wiltshire. It has the potential to generate a substantial income for the local area. By including a selection of images that indicate the wide range of Stonehenge-related items available, it was thought that it would give the reader an idea of the influence that Stonehenge has, and continues to have, on tourism, souvenirs, and popular culture.

### Methodological Approach

The addition of a Stonehenge paraphernalia archive to the data collection occurred about halfway through the research project. As research continued, it was evident that an archive of this sort would be of value to discuss because it showed the influence that Stonehenge has on popular culture and the growth of tourism and souvenirs in the archaeological and heritage sector throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### Data Collection Methods

To collect imagery for this archive, similar techniques and sources were used when carrying out data collection for the Stonehenge photo archive. Most of the paraphernalia was collected using the e-commerce sites eBay and Depop, using controlled searches and key words. The paraphernalia items were collected over the course of the research project, and some were shared on twitter in a thread using the #stonehengegetshirt. The results were collated in a data table, stating the date of search, key words used, site name (e.g., eBay) description of item and date of item.



2.3: Diagram showing the collection methods for the Stonehenge Paraphernalia archive, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

### Methods of Analysis

The Stonehenge paraphernalia is difficult to analyse, but it can be analysed numerically and quantitatively. For the quantitative analysis, the items in the archive will be analysed to see whether they fit into any of the eight key themes. They add to the discussion of Stonehenge and popular culture, but it will be interesting to see whether they can tell us about social issues of the time of the item. In numerical terms, this archive will be analysed by looking at the amount of paraphernalia available from each source used, where the items come from and their cost. For example, is older

paraphernalia deemed more valuable? It also will be interesting to see what percentage of Stonehenge souvenirs are available in the UK when compared to those available in the US.

### **Evaluation of Methodological Choices**

Overall, this way of collecting imagery for the Stonehenge paraphernalia archive proved to be successful. The archive provides an insight into the influence of Stonehenge on popular culture and tourism.

### **Summary**

This chapter covered the methodologies used for this research project, detailing each type of data collection using four subheadings: methodological approach, data collection methods, methods of analysis and evaluation of methodological choices. Each data collection was carefully thought out, with the methods presented here. The next chapter will cover the data analysis of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and subsequent interviews, going into detail about what these two types of primary data collection can indicate about public views of Stonehenge.



## Chapter Three – Writing Social History

This chapter covers aspects of Stonehenge’s modern social history from 1900 to 2020, the result of extensive literary and media research using a wide variety of sources. The research presented here provides an analysis of key events, communities and subcultures that shaped the history of Stonehenge from 1900 to the present day. The important events are linked together to form a running narrative of this time period and contributing to the building of the discussion surrounding Stonehenge’s literature. The research is organised into the eight key themes detailed in Chapter One, laying down the tracks for the consecutive methodologies.

### 3.A: Timeline of Stonehenge, 1900 – 2020

Year	Gov.	Legal	Royalty	Protests	Stonehenge	Transport	Wars
1900	Conservative PM R. Gascoyne- Cecil				Stonehenge fenced due to safety concerns about falling stones 1900		
1901	Conservative		Queen Victoria  Edward VII 1901- 1910				
1902	Conservative PM J. Balfour						
1903	Conservative			Suffragette Movement begins 1903 - 1918			
1904	Conservative						
1905	Conservative  Lib Dem PM H. Campbell- Bannerman				Antrobus court case about Stonehenge fencing 1905		

1906	Lib Dem						
1907	Lib Dem						
1908	Lib Dem PM H.H. Asquith						
1909	Lib Dem						
1910	Lib Dem		Edward VII  George V 1910 – 1936				
1911	Lib Dem						
1912	Lib Dem						
1913	Lib Dem	Ancient Monument s Act 1913					
1914	Lib Dem						WW1 1914- 1918
1915	Lib Dem				Stonehenge bought by Cecil Chubb at auction, 21 <sup>st</sup> Sept. 1915		
1916	Lib Dem PM D. Lloyd George						
1917	Lib Dem				Stonehenge aerodrome opens 1917 - 1921		

1918	Lib Dem			Suffragette Movement ends 1918	Stonehenge is given to the nation by Cecil Chubb, now in care of Ministry of Works 1918		WW1 ends 1918
1919	Lib Dem				Restoration programme at Stonehenge begins 1919  Stonehenge excavations begin (Hawley) 1919 - 1926		
1920	Lib Dem						
1921	Lib Dem				Stonehenge aerodrome closes 1921		
1922	Lib Dem  Conservative PM A. Bonar Law						
1923	Conservative PM S. Baldwin				OCS Crawford (Office of Works) identifies the Stonehenge Avenue 1923		
1924	Conservative  Labour PM J. Ramsay MacDonald  Conservative PM S. Baldwin						

1925	Conservative						
1926	Conservative				Stonehenge excavations (Hawley) are discontinued 1926		
1927	Conservative				Stonehenge Café built 1927		
1928	Conservative						
1929	Conservative Labour PM J. Ramsay MacDonald						
1930	Labour						
1931	Labour						
1932	Labour						
1933	Labour						
1934	Labour						
1935	Labour Conservative PM S. Baldwin				Small car park created for visitors 1935		
1936	Conservative		George V Edward VIII crisis George VI				

			1936 - 1952				
1937	Conservative PM N. Chamberlain						
1938	Conservative				Stonehenge Café and custodian cottages are demolished 1938		
1939	Conservative						WW2 begins 1939 - 1945
1940	Conservative PM W. Churchill						
1941	Conservative						
1942	Conservative						
1943	Conservative						
1944	Conservative						
1945	Conservative  Labour PM C. Atlee						WW2 ends 1945
1946	Labour						
1947	Labour						Cold War begins 1947- 1991
1948	Labour						

1949	Labour						
1950	Labour				Atkinson, Piggott and Stone excavations 1950 - 1956  Mobile café in Stonehenge car park 1954		
1951	Labour  Conservative PM W. Churchill	Fraudulent Mediums Act 1951					
1952	Conservative		George VI  Elizabeth II 1952 –				
1953	Conservative	Historic Buildings & Ancient Monument s Act 1953					
1954	Conservative				New underground toilets for visitors 1954		
1955	Conservative PM A. Eden						
1956	Conservative				Atkinson, Piggott and Stone excavations end 1956		
1957	Conservative						

	PM H. Macmillan						
1958	Conservative				Stonehenge Restoration project (Atkinson, Piggott and Stone) 1958 - 1959		
1959	Conservative				Stonehenge Restoration project ends 1959		
1960	Conservative				Stonehenge car park is extended 1960		
1961	Conservative				Stonehenge visitor footfall is 337,000 1961		
1962	Conservative						
1963	Conservative PM A. Douglas-Home				Outer circle stone fall at Stonehenge 1963  Inner circle is surfaced with gravel 1963		
1964	Conservative  Labour PM H. Wilson				Final phase restoration project, some major stones (including the Great Trilithon) are secured in concrete 1964		
1965	Labour						

1966	Labour				Further extension to carpark 1966  Wainwright Durrington Walls excavations 1966 -1968		
1967	Labour						
1968	Labour	Caravan Sites Act 1968		Dagenham Women's Strike for Equal Pay 1968	Wainwright Durrington Walls excavations end 1968  Underground Bunker Visitor Centre built 1968		
1969	Labour						
1970	Labour  Conservative PM E. Heath						
1971	Conservative						
1972	Conservative			Miner's Strike 1972			
1973	Conservative				Avenue excavations 1973		
1974	Conservative Labour PM H. Wilson				Stonehenge Free Festivals 1972 - 1984		
1975	Labour						
1976	Labour						

	PM J. Callahan						
1977	Labour				Stonehenge inner circle enclosed by a fence 1977		
1978	Labour				Gravel in inner circle removed 1978		
1979	Labour Conservative PM M. Thatcher	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979			Pitts dig near Heel Stone 1979		
1980	Conservative				Stonehenge Environs project 1980 – 1997		
1981	Conservative			Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp 1981-2000			
1982	Conservative						Falklands War 1982
1983	Conservative				Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission founded (later renamed English Heritage) 1983		
1984	Conservative			Miner's Strike begins	Stonehenge is given to English		

				1984 - 1985	Heritage 1984  Stonehenge Free Festival ends 1984		
1985	Conservative			Miner's Strike ends 1985	Battle of the Beanfield 1 <sup>st</sup> June, 1985		
1986	Conservative	Public Order Act 1986			Stonehenge becomes a World Heritage Site 1986		
1987	Conservative						
1988	Conservative						
1989	Conservative						
1990	Conservative PM J. Major						
1991	Conservative						Cold War ends 1991
1992	Conservative						
1993	Conservative						
1994	Conservative	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994					
1995	Conservative				Results from all 20 <sup>th</sup> century excavations are published 1995	A303 Stoneheng e Tunnel proposal 1995	

1996	Conservative						
1997	Conservative Labour PM T. Blair	The Stonehenge Regulations 1997					
1998	Labour						
1999	Labour						
2000	Labour	Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000		Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp ends 2000	Managed Access to Stonehenge for the solstices 2000		
2001	Labour						Afghanistan War begins 2001-2011
2002	Labour					A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme plans updated 2002	
2003	Labour				Stonehenge Riverside Project Az 2003 – 2009		Iraq War begins 2003 -
2004	Labour					A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Public Enquiry 2004	
2005	Labour					A303 Stonehenge	

						e Tunnel Scheme plans withdrawn 2005  A303 Stonehenge Tunnel proposal 2005 - 2006	
2006	Labour						
2007	Labour PM G. Brown					A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme cancelled 2007	
2008	Labour				Darvill and Wainwright Stonehenge excavations (part of the ongoing Strumble-Presele project) 2008		
2009	Labour				Stonehenge Riverside project ends 2009		
2010	Labour  Conservative PM D. Cameron					Traffic & Airspace Regulations prohibit traffic every W/S Solstice 2010-2019	
2011	Conservative						
2012	Conservative					A344 road closes 2012	

2013	Conservative				Stonehenge English Heritage Visitor Centre opens 2013	A303 Stonehenge Tunnel proposal 2013	
2014	Conservative						Afghanistan War ends 2014
2015	Conservative				English Heritage becomes a charity 2015		
2016	Conservative PM T. May				Human Henge project 2016 - 2018		
2017	Conservative					A303 Stonehenge Tunnel proposal given the go-ahead 2017	
2018	Conservative				Human Henge project ends 2018  Stonehenge 100 - centenary of Stonehenge being given to the public 2018	Highways England consultations for A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme 2018	
2019	Conservative PM B. Johnson				UNESCO condemn A303 Tunnel plans 2019		
2020	Conservative					Stonehenge A303 Tunnel	

						Plan is approved 2020	
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## Interpreting Stonehenge

From 1900 to 2020, Stonehenge has been the centre of many interpretations. Technological advances over the 120 years have allowed archaeologists and historians to discover more about Stonehenge and its' origins, in turn informing use of the Monument in its modern social history. These interpretations of Stonehenge provide context for aspects of Stonehenge's modern social history, allowing academics to compare use of the Ancient Monument over its lifetime. Much of the work discussed here, will later be discussed in more detail to inform the key themes for this chapter. Thus, this theme is designed to be a guide that will assist in the understanding of the other forthcoming themes.

### Stonehenge Academia

Academic discussion about Stonehenge is an essential part of its interpretation. It is evident that research about the monument has greatly expanded our knowledge since 1900, most noticeably perhaps, in the last 30 years. Between 1901 and 1994, there were 123 digs and other 'interventions' at Stonehenge, although some are now seen as destructive to the archaeology (Hill 2009: 148). Recent and ongoing archaeological research projects at Stonehenge include the Stonehenge Riverside Project and Human Henge, and in 2020 researchers were able to determine the exact location of where Stonehenge's sarsen stones came from (BBC News 2020).

Chippindale states that Stonehenge should be studied 'in a spirit of sceptical and questioning rationality' (Chippindale 2004: 239), although it could be said that Stonehenge has had its fair share of perhaps irrational academic theories. In the 1960s, no doubt fuelled by the 1959 Moon Landing, there was an interest in astronomy and Stonehenge, most notably Professor Gerald Hawkins' theory of Stonehenge as an astronomical observatory (Hoyle 1966: 262). Hoyle attempts to rationalize this theory by stating that 'the large physical size of Stonehenge supports this opinion' (Hoyle 1966: 270) and that 'if Stonehenge was constructed as an astronomical observatory the builders presumably tried to make the sighting lines as accurate as possible' (Hoyle 1966: 270). Although it is scathingly debunked by Atkinson's review *Moonshine on Stonehenge*, who wrote: 'it is a great pity that Professor Hawkins has allowed his undoubted enthusiasm for his subject to lead him beyond the bounds of logic and accuracy' (Atkinson 1966: 216).

Chippindale compares alternative archaeological studies to the poet William Blake's 'mystical vision' (Chippindale 2004: 240). This is a poetic way of writing about academic interpretations of Stonehenge, as surely part of the joy in being an archaeologist is dreaming and constructing narratives based upon objects and monuments of the past. Stonehenge and its architecture has been regarded as a 'building aesthetically conceived' (Hill, 2009: 59), which has influenced the 'urban fabric of modern Britain' (Hill, 2009: 60), seen in London and particularly Bath with the Circus (built by John Wood, a Druid), said to have been built to resemble Stonehenge.



3.1: Mr. Malcom Murray of Edinburgh University with Miss Faith D. Morgan of Salisbury working beneath one of the fallen stones, ca. 1950s (A. Underwood)

Another aspect of the academic discussion on Stonehenge is its importance to society and who it belongs to. In *Who Owns Stonehenge*, Fowler states that he does not ‘I do not regard Stonehenge as ‘belonging’ in a general sense to any one person or institution or cult’ (Chippindale et al. 1990: 123) although he acknowledges it belongs to English Heritage in a ‘strictly legal sense’ (Chippindale et al. 1990: 123). This is echoed by Rhys Jones ‘it is a thing to be known and held in common by all those who regard it’ (Chippindale et al. 1990: 87) whose summary of Stonehenge ownership is perhaps the most sensible one, or least likely to antagonise. That Stonehenge is of communal ownership, held in trust for us by EH is interesting, perhaps there would be less contestation over the monument if we accepted that no one entity owns it, linking to Chubb’s gifting it to the nation in 1918. It is an impossible, unrepresentable space but one that also means a great deal to many different groups of people. Hetherington argued that ‘Stonehenge is imbued with a myriad of different utopias all of which express different visions of the ordering of the social’ (Hetherington 1995: 153) that are often expressed through forms of resistance to ways in which society, through the prism of such a site, is seen to be currently ordered.

Darvill’s theory of value systems for the archaeological resource can be applied to Stonehenge and is a useful way to analyse how we value the monument. Value in this application is defined by ‘sociological interpretations – sets of broadly-constituted, socially-determined assumptions, beliefs and knowledge-sets which may be termed ‘value-systems’ (Darvill 1994: 52). The value system breaks down into 3 sections, use value, option value and existence value (Darvill 1994: 55). For an archaeological resource, such as Stonehenge, use value is based upon consumption of said resource, placed upon it by contemporary society (Darvill 1994: 55). Examples of use value include: archaeological research, creative arts, education, tourism, symbolic representation, monetary and economic gain (Darvill 1994: 56-57). Given that

Stonehenge is relevant to all these uses (indeed many are present in this research project) it can be stated the Stonehenge has a high use value to society today.

The main aim of the option value is ‘physical preservation of remains’ (Darvill 1994: 58) to conserve the archaeological resource for future generations. Since 1918, Stonehenge has been in the care of the Ministry of Works department and later EH, to protect it for the enjoyment and benefit of our children’s children (Darvill 1994: 58). Existence value is the ‘feel good factor’ (Darvill 1994: 59) of an archaeological resource. People are happy Stonehenge exists, even if they’ve never been (Darvill 1994: 59). This value can also be linked to feelings of national pride for Stonehenge and reassurance. People are aware of their past as Stonehenge roots them to it (Darvill 1994: 59). Value systems are an important foundation for cultural heritage, they determine how the archaeological resource is managed (Darvill 1994: 52-53). By applying value systems to Stonehenge, they can determine the ongoing management of the monument, informing us of the best way to care, present and use it.

### **Healing Stones**

Academic ideas about Stonehenge as a therapeutic place can be attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who introduced the idea of stones having healing powers (Darvill et al. 2018: 96). In 2004, Chippindale puts forward the idea that Prehistoric Stonehenge was ‘a sacred place of uncomprehended power on a mysterious earth’ (Chippindale 2004: 255). This is expanded by Darvill, who suggests that in the late third millennium BC, Stonehenge could have been a pilgrimage site for those who hoped that their illnesses would be improved in the presence of the stones (Darvill 2016b: 116). Pilgrimage is a journey that someone takes to a site that holds significance for them and their beliefs, with the idea that this will help them, often spiritually (Darvill 2016a: 155). This act can be a rite of passage and people often undertake pilgrimages to assist with healing (Darvill 2016a: 155).

Archaeological sites have long been associated with healing and were often used and are still, as places to improve wellbeing and self. These sites, like Stonehenge, are places that are believed to have meaning that is other than their location in the landscape (Darvill 2016a: 155). Darvill’s reasoning that Stonehenge is a ceremonial centre for pilgrims derives from its place in the Wiltshire landscape – ‘the basic structure for prehistoric travellers is well attested’ (Darvill 2016a: 164) with its proximity to the Ridgeway and River Avon; and that Stonehenge is a ‘unique focal structure’ (Darvill 2016a: 155) that provides a sense of power. Stonehenge’s role as a pilgrimage site for healing was explored further by Darvill and others from 2016 to 2018, through the Human Henge project. This project develops on Darvill’s previous thinking of Stonehenge as a holy site (Darvill 2016) and provides a detailed case of how re-connecting with heritage and nature can help those who suffer with bad mental health. Human Henge is based on two ideas, that prehistoric sites like Stonehenge are places of healing and that today ancient sites should have a range of uses for society (Darvill et al. 2018: 91). The Human Henge project is ‘cultural heritage therapy’ that uses the ancient landscape of Stonehenge and Avebury to improve peoples’ mental health through a range of activities (Darvill et al. 2018: 91).

Darvill notes that places like ‘sacred springs and holy wells have been widely recognized as powerful and therapeutic places for generations’ (Darvill et al. 2018: 92) and that the legacy of wellbeing has long related to heritage and archaeological

monuments. The city of Bath is a great example of this, as there is continued use of the natural mineral waters, which has been documented since prehistoric times (Darvill et al. 2018: 93) and popularised by the legend of Prince Bladud (Visit Bath 2021). A popular leisure city, Bath houses the infamous Roman Baths and of course the Thermae Spa, which uses 1 million litres of natural thermal waters each day, which contain over 42 minerals' (Thermae Bath Spa 2021). History repeats itself in Bath, with a long-held tradition of bathing for wellbeing and health purposes.

Darvill argues that places like Stonehenge and Avebury are ideal sites for cultural heritage therapy work, as they are detached and noticeably different from our modern world (Darvill et al. 2018: 106). This difference allows for exploration of self and the potential for better mental health. Human Henge works because it 'combines archaeology and creativity' (Darvill et al. 2018: 100) to improve mental health using ancient landscapes. The Human Henge project bases the experience of individuals on several key themes, such as 'journeying with the aim of moving through landscapes in space and time; (Darvill et al. 2018: 97) or 'stimulating the imagination through sensory activities (Darvill et al. 2018: 97).

On *Stonehenge and Mental Health*, a programme by Radio 4, Darvill explained the project as a way of 'trying to think our way back into the landscape' (BBC Radio 4 2017), adding that if people's wellbeing could be improved by walking in the natural world, could ancient monuments also have benefits? The Human Henge project wanted to 'make use of our ancient monuments in new and innovative ways' (BBC Radio 4 2017) to help those suffering with poor mental health. Throughout the project there was emphasis on creating a community through 'bonding individuals with each other' (Darvill et al. 2018: 97) which allows individuals to feel a sense of belong and purpose. This evidently was beneficial to the individuals that took part, as Ben Welbourne, a member of staff at a Wiltshire mental health service noted: 'for people who don't always feel part of their own society it's been really healing' (BBC Radio 4 2017). The Human Henge project indicates that Stonehenge has purpose as a wellbeing site and that ancient monuments could be used today for healing and mental health.

## **Landscape Archaeology**

When we think of Stonehenge, we often think of the monument itself and not the landscape that surrounds it, which has been described as 'sensitive and archaeologically rich' (Darvill 2006: 277). Although this research project is about Stonehenge, you could not have it without its landscape, and vice versa. Landscape is an important part of how we orientate ourselves to the world, and how we find our space within it. It has also been an essential part of archaeological study (Ashmore 2004: 255) and within the UK has been defined as 'generally more humanistic and post-positivist, as in British archaeology at large' (Ashmore 2004: 259).

Ashmore defines landscape archaeology as 'seeking to understand that landscape as ongoing social history, of phenomenology, inhabitation, and the afterlife of monuments' (Ashmore 2004: 265). Bender's *Stonehenge: Making Space* fits this definition as Bender herself writes that landscape research is uncovering a 'a sedimented past' that is continually being reworked in the present (Bender 1998: 3) and must be regarded with the knowledge that individuals each have different ways of engaging and understanding the world (Bender 1998: 4). Ashmore states that 'Bender stresses fluidity and nesting of landscape scale' (Ashmore 2004: 263) which contributes to a blurring of landscape and

place, influenced by social theory (Ashmore 2004: 263). Most landscape theorists are interested in ‘interpretive and phenomenological approaches’ (Ashmore 2004: 259) which can be linked to interpretations of Stonehenge, such as the Riverside or Human Henge projects. Contemporary themes for landscape archaeology are ‘ecology, palimpsest, meaning, memory, identity, social order, morality and social transformation’ (Ashmore 2004: 256), many of which can be used in conjunction with Stonehenge.

Stonehenge is not a socially constructed landscape which has a solid trackable timeline, it is one which at different times has meant different things. Throughout history, landscapes and monuments that live in them are subject to continual re-interpretation by every new generation (Ashmore 2004: 262). This is evident at Stonehenge that the landscape holds different meanings and types of attachment for sub-cultural societal groups and individuals (Ashmore 2004: 259); throughout the section of time studied in this project. Common interpretations of landscape are power and identity, both which arguably can be attributed to Stonehenge (Ashmore 2004: 264). These interpretations are assigned by meaning attached to a landscape (Ashmore 2004: 264), between 1900 and 2020, Stonehenge has often been used by British Pagans, who believe the monument has great power. Their use of rituals and other practises help to inform this interpretation of Stonehenge as powerful and an oft vital part of their collective identity.

### **Cultural Heritage**

Stonehenge is an integral part of our cultural heritage in Britain. This is discussed later in more detail, analysing how the monument has contributed to music, art and pop culture. In this section, the researcher will discuss the presentation of Stonehenge as a well-known heritage site and how this can border on the nationalistic if we are not careful. Ashmore writes that Bender uses landscape research ‘as means for understanding social fragmentation in the current post-imperial world’ (Ashmore 2004: 261) and this is evident in how she writes about Stonehenge.

Bender’s ideas about nationalism and Stonehenge could be compared to the Twitter reaction to the reconstruction of Cheddar Man, which was the subject of a recent paper by Bonacchi and Krzyzanska. Both Stonehenge and Cheddar Man have been the target of heritage-based tribalism. Bonacchi and Krzyzanska stated that their objective was to study ‘how ideas of human origin and ancestry are deployed on Twitter for purposes of antagonistic ‘othering’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 1). Cheddar Man was used as a case study due to how the media presented news about his DNA, which ‘influenced the emergence of heritage-based tribalism’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 3). Based on their findings, Bonacchi and Krzyzanska, deduced that ‘heritage-themed communications that rely on provocative narratives on social media tend to be labelled as political’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 1) and that these communications are not ‘conducive to positive change in people’s attitudes towards issues such as racism’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 1).

But how does this relate to Stonehenge? Ashmore recognized that there is an invested interest in Britain’s ancient past: ‘many recognize a deeper, longstanding interest in prehistoric and historical landscape, associated with genealogical interest in local and regional traditions’ (Ashmore 2004: 258). This genealogical interest in prehistoric landscapes and monuments like Stonehenge can be linked to nationalistic ideas and heritage-based tribalism. Heritage-based tribalism is defined as ‘the processes and

outcomes of attributing meanings to the human past that work to create boundaries between ‘selves’ and ‘others’ with the aim of excluding certain outgroups’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 2).

Bonacchi and Krzyzanska note that heritage-based tribalism is particularly ‘visible when linked with myths of origins and ideas of ancestry’ (Bonacchi and Krzyzanska 2021: 2). This applicable to Stonehenge, as supported by Bender: ‘Stonehenge is ‘explained’ in terms of roots, and of ‘our’ and ‘deep’ national past’ (Bender 1998: 120). If identity is supported and established by knowing one’s past (Darvill 1994: 59), then Stonehenge’s history can be used to support and justify identity in a negative way, that hints at racism and othering. Bender links Stonehenge with the Empire and Stonehenge, stating that it is ‘part of our justification for remaining- against the odds in the top league of world players’ (Bender 1998: 120). This tribalism and othering, presenting oneself as ‘better than thou’ due to perceived thoughts of supremacy to other countries is troubling and it is interesting to compare Bonacchi and Krzyzanska’s work with Bender’s on Stonehenge.

## **Conclusion**

To summarise, it is evident Stonehenge has undergone many interpretations over its modern social history, from archaeologists, astronomers, and others. Stonehenge is one of the last unsolved mysteries we have and that fascinates us. This section of the research project has looked at some of the most common interpretations of Stonehenge, although there are many more. Next the project will discuss contested landscapes, a key interpretation of Stonehenge and its history, which was briefly discussed here but will go into more detail in the next section, analysing to what extent this term is useful when regarding Stonehenge.

## **Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape**

This section of Chapter 3 discusses the academic idea of Stonehenge as a contested landscape, examining to what extent Stonehenge is a contested landscape and whether this is an outdated term, citing examples of contestation throughout the studied period to build the argument. It is evident throughout this chapter that there are several themes that cross over into one another, for example, much of the political elements can be attributed to Stonehenge as a contested landscape. To avoid repeating oneself, the discussion will attempt to link these themes together, rather than repeating information.

### **Academic discourse of ‘Contested Landscapes’**

The idea of Stonehenge as a ‘contested landscape’ was promoted by Chippindale in 1990, which Bender expands upon in her 1998 ‘Making Space’ book. She talks about ‘the need to mesh an understanding of embodied landscape with a political landscape of unequal power relations’ (Bender, 1998: 38), which is echoed by Worthington in his writing about the Battle of the Beanfield, the free festival that never was. Worthington focuses on Stonehenge as place of conflict, citing historical instances like the Battle of the Beanfield and the enforced ban of Stonehenge Free Festivals by the Thatcher regime (Worthington 2020). He additionally states that the echoes of Thatcher’s ‘brutal intolerance’ remain in Conservative government today (Worthington 2020).

Although Bender's work on Stonehenge was briefly covered in the Interpreting Stonehenge theme, it is worthwhile exploring it further here. Bender's work takes a socio-political approach and arguably a feminist one, looking the history of Stonehenge and issues concerning the monument, including public access and the influence of the government on heritage. In Bender's own words, in *Stonehenge: Making Space* she states that this work was 'spawned by anger' (Bender 1998: 131) and rails against 'the efforts of EH and parts of the Establishment to promote a socially empty view of the past in line with modern conservative sensibilities' (Bender 1998: 131). Her writing about the contested landscape of Stonehenge is explain by the 'historical peculiarity of British social and economic relations, and a larger global economy' (Bender 1998: 131), and that she wishes to justify her Stonehenge archaeological landscape study of the monument as 'something political, dynamic and contested' (Bender 1998: 131).

Wendy Ashmore describes Bender's approach to landscape research as 'structural Marxism' (Ashmore 2004: 260) indicated by 'her longstanding attention to social inequality' (Ashmore 2004: 260). It could be argued that Bender uses a Marxist approach as she analyses events at Stonehenge using a socio-political approach, linking class and politics: 'there is no doubt that the confrontational politics of the Thatcher years have thrown into high relief some of the conflicts that underwrite british society' (Bender 1998: 114). Class and social hierarchy is evidently important to Bender, writing in the aftermath of Thatcher's time, she states that 'the very word 'landscape' has been used as though it belongs to a particular class' (Bender 1998: 98) and that blurred boundaries between 'private' and 'public' ownership have contributed to the exclusivity of access to Stonehenge and its landscape (Bender 1998: 113). It is easy to see why Ashmore states that for Bender 'landscape is process, intensely political' (Ashmore 2004: 260), although not meant negatively as Bender 'challenges the gendering of landscape, the male and mercantilist gaze that permeates thinking about landscape' (Ashmore 2004: 260).

Historically, the subject of archaeology has been male dominated, so Bender's analysis of the Stonehenge landscape is interesting and useful as she looks at it in a different light to other academics. It seems she is aware of this too, as she notes that it is still difficult to 'hear all the voices that contest the Stonehenge landscape' (Bender 1998: 112). Bender's theory of contested landscapes and Stonehenge reminds us of social involvement with the monument and surrounding area has continued throughout and that Stonehenge academic research cannot focus solely on the distant past (Ashmore 2004: 261).

### **Contestation at Stonehenge**

Throughout the time period, there are several examples of Stonehenge as an 'contested landscape', most helpfully documented by the media. Worthington states that since the 1920s 'the stage was set for open conflict every summer solstice' (Worthington 2020) indicating that the lack of open access for the public to Stonehenge remained a contributing factor. Although the Stonehenge Free Festival years are now remembered as the most turbulent the monument has seen, with solstice goers being described as 'hard core anarchists' (Bish, 1988: 88), it is evident from the 1905 court case discussed in Chapter One and ensuing issues with the solstices over the 50s and 60s (Southern Evening Echo 1965) that conflict over public accessibility to Stonehenge began much earlier and is a prevailing theme throughout the period this research project focuses on.

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is evident from the media, particularly newspapers, that contestation at Stonehenge is a reoccurring issue, much to the evident joy of the headlines. Research at the WSHC, indicated many Stonehenge related headlines, with almost one a year throughout the 1960s. Although the free festivals are often painted as the big ‘clash’ at Stonehenge, scuffles over access were a frequent occurrence at the monument in the mid-century. Examples of this contestation at Stonehenge are evident in the reporting from the Southern Evening Echo, from 1965 to 1971. The celebrations for summer solstice are for press and officials only in 1965, who were ‘allowed to pass the prison camp style barriers’ up to prevent ‘rowdy incidents’ from previous solstices (Southern Evening Echo 1965).

By 1967, it is ‘All Quiet in Druid’s Circle’ (Southern Evening Echo 1967), with Druids having access again, with ‘the quietest dawn ceremony for many years’ (Southern Evening Echo 1967). Although there are elements of contestation brewing under the surface, with the monument being ‘surrounded by 5-foot-high coils of barbed wire’ and ‘patrolled by Air Ministry Guard Dogs and their handlers.’ (Southern Evening Echo 1967). In this article it is evident that the Ministry of Work has gone to some effort to prevent any trouble at the stones, with only those who have been issued permits allowed entry to the Stonehenge enclosure (Southern Evening Echo 1967).

But by 1969, despite the best efforts of the Ministry at Work: ‘the guards on the official entrance abandoned their post when it became obvious that the situation was beyond control’ (Southern Evening Echo, 1969), Stonehenge is overwhelmed by ‘2000 people, mostly students’ (Southern Evening Echo, 1969), who treat the Druids to an impromptu strip tease – a young man stands upon the giant trilithon and reveals floral underpants, to the ‘off, off’ chant of the crowd and presumable horror of the Druids, whose ceremonies were disrupted (Southern Evening Echo, 1969). 1970 is a more sedate affair, the Ministry of Work have evidently learnt their lesson that restricting the public is not the answer and the crowd is allowed within the main enclosure of the monument, allowing them ‘a much clearer view of the proceedings than in the last few years.’ (Southern Evening Echo 1970). Or perhaps not, as in 1971, entrance to Stonehenge is restricted to ‘50 holders of special passes’ with police operating roadblocks to slow traffic on the main road, a foreshadowing of what is to come perhaps? Although these newspaper articles are somewhat amusing, they give an indication of contestation at Stonehenge prior to the free festivals and the root cause. Although the Druids should be able to carry out their ceremonies without interruptions, excluding the public evidently causes more problems than solutions.

This exclusion of the public from Stonehenge (a monument that is supposedly held in trust *for* the public) continually causes issues throughout the time frame studied, from 1900 onwards. Though the Stonehenge Free Festivals are the most obvious example of this (and are covered in full in the Memories of a Free Festival theme), contestation of various forms occurred in almost every decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The most recent example of contestation is in June 2021, when the EH summer solstice live feed was pulled due to people entering Stonehenge’s inner circle (PA Media 2021). This caused anger over social media as many were disappointed due to the live footage being replaced with ‘pre-recorded footage of the stones’ (PA Media 2021). From video footage, there were ‘about 100 people inside the stone circle’ and a banner was held ‘Standing for Stonehenge’ (PA Media 2021). EH apologised for the disruption, stating

that ‘safety reasons were behind the lack of live footage’ (PA Media 2021). It could be argued that this latest breach at Stonehenge is indicative of the entitlement that some people feel to the monument. Ironically, this group that gained access to Stonehenge were disrupting the access of others on the live feed. It is a useful example of how Stonehenge is appropriated for personal gain.



3.4: People gathering in the inner circle of Stonehenge, 2021 (The Guardian, 2021)

## Summary

To summarise this section, although ‘contested landscape’ is a useful term when discussing Stonehenge and its modern social history, it could be argued that this is perhaps too broad an analysis for Stonehenge. This term is also now 30 years old and perhaps it is time to look at the monument in a different light. For example, how it brings people together from different sub-cultures of society to celebrate. Although Stonehenge has a turbulent history which cannot be cast aside, by focusing solely on the monument as a ‘contested landscape’ it negates other elements of Stonehenge, such as its status as a cultural icon. The idea of Stonehenge as a contested landscape is also closely interlinked with politics and historical events. If ‘contested landscape’ is too broad a term for Stonehenge, this can in short, can be broken down into different elements, such as the free festivals, politics, and accessibility to allow for a more complex understanding of Stonehenge.

## Stonehenge and Politics

Since 1900, Stonehenge has been closely involved with UK politics, from the Antrobus court case to the A303 Tunnel. Arguably, most of the themes used in this literature view cross over with Politics, and as such some ‘political’ topics have been used in other themes, like Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape or Admission and Accessibility. It could be argued that Stonehenge has been continually appropriated for political gain and has acted in the past as a bargaining chip for politicians. It is no surprise that

Stonehenge's modern social history is intensely political. Where there's money to be made, there's power, and Stonehenge has both. The influence of government and politicians, particularly after the handover to English Heritage in 1984, have changed Stonehenge into what it is today. This section of Chapter 3 will analyse the impact politics has had on the monument over the studied time period, through legislation, alternative agendas and the development of Stonehenge into a worldwide tourist destination.

## **Legislation and Stonehenge**

Before legislation is discussed, it is worth noting that the Conservative Party has been in power for most years from 1900 to 2020. As such, they are the political party that has had the most impact on Stonehenge. Several legislations reflect this, such as the Public Order Act 1986, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 and 1997 Stonehenge Regulations. Each of these legislations listed have had an impact on Stonehenge, restricting public access and criminalising various heritage crimes within the landscape around the monument. To date, Stonehenge is the only ancient monument in England that has its own piece of parliament legislation (Darvill 2006: 276), the Stonehenge Regulations 1997.

The Stonehenge Regulations 1997, 12 years after the BOB, is the legislation that has arguably had the most impact on Stonehenge, revoking the Stonehenge Regulations 1983. At the time of research, the 1983 Stonehenge Regulations were not available on [legislation.gov.uk](http://legislation.gov.uk), although it can be imagined that the 1997 Stonehenge Regulations are far more restrictive than their predecessor, due to the events that happened in-between. The 1997 Stonehenge Regulations are divided into prohibited acts and those prohibited unless done with written consent from English Heritage.

EH became custodians of Stonehenge in 1984, with BOB and free festivals finishing in 1985, it is evident from the wording of the 1997 Stonehenge Regulations that they were to stop any opportunity of a free festival at the monument and to curb public access. Some examples of prohibited acts that could be attributed to the free festival scene are: 'injuring, disfiguring, removing or otherwise interfering with in any manner the monument or any notice or any other property situated on the site of the monument', 'bringing onto, parking or leaving any vehicle on the site of the monument otherwise than in accordance with parking authorised by English Heritage', or 'lighting a fire or a firework on the site of the monument' (Stonehenge Regulations 1997).

Interestingly, although these regulations are restrictive, it can be inferred that British Pagans could still be allowed to celebrate at Stonehenge, provided they have prior permission as 'organising or taking part in any assembly, display, performance, representation, review, theatrical event, festival, ceremony or ritual within the site of the monument' is prohibited unless there has been written consent from EH. Though the 1997 Stonehenge Regulations is the only legislation directly associated with Stonehenge, other pieces of legislation have had an indirect effect on the social history of the monument.

After the BOB, the Public Order Act 1986 and Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, were in quick succession, to ensure that public access to Stonehenge was managed in a controlled way. Of interest to Stonehenge's modern social history is Part V Public Order: Collective Trespass or Nuisance on Land, as this had an effect on the

free festivalgoers, such as the regulations on ‘trespassory assemblies’: ‘If at any time the chief officer of police reasonably believes that an assembly is intended to be held in any district at a place on land to which the public has no right of access or only a limited right of access... (ii) where the land, or a building or monument on it, is of historical, architectural, archaeological or scientific importance, in significant damage to the land, building or monument, he may apply to the council of the district for an order prohibiting for a specified period the holding of all trespassory assemblies in the district or a part of it, as specified’ (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994).

In all, legislation has had great effect on Stonehenge and its modern social history, arguably changing the course of it. As a result of this legislations, Stonehenge and its landscape became less accessible to the public (unless through EH), more politically intertwined and police were given more power at the monument, to arrest or evict if need be.

### **Alternative Agendas**

Though Stonehenge is frequently in mainstream politics, particularly in latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it could be suggested that the archaeological site is a crucible or stage for the common people to protest socio-political issues and promote political change. Stonehenge is the ideal candidate for protest groups to have their voices heard, due to longstanding media and public interest in the monument. Due to Stonehenge’s public profile, the site has become a ‘rallying ground for those pursuing a whole raft of divergent agendas’ (Darvill 2006: 277) and there have been several examples of this in both the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

In the 1995 Midsummer issue of *3<sup>rd</sup> Stone*, the article, ‘Hippy Henge Invasion Now there’s a tabloid headline!’ reports on protests against the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994: ‘two hundred people descended on the prehistoric monument at dawn on May Bank Holiday to express their opposition to...the public’s exclusion from the site at the summer solstice’ (*3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* 1995: 1). This protest coincided with VE Day (ironically?) and protestors had banners with slogans like: ‘Thank you to all of those who have defended our land against injustice’ (*3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* 1995: 1). In 2021, Stonehenge was invaded by Extinction Rebellion protesters, described as a ‘coalition of conscious Earth Protectors’ (Paessler 2021) who carried out a peaceful protest against the proposed A303 Stonehenge Tunnel plans. An Earth protector was quoted as saying: ‘Digging up our ancestors and destroying our sacred sites - is this really the legacy we want to leave?’ (Paessler 2021).

Wallis and Blain have written about the various agendas that surrounded access to Stonehenge after the free festivals and exclusion zone years. Although they acknowledge that ‘no single group has a more authentic or legitimate claim on the henge’ (Wallis and Blain 2001: 16) certain groups, possibly British Pagans, who are ‘most spiritually connected to the stones’ (Wallis and Blain 2001: 16) have stated that they feel ‘marginalised’ by the restricted access to Stonehenge from 1985 to 1999, despite the fact that EH did let small religious groups into Stonehenge on the summer solstice (Wallis and Blain 2001: 16). The summer solstice can arguably be considered as the most political time of year, due to its’ history at Stonehenge. 1999 was the first year since the BOB that the exclusion zone was removed and people were granted access to celebrate summer solstice at the stones again, though there was frustration from ‘all interest groups’ (Wallis and Blain 2001: 18) at those who rushed the fence as

it was felt this was not supportive to the alternative agenda (Wallis and Blain 2001: 18), who wished to remain on good terms with EH and NT from then on. It is clearly evident from those examples discussed above, that Stonehenge is a useful social platform (Darvill 2006: 274) that allows for a wider audience to hear about social-political issues.

### **National Disgrace to The Face**

In 1993, Stonehenge was branded a ‘national disgrace’ by the House of Commons (Chippindale et al. 1990: 269), which seems to have spurred on the development of Stonehenge into a 21st century tourist destination. However, the plans for the reimagining of Stonehenge, culminating in the 2013 visitor centre we see today, began long before this comment, and like many of the decisions made regarding Stonehenge, took a long time to come to fruition. The visitor centre plans have been covered in detail in previous publications, so the researcher will not attempt to rehash the various incarnations here, rather give an overview and how this related to the political situation at Stonehenge.

Stonehenge is regarded as a national disgrace due to the tourist framework at the site, ‘poor visitor provisions’ (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 151) disrupt the experience of Stonehenge. When the land around Stonehenge was bought by public description, this was meant to prevent unsightly development near the monument, though Baxter and Chippindale argue that the visitor services do just that (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 151). Since the 1920s, there had been some form of visitor facilities at Stonehenge, though the 1960s saw the first major tourism developments at the monument.

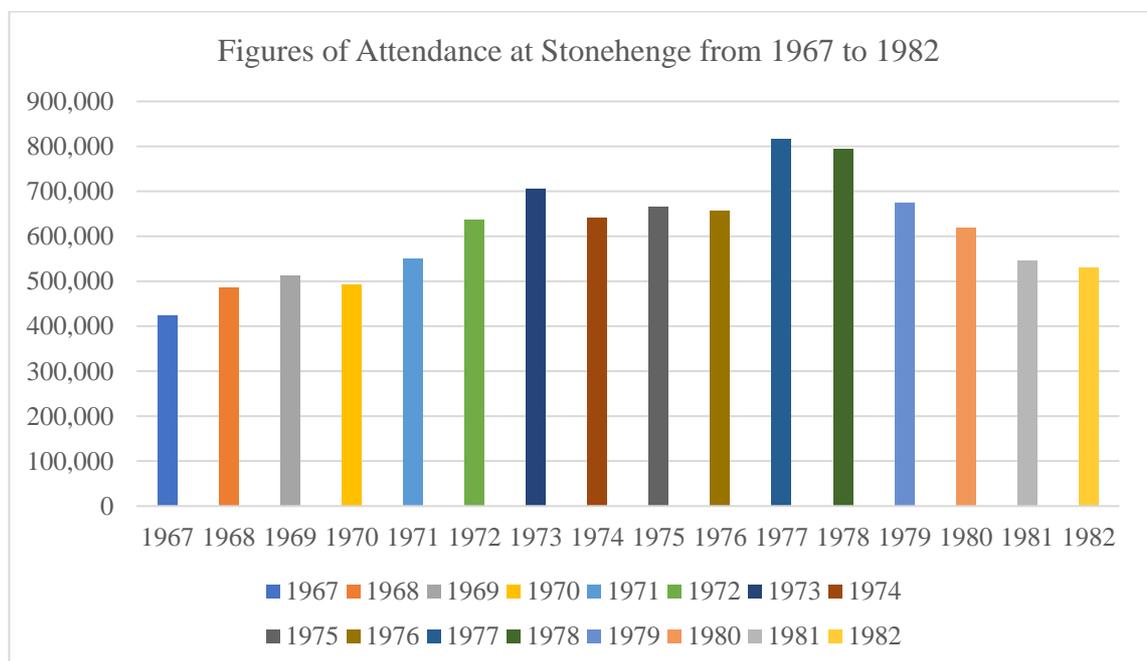
The 1968 plans for Stonehenge included a large carpark accessed by subway under the main road, with an underground café and visitor centre with the subway (Salisbury Journal 1965). The 1968 visitor centre at Stonehenge was the first attempt to properly monetise the monument and is an interesting part of its history, although later became a chief concern for further improvements at Stonehenge. This unpopular visitor centre, with ‘all the allure of a motorway underpass’ (Hill 2009: 167) was seen as innovative in the 1960s, though regarded as ‘rough-cast ‘brutalist’ concrete’ of ‘no architectural merit’ (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 160). It is arguably fortunate that this unsightly architecture no longer scars the landscape; today allowing us to view Stonehenge as close to what it would have been like for ancient generations.

The 1968 visitor facilities later became a chief concern for further improvements at Stonehenge was the visitor centre and tunnel that ran underneath the A344, built in 1968 and made of ‘rough-cast ‘brutalist’ concrete’ of ‘no architectural merit’ (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 160). This unpopular visitor centre, with ‘all the allure of a motorway underpass’ (Hill 2009: 167) was seen as innovative in the 1960s, even if what we ‘desired or deserved’ were tourist facilities that were an ‘underground bunker’ (Trubshaw 2003: 6).

Throughout the late 70s and 80s, Stonehenge’s heritage management was a reoccurring issue. Despite that the 1968 visitor centre was ‘confidently predicted’ to ‘suffice for many years to come’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984), as tourist numbers grew it became increasingly apparent that the ageing tourist infrastructure from 1968 was not enough to support the large number of visitors at the monument each day. By the mid 1970s, visitor management at Stonehenge was a major concern and needed an overhaul, as due to the large numbers of visitors the stones were starting to ‘lose their natural

patina’ (Darvill 2006: 276) due to the many hands touching them and the grinding of gravel against trilithon.

In 1977, a working party was set up to try and solve the issue, but due to a change in political parties, the working party’s proposals were declined (Wiltshire County Council 1984). The plans for Stonehenge were dropped due to ‘the assumed growth in visitor numbers had not occurred’ and ‘the cost of implementing the proposals were too high’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984), although the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State neglects to mention the large drop in numbers was due to the fencing of Stonehenge in 1978, which was unpopular with visitors (Wiltshire County Council 1984) and the other ‘improvement’, a ‘a sensitively coloured asphalt path which will allow visitors to approach the stones closely in all seasons’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984); but not, of course, in-between the stones, which is what visitors were accustomed to.



3.5: Figures of Attendance at Stonehenge from 1967 to 1982 (WCC 1984)

In 1984, the management and presentation of Stonehenge enters a new phase due to the handover to English Heritage. In his statement at the Stonehenge Press Conference, 1984, Lord Montague said: ‘we recognised that one of our first major task would be to find a lasting solution to the proper presentation and interpretation of Stonehenge’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984). and that there would be no more ‘stopgap’ solutions (Wiltshire County Council 1984). He also mentioned the Stonehenge Study Group, who had completed their report on Stonehenge, focusing on three major issues which were ‘Highway Aspects and Implications’, ‘The Environs of Stonehenge in the Context of its Preservation and Presentation’ and ‘Interpretative, Planning for Stonehenge’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984).

It can be inferred from Lord Montague’s speech that the main aim of English Heritage was to improve Stonehenge as a tourist destination as shown by documentation from the Stonehenge Study Group: ‘what to offer the visitor and why - as much real experience as possible to increase awareness of the monument in its context, to increase enjoyment.

-who is the visitor, the man in the street, not the academics, foreknowledge, expectations, wants and needs.’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984).

It is no surprise that the takeover of Stonehenge by EH and proposed visitor improvements came at a time when Britain was going through severe economic issues. In 1974, unemployment was at 3.7%, but by 1984, this was 11.8% (Qayyum et al. 2019). Thatcher’s government policies had caused mass unemployment within the UK and Wiltshire itself had 21,000 people unemployed in 1984 (Wiltshire County Council 1984). Improvements to Stonehenge could help support the local economy and provide opportunities for local people, which is referenced in the Stonehenge Study Group Draft Terms of Reference: ‘the wider implications of possible changes considered, including potential economic consequences for the locality and the relationship between Stonehenge and other sites in the area’ (Wiltshire County Council 1984).

It is clearly evident that management of Stonehenge focused on profit at this time, as Bender notes: ‘the reality of preservation, conservation and public access is big business’ (Bender 1998: 117). Thus worth restricting public access through legislation in order to turn the monument into a successful tourist destination, even if tourists are ‘coralled through the barriers’ (Bender 1998: 122). Baxter and Chippindale also reflect on this, stating that Stonehenge ‘ceases to have any cash value if the trading that surrounds it is on a less profitable basis’ (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 176). Lord Montague also referenced the issue in his statement: ‘when Stonehenge takes its rightful place as a focus for longer and more enjoyable visits to that part of the country.... I am sure that the whole area will benefit significantly. (Wiltshire County Council 1984). It was necessary for Stonehenge to become a thriving tourist attraction as it was hoped it would benefit and support the local community, at a time where finding employment was difficult.

During the ‘exclusion zone’ era of Stonehenge, after the free festivals and BOB, there is obvious concern about the impact that this is having on the surrounding ancient monuments in Wiltshire. *3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* in 1995 reports that ‘since the forced exclusion of Stonehenge...from Stonehenge...these have been finding other places to practise their form of religion’ (*3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* 1995: 14). This is evidently causing large numbers to visit other archaeological sites, like Silbury Hill, where the NT are ‘concerned about the increasing numbers of people climbing Silbury Hill to celebrate ancient festivals’ (*3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* 1995: 14).

Baxter and Chippindale also acknowledge the impact of tourism on Stonehenge, stating that it is an ‘either or’ situation – either all tourists are allowed to go to Stonehenge, leading it to be crowded, or some, keeping Stonehenge as a ‘quiet and lonely place’ (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 170). In the 1980s and 1990s, it is evident that academic discussion on Stonehenge zones in on the profiteering of the site by the government and EH. Bender calls Stonehenge contemporary stonehenge ‘the purveying of an elitist, masculine narrative’ (Bender 1998: 146) perhaps referring to her earlier comments on the old Stonehenge visitor tunnel which ‘took one back through time via an astronaut, Henry VIII... not a woman in sight’ (Bender 1998: 118).

It is interesting to read academic discussion about the issue with Stonehenge management, the proposed tunnel and visitor facilities. In 2002, Baxter and Chippindale prophesise that: ‘A likely outcome, a decade from now, will be an A303 routed in a cut-and-cover tunnel and a visitor provision which largely depends on the present facilities

using their present adjacent siting' (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 176). However, neither of these statements have come to light. The visitor centre, opened in 2013, now sits on near Airman's cross, all traces of what was at the monument itself disappeared. The tunnel scheme is *still* being debated, with little to show for all the planning that has gone into it.

In order to improve the tourist experience at Stonehenge, a potential visitor centre needs to be 'a balance between scale and access distance' (Baxter and Chippindale 2002: 158). Near enough to be useful, but far away enough that it does not disrupt views of Stonehenge and take away from the beauty of the landscape that surrounds it. Despite plans for a new visitor centre for Stonehenge dating back to 1977 (Wiltshire County Council 1984), it was not built until 2013 at Airman's Cross. The visitor centre was specifically designed for Stonehenge and had to 'respect both Stonehenge's visual setting and its archaeological context' (Chippindale et al. 2014: 645). As an important part of the interpretation for Stonehenge, the visitor centre was a solution to the visitor facilities discussion that had been going on for decades and represented a new phase of Stonehenge's life (Chippindale et al. 2014: 645).

As well as the new visitor centre, the A344 was closed, which allowed the landscape to become partially whole again, as it had previously 'divorced the stones from the Avenue' (Chippindale et al. 2014: 648). The Airman's Cross visitor centre has changed the visitor experience at Stonehenge beyond recognition of what it was, contributing to the success of Stonehenge today. Amongst the difficult discussions that surround Stonehenge, the visitor centre is 'a small pearl' (Chippindale et al. 2014: 655) which allows for greater public access to the monument. It is a form of orientation for visitors to Stonehenge which re-invents the monument into a living site (Chippindale et al. 2014: 652), which people can visit and make their own interpretations of.

## **Summary**

To summarise, it is evident that politics have helped shape Stonehenge's modern social history and what it is to us today. At times throughout its' modern social history, Stonehenge has been used for political or financial gain, particularly from those who have had ownership of the monument. Throughout the period studied for this research project, it is evident that Stonehenge has been used as a stage for alternative agendas; due to the popularity of the archaeological site, there is guaranteed media coverage if protests happen there, allowing concerns to be introduced to the mainstream. It is interesting that, if the UK had not experienced economic difficulties in the early 70s due to Conservative policies, Stonehenge would not be the monument that we know it as today. The next theme, Memories of a Free Festival, will analyse one of the biggest political issues of Stonehenge's history in more detail, appraising the impact of the Stonehenge Free Festivals had on Stonehenge itself.

## **Memories of a Free Festival**

'The Sun Machine is coming down, and we're gonna have a party'

(Bowie 1970)

The Stonehenge Free Festivals took place from 1974 - 1984 around the time of the summer solstice in fields near the monument. But by 1984, with the creation of English

Heritage, tolerance for the free festivals has waned. They were seen to be a problem and an embarrassment for EH and NT, causing disruption in the local area, damage to the archaeological landscape and farmers' livelihoods. Though the free festivals could be presented as a utopia and contributing to cultural heritage, the negative impact that they had cannot be ignored. The end of the Free Festivals culminated in the Battle of the Beanfield. Although attempts were made after the Battle to celebrate again at Stonehenge, the free festivals ended in 1985. It was not until 2000 and the introduction of managed access by English Heritage that people would be able to celebrate at Stonehenge again.

### **Emergence of a new culture**

Over the years, the free festivals at Stonehenge have become something of a legend in themselves. There are many variations of the story of their creation, the widely accepted and well-known one being that Phil Russell aka Wally Hope and his group of Wallies set up the festival (Worthington 2002: 42). Although this is an alternative tale: 'the Stonehenge free solstice ritual at Warminster, conceived with a group of twelve good Wiltshire men and true' (Chippindale et al. 1990: 108) which apparently was the beginning of the Stonehenge Free Festivals in 1974. One can only suppose no good and true Wiltshire women were available that day. The Stonehenge Free Festivals, from 1974-1984, were 'an annual anarchic jamboree' (Worthing 2009) and one of the main festivals within the 1970s free festival movement (Worthington 2009).

The free festival movement was part of an alternative lifestyle which flourished despite the Tory government and Thatcher's policies. At a time when there was wide-spread unemployment, festivals must have seemed like irresistible escapism. They also played an important role in social interaction, uniting people of like interests. Free festivals were a way of finding a community where you felt you belonged. The Stonehenge free festival, grown from the tradition of British Pagans, hippies and others celebrating summer solstice (Till 2010) was 'the antithesis of the increasingly industrialized music business' (Till 2010). In short, a cool place to be. The early free festivals were a key turning point for British culture, paving the way for today's modern festivals, like Glastonbury or Reading. From 1975, the festival was established and attracted larger crowds, which contributed to Stonehenge's place in today's popular culture (Darvill 2018b).

Over the years, the Stonehenge free festival became a destination for those interested in pop and rock, with bands like Hawkwind, Selecter and The Enid on the set list (Der Festival Zone 2021b); even though the festival was 'not a pop fest but a legitimate ritual gathering with a religious role' (Chippindale 1985: 46). At the 1984, the Stonehenge circle was given over after the ceremonies to the free festivalgoers by the Druids, so that they could 'feel the ancient vibrations, name its children and dedicate its' marriages' (Chippindale 1985: 45).



3.6: Stonehenge Festival Poster, 1975  
(UK Rock Festivals)



3.7: Stonehenge Festival Poster, 1981  
(UK Rock Festivals)

A reoccurring theme of the academic discussions of the Stonehenge Free Festivals and alternative scene is that the festival presented a utopia or herotopia. The Stonehenge Free Festivals, inspired by alternative spirituality (Partridge 2006: 56) were a ‘microcosm of a new utopian community’ (Partridge 2006 41) which could be represented as anarchic and anti-capitalist. The free festivals could be presented as a temporary autonomous zone, rejecting capitalism, where members contributed to an economy based on mutual aid rather than money (Partridge, 2006: 42). This theory is expanded upon by Cusack, who acknowledges the role that the Stonehenge Free Festivals had for the festivalgoers: ‘they recognized Stonehenge as a herotopia, a liminal ‘other place’ in which the ‘flow’ of spontaneous community and the atmosphere of the medieval fair or carnival could be experienced’ (Cusack 2012: 148). However, Worthington describes the festival as ‘no paradise’ adding that celebrations were frequently ‘punctuated by violent clashes initiated by groups such as the Hells Angels’ (Worthington 2002: 44).

Although it is tempting to regard the Stonehenge Free Festivals as a perfect society, like the mainstream, the alternative scene was not without its issues, and the scene had an undercurrent of violence. Worthington describes the festival as ‘no paradise’ adding that celebrations were frequently ‘punctuated by violent clashes initiated by groups such as the Hells Angels’ (Worthington 2002: 44). Interestingly, a passing comment in *Robin’s Greenwood Gang Yearbook* notes that Greenwood Common was a woman only peace camp, due to sexual violence and abuse in other alternative communities and camps at the time (Firsoff 1985). Sid Rawles, known for being a key figure in the free festivals, has also been described as ‘unrelentingly promiscuous’, and sources are uncertain of how many children he had (Dearling et al., 2012: 106). An essential component of the alternative scene was to rile against the mainstream and reject societal norms but being ‘out of the loop’ of society, can also cause exploitation of vulnerable people within the sub-cultural group.

During the research for this project, it was noticeable that the metanarrative for the Stonehenge Free Festivals and the BOB was heavily based on men’s accounts. Aside from an article with Rose Brash (Hodkinson 2016) it was difficult to find accounts of the festival scene written by women. Most accounts of the free festivals and BOB, such

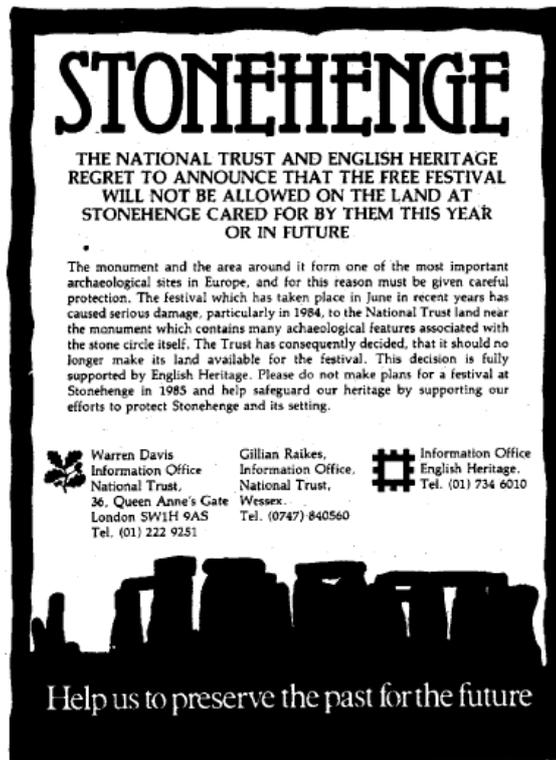
as *Travelling Daze*, are written by men, with little to none input from women. As well as this, Worthington is needlessly scathing about the role of women in the alternative and protest scene: 'I have always maintained that the only reason that authorities could not truncheon the Greenham protestors into submission – as they did with the Travellers at the Battle of the Beanfield- was because they were women' (Dearling et al., 2012). Worthington seems to forget, despite photographic evidence to the contrary, that there were women (and children) at the BOB as well as men; and the police went after them too.

Lord Cardigan, who witnessed the BOB was shocked to see the police hit a woman over the head with a truncheon, realizing with horror that she was pregnant: 'I thought 'My God, I'm watching police who are running amok.'" (Davies 1985). Additionally, unlike the BOB, a young woman died at Greenham Common. Helen Thomas was 22 when she was hit by a police van and was killed (WalesOnline 2013). Although both the BOB and Greenham Common are iconic historical events, Greenham Common was a women's peace camp protest (held for 19 years) against nuclear weapons in a highly militarised zone. The BOB, although a horrific and brutal event, was the culmination of free festivals.

To disregard the role of women in the Battle of the Beanfield is disrespectful and disappointing, from someone who has written extensively about the free festival movement. This links to the afore-mentioned metanarrative for the Stonehenge Free Festivals and the BOB. These were not male-only spaces, the festivals had a variety of ages and genders present. Although it is easy to think of the Stonehenge Free Festivals as a utopia, it was still a patriarchal society, anarchic and alternative, but holding on to elements of the mainstream at the time. The Stonehenge free festivals had become a popular and 'increasingly visible' (Darvill 2006: 273) solstice tradition at the monument, with the last festival, 1984, having an estimated 65,000 people in attendance (Darvill 2014: 466). The Stonehenge festival had become a 'victim of its own success' (Darvill 2014: 466), with this elevated visibility and large crowds proving to be the downfall of the free festivals at Stonehenge, having a knock-affect in British society.

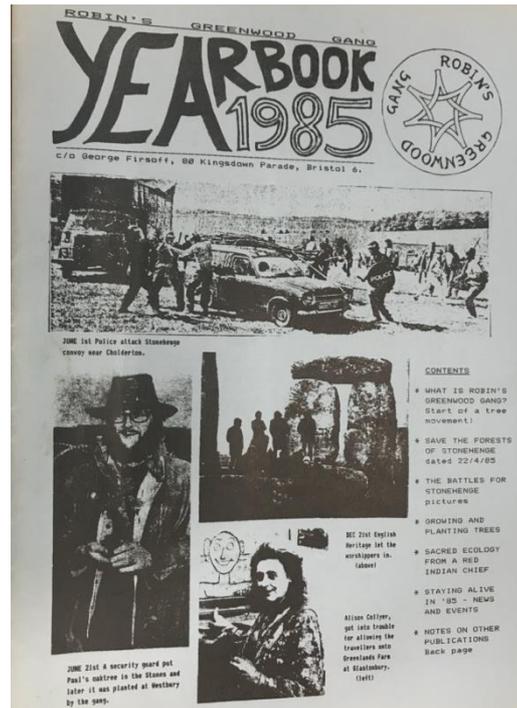
### **Battle of the Beanfield**

By 1984, the party was over. What had started as a 'hippie-dominated' (Darvill 2006: 274) free festival at Stonehenge, had become a venue where 'anti-Establishment feelings could be vented' (Darvill 2006: 274) and this was of increasing concern to the Tory government of the time. There were also shifts in management of Stonehenge, which contributed to the problem (discussed in Stonehenge and politics). Stonehenge was now managed by EH and in 1984, alongside the NT, they announced that there was to be no free festival held at the monument the following year, with the support of a court injunction (Worthington 2002: 43).



3.8: English Heritage and National Trust Press Advert, 1980s (Worthington 2002: 43)

This court injunction was from the NT, EH and 19 other landlords, in which ‘which 84 named persons were ordered not to trespass on their land’ (Firsoff 1985). And so the stage was set for conflict, helped by Thatcher’s threat of stamping out the alternative lifestyle: ‘I will do anything I can to make life difficult for such things as hippy convoys’ (Bender 1998: 115). As Bender wrote, ‘the Travellers, as an unpropertied, anarchic minority, enrage the Establishment’ (Bender 1998: 116). The alternative scene of free festivals and convoys enraged the Establishment because they were seen as uncontrollable and exhibiting deviant behaviour, a threat to the social structure and hierarchy in a time that Thatcher was ruling with an iron fist. The Stonehenge free festival had become a ‘target for violent suppression by Margaret Thatcher’ (Worthington 2020) to show her power over the common people.



3.9: Robin's Greenwood Gang 1985 Yearbook issue, 1985  
(A. Underwood)

The *Robin's Greenwood Gang 1985 Yearbook* (shown above) gives a detailed account of the BOB. Although this is not an academic source, it is useful as it gives unfiltered information about the BOB, albeit from the view of free festivalgoers. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1985, the Peace Convoy of around 150 vehicles (Worthington 2002: 43) made their way to Stonehenge but were stopped by a police blockade on the A303, at which officers 'began to move down the convoy breaking windows' (Firsoff 1985). Despite negotiations, it was evident the police were determined to escalate their aggression, and they were acting deliberately, to ensure 'a breach of peace by a policy of escalation' (Firsoff 1985). The convoy of 150 vehicles quickly became trapped in a beanfield near Stonehenge and were set upon by the police (Worthington 2002: 43). After a standoff, at 7 that evening, '1000 men from Wiltshire, Hampshire, Thames Valley, Avon & Somerset and Gloucestershire are massing for the attack' (Firsoff 1985), clearly intent on destroying the convoy and their homes, whilst preserving their anonymity: 'Most officers have their identification numbers concealed under flame-proof jackets, contrary to regulations' (Firsoff 1985).

No one was exempt from the battering by the police, with both men and women 'dragged off by their hair and beaten indiscriminately' (Firsoff 1985). ITN witnessed the attack and were sickened by it, with Kim Sabido stating this 'has been some of the most brutal police treatment of people that I've witnessed in my entire career' (Worthington 2004: 130). Some of the ITN footage was later used by the 1991 Channel 4 documentary *Operation Solstice*, which focuses on the BOB and makes for grim viewing. There's some savage irony in a policeman telling a free festivalgoer to 'come out son' while he violently smashes the windows of his bus (Channel 4 1991: 14 minutes 5 seconds). The police were intent on destroying the homes of the convoy, ramming coaches (Firsoff 1985) although a photo below, taken by S. Johnson, shows hippies retaliating, tying a railway sleeper onto a van as a makeshift battering ram.

Alan Lodge, known as 'Tash', in the Travelling community, was part of the convoy heading to Stonehenge and reflected on his experiences of the BOB, describing the brutality of the police who descended like a 'black cloud' on the convoy dragging 'two pregnant ladies were dragged out of the broken windscreens by their hair' (Templeton 2004) and who caused horrific injuries. Lodge, an ambulance driver, oversaw helping the wounded: 'I'm bandaging bleeding heads, but then there's truncheon wounds where you can see the skulls and I'm getting nervous of people dying' (Templeton 2004).



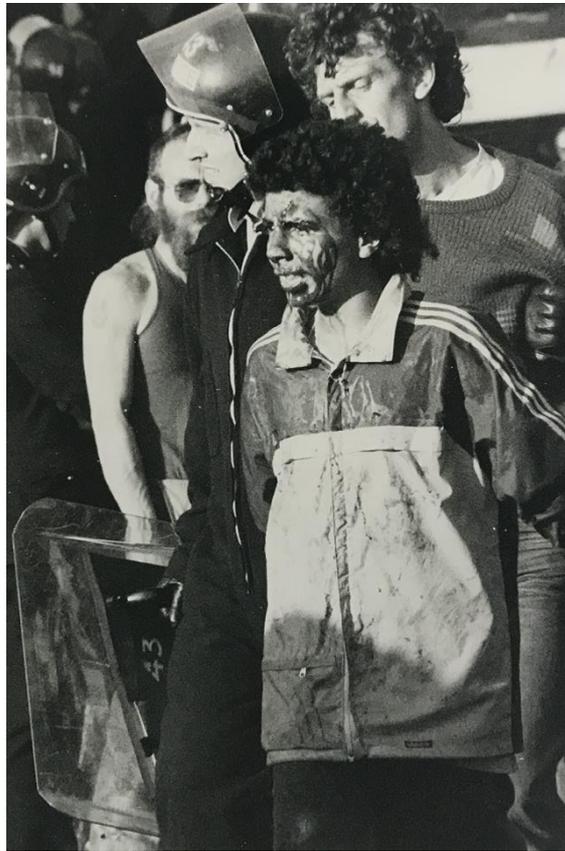
3.10: *Two hippies tying an old railway sleeper to the front of their van as a battering ram, 1985 (S. Johnson)*



3.11: *One of the hippies being dragged away from the pitch battle between hippies and police at Stonehenge today, 1985 (S. Harrison)*



3.12: *After the Battle of Stonehenge wrecked buses litter the field of beans, 1985 (WSHC)*



3.13: *One hippy covered in blood is led away from the battle ground by police, 1985 (WSHC)*



3.14: *Police in riot gear stand guard over the 300 hippies arrested at the Battle of Stonehenge, 1985*  
(R. Wintle)

The BOB was the opportunity the government needed to make an example of the free festivalgoers, using police dressed in full riot gear (Worthington 2002: 43). Numbers vary over how many were arrested on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June, with Firsoff reporting 650 (Firsoff 1985), the free festivalgoers were split up and ‘held in police stations all over Southern England’ (Firsoff 1985), their children taken in for 12-day care orders (Firsoff 1985). Those who had managed to escape arrest fled to Savernake Forest, near Marlborough, owned by the Earl of Cardigan’s family (Worthington 2004: 131). The free festivalgoers, sheltered by the Earl of Cardigan, were also supported by the miners, who ‘sent food and £100 in cash’ (Firsoff 1985).

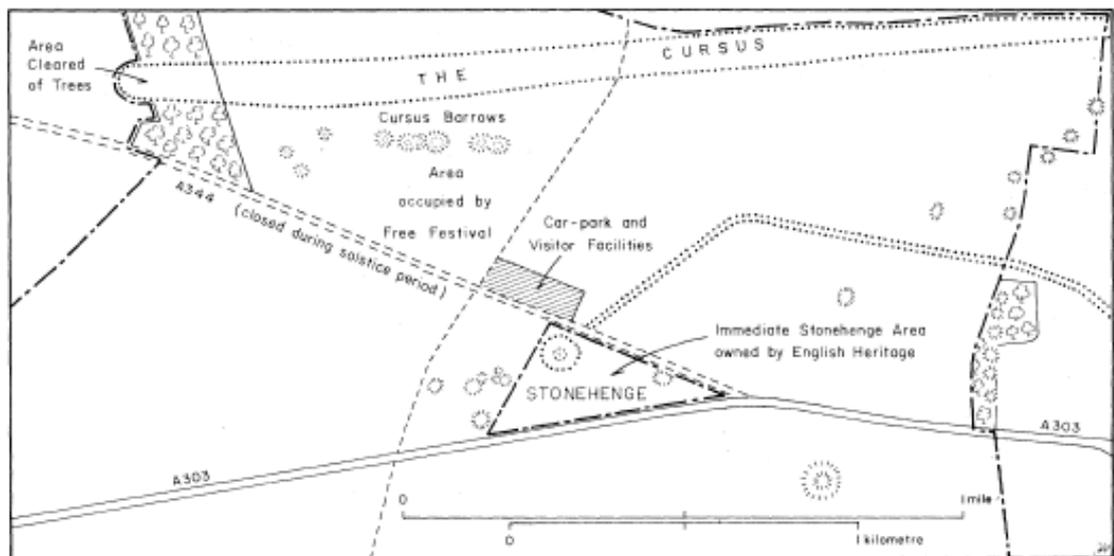
The police were quick to follow those who had escaped, asking the Earl for permission to ‘evict’ the free festivalgoers: ‘They said they wanted to go into the campsite ‘suitably equipped’ and ‘finish unfinished business’ (Worthington 2004: 137). But the Earl, who was shocked at what he had witnessed at the BOB, adamantly refused to let the police onto his land and later testified in court about the brutality the police inflicted, supporting the free festivalgoers (Worthington 2004: 131). How the police handled the BOB was ‘hardly civilized or tactful’ (Chippindale 1985: 48). Jeremy Corbyn, then a Labour Parliamentary backbencher, argued that because the police had not tried to prevent a breach of the peace, their actions were ‘illegal, not only in detail, but from its inception’ (Firsoff 1985). Firsoff states that ‘the co-operation of 6 police forces with full riot gear and armed police in reserve also indicate that a battle was intended and had been planned for a long time’ (Firsoff 1985). It was clear that just like the Miners’ Strike, the free festivalgoers were seen as a legitimate threat to Tory government at the time.

### **Aftermath**

The Battle of the Beanfield was shocking and violent, taking place in a turbulent time for social politics. It has been likened to a ‘Blakean vision of apocalypse’ (Hill 2009: 148) or a ‘confrontation that... touched the very heart of post-modernist views of the world...spilling over into archaeology to further fuel critiques of processualism’ (Darvill 2006: 274). The Battle had wide-reaching implications and it could be argued that several pieces of legislation were put into force because of it, such as the Public

Order Act 1986, Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 and Stonehenge Regulations 1997. One of the most shocking things about the BOB was the use of police brutality against citizens and this has been compared to the police handling of the Miner's Strike of 1984-1985. It is evident that the police force used the same tactics as they were using with the miners, which is noticed by Bender: 'the same tactics, involving the deployment of non-local unidentifiable police, were used in each encounter' (Bender 1998: 114). It could also be added that the police also used violence, brute force and intimidation, similar to the strikes, along with a cruel addition, destruction of personal property. A free festivalgoer, Phil Shakesby, was interviewed for *Operation Solstice*, and described being held by police and forced to watch as his home burned down (Channel 4 1991: 14 minutes 53 seconds).

In his paper *Stoned Henge*, Chippindale wrote about the aftermath of the BOB and the impact that the free festivals were having on the archaeology of the Stonehenge landscape. Both the NT and EH were concerned about the damage the free festivals were doing to the area surrounding Stonehenge, hence their backing of a court injunction. For EH, Stonehenge should have been 'the jewel in their crown' (Chippindale 1985: 42), instead it was being invaded by free festivalgoers each year, for indeterminable amounts of time and causing a lot of damage. It was embarrassing for the Establishment that they could not control the free festivals, which in their view were 'filth, vandalism, and general obnoxiousness' (Chippindale 1985: 46).



3.15: Map showing the Stonehenge Free Festival site in relation to Stonehenge, 1986 (Chippindale 1986: 41)

The festivals were leaving an obvious footprint on the land, not least in the 'intolerable archaeological destruction' (Chippindale 1985: 46) they left in their wake. The free festivalgoers were using Bronze Age Barrows, digging holes for 'latrines and bread ovens, motorcycles had been ridden over them' (Chippindale 1985: 45). We shudder at the thought of the antiquarians' ruthless method of 'excavating' barrows but this was deliberate destruction of archaeologically sensitive ancient monuments for a few joyrides. Along with this, fences and '1000 young trees' had been cut down for use as firewood (Chippindale 1985: 45) no doubt infuriating the NT tenant farmers, whose land the free festivals were on. Chippindale writes that the clear up after the Stonehenge Free Festival cost 'upwards of £20,000' (Chippindale 1985: 45) which is around

£61,000 (Bank of England 2020) today, not sustainable for the NT and EH. Although the end of the Stonehenge free festivals must have come as a relief to the NT and EH, as Chippindale writes, ‘winning pitched battles against a homeless free festival is not how either of them wants to make a public impact’ (Chippindale 1985: 52).

After the BOB, there were negotiations to move the Stonehenge Free Festival to a new site, with Michael Eavis, co-founder of Glastonbury Festival, willing to buy farmland in the Stonehenge landscape to give to festival for two weeks yearly (Bish 1988). These were unfruitful however, ‘not conversations between people of the same world-view or even speaking the same language’ (Chippindale 1985: 45) and in 1988 there was another clash at Stonehenge, between 4000 hippies and riot gear police (Bish 1988a). The fight was violent, with missiles such as ‘bottles, fence posts and concrete slabs were thrown’ (Bish 1988a) and 8 policemen put in hospital (Bish 1988a). A New Age Traveller, Duncan, was quoted in the *Salisbury Journal* as saying: “it’s just another ‘us and them’ conflict like the miner’s strike” (Bish 1988a). But the Miner’s Strike was against mine closures and a loss of industry, causing mass unemployment, whereas this clash was due to lack of access to Stonehenge for a free party.

It could be argued that the BOB caused more problems than it solved. The police had beaten the free festival goers, both physically and mentally, ‘solving’ the problems of Thatcher and the Establishment; but the alternative scene that revolved around the Stonehenge Free Festival was now rudderless. As well as the clashes at Stonehenge with police during the 1980s, there were also clashes with local landowners, who struggled with the impact the New Age Travellers were having on their livelihoods, lands and families. For example, in 1987 farmers were warned by the National Farmers Union to not assault New Age Travellers by using ‘shotguns, unleash guard dogs or spray them with slurry’ (Cohen 1987) as they could face prosecution if they did, despite evidence that the New Agers were harming livestock and farmer’s livelihoods. In 1990, a local farmer and his family were ‘subjected to a year-long campaign of intimidation which culminated with his Land Rover being set alight on Friday night’ (Western Daily Press 1990) which almost caused him to lose his dogs, an essential component of running a sheep farm. This was on top of threats to burn his barn to the ground and the death of 6 ewes due to New Age Traveller’s dogs (Western Daily Press 1990).

There was also anger from the public, as a letter ‘New Age Shitheads’ written to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Stone magazine regarding West Kennet and Silbury shows: ‘I am not in favour of it becoming a ‘new age playpen’ as Stonehenge has become – it certainly should have free access to ALL who wish to visit it’ (Airey 1996: 18). It seems that many were becoming frustrated of the actions of New Age Travellers, despite sympathy about the Battle of the Beanfield.

### **End of the Road**

Although the Stonehenge Free Festivals were a short-lived moment in Stonehenge’s history, they had an undeniable impact on society and cultural heritage. The festivals and BOB have ‘irrevocably changed the lives of many of those caught up in it’ (Worthington 2020), though were not the end of the free party scene. The mix of punk and hippie at the free festivals transitioned in the rave scene of the late 80s and 90s, of which ‘warehouse parties and outdoor raves brought the free party scene back with a vengeance’ (Worthington 2002: 44).

What was considered a 'utopian model of an alternative society' (Partridge 2007: 42) had far-reaching implications. Although there were restrictions and lack of access to Stonehenge at the solstices, the violence did not end with the Battle of the Beanfield. Clashes between would-be free festival goers and the authorities occurred in 1986, '89 and 1999 (Worthington, 2002: 45). The Stonehenge Regulations 1997 were the final nail in the coffin for the Stonehenge Free Festivals and solstice celebrations. They effectively banned any festivals or events from taking place in the Stonehenge landscape, using phrases which prohibited certain acts such as 'bringing onto, parking or leaving any vehicle on the site of the monument otherwise than in accordance with parking authorised by English Heritage' (The Stonehenge Regulations 1997), or 'throwing a stone or discharging a weapon or missile of any kind from, over or onto the site of the monument' (The Stonehenge Regulations 1997), which specifically targeted the free festivalgoers.

An unseen consequence of the free festivals at Stonehenge was that the influx of New Age Travellers that congregated within the Stonehenge landscape and surrounding counties made it more difficult for other existing Traveller communities, as shown by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994. Part V Public Order: Collective Trespass or Nuisance on Land is clearly designed to suppress the rave and free festival culture, with sections addressing 'powers in relation to raves', 'power to remove unauthorised campers' and 'powers to remove trespassers on land' (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994, c.33).

WCC was clearly having issues with verifying Travellers as early as 1986, as shown by council documents: 'In Paragraph 18 (c), the matter should be with the individual Authorities to decide whether or not a person is a gypsy for the purposes of the Caravan Sites Act'. (Wiltshire County Council 1986). Although there are various types of itinerant communities, those who are of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller status are protected as a minority ethnic group and have access to caravan sites as is their right. The influx of New Age Travellers into the county made it difficult for the WCC to assess who was entitled to caravan sites at the time.

New Age Travellers caused further difficulties as their actions and unpopularity made it hard to have a transient lifestyle, and aid for site provision was withdrawn. In 2009, Worthington stated that the 1994 Criminal Justice Act 'criminalized the entire way of life of gypsies and travellers' as it 'removed the obligation on local authorities to provide sites for gypsies' (Worthington, 2009). It's evident that what may have intended to curb the gatherings at the Stonehenge for the free festivals had serious ramifications for other Traveller communities, though it would be unsurprising if this was a deliberate move to prevent public use of land, a hinderance to those whose whole identity and history is based on freedom to roam. What had begun as a hippie free festival changed the course of Stonehenge's history and influenced people's access to the monument. After the BOB, Stonehenge solstices were 'devoid of life and defended by paramilitary fortifications' (Chippindale 1985: 52). It wouldn't be until 2000 that a large gathering would be at Stonehenge to celebrate the solstice once again (Worthington 2002: 46).

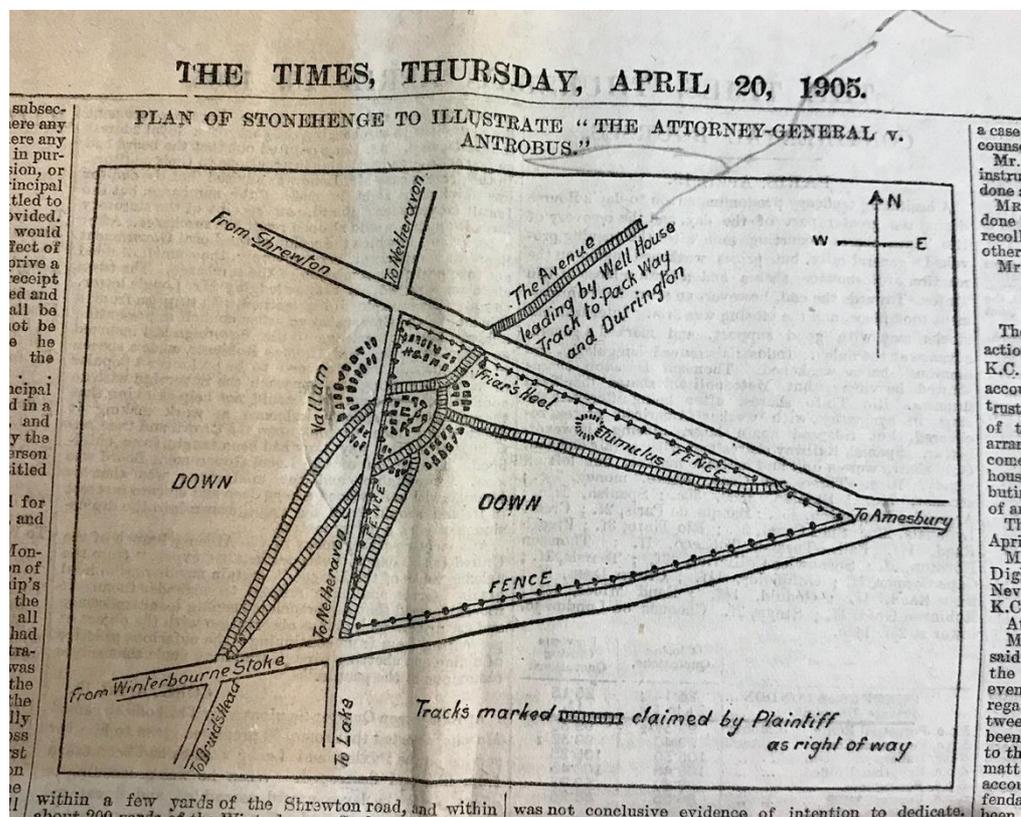
## **Summary**

From the discussion above, it is evident that the Stonehenge Free Festivals had a substantial impact on Stonehenge, despite the fact they were short-lived. The free festivals are an important piece of cultural heritage linked to Stonehenge and are a key

turning point in its history, due to the free festivals and the impact they were having on the Stonehenge landscape, the government decided it was necessary to act. It could be argued that the free festivals were one of the main reasons for Stonehenge being like it is today. They were an incentive for English Heritage to improve Stonehenge as a tourist destination and for English Heritage and the National Trust to work together to ensure the preservation of the Stonehenge landscape for future generations.

## Admission and Accessibility

Since 1900, admission and accessibility at Stonehenge has been an ongoing issue. As early as 1905, Stonehenge and public access to the monument was being discussed, with a court case lasting eight days (*The Times*, 1905: 9). This can be traced back to the events of 1894, when Sir Edmund Antrobus (then owner of Stonehenge) refused to allow the Ancient Monuments Commissions to fence the henge, as he thought it was a place of importance for the public (Bender, 1998: 113). However, his son erected a barbed wire fence around the site (with the approval of the Society of Antiquaries) (Bender, 1998: 114) although was taken to court in 1905. An injunction was passed to prevent the fencing of Stonehenge, with the Attorney-General stating two reasons: ‘Stonehenge is a national monument of great interest and is subject to a trust for its free user by the public’ and ‘there are public roads running up to and through Stonehenge’ (*The Times*, 1905 adding that considering the ‘unique character and great archaeological interest of Stonehenge...it is most improbable that permission to visitors to inspect would have ever been refused’ (*The Times*, 1905: 9). This court case marked the beginning of Stonehenge’s enclosure and managed access which has been a key element of how people interact with the site ever since.



3.16: Illustration for the Attorney-General V. Antrobus Court Case on access to Stonehenge, 1905 (*The Times*)

# NOTICE.

**WE, THE RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL OF AMESBURY in the County of Wilts (being the Surveyor of Highways for the Parish and District of Amesbury in the said County) HEREBY GIVE PUBLIC NOTICE that on the 3rd day of April 1923 APPLICATION will be made to**

His Majesty's Justices of the Peace assembled in Quarter Sessions in and for the said County of Wilts at Salisbury for an Order for stopping up turning or diverting between the two points hereinafter mentioned a certain public highway in the Parish of Amesbury aforesaid leading from the Amesbury-Warminster Road at a point 540 yards or thereabouts west from the junction of this road with the Amesbury-Winterbourne Stoke Road to the road called the Amesbury-Winterbourne Stoke Road in the said Parish by stopping up entirely that portion of the said highway lying between the Amesbury-Warminster Road aforesaid and a certain point in the course of the said public highway 1065 feet or thereabouts from the Amesbury-Warminster Road aforesaid being its point of juncture with the Amesbury-Winterbourne Stoke Road and by substituting for and making in lieu of the said portion of the public highway so proposed to be stopped up a good and sufficient public highway leading from the Amesbury-Warminster Road aforesaid commencing at a point of juncture with the Amesbury-Warminster Road aforesaid 140 feet or thereabouts west of the said public highway proposed to be stopped up and proceeding thence in a south westerly direction for 1325 feet or thereabouts and there uniting with the Amesbury-Winterbourne Stoke Road aforesaid at a point 490 feet or thereabouts west of the said public highway proposed to be stopped up AND WE HEREBY GIVE FURTHER NOTICE that the Certificate of two Justices of the Peace having viewed the said public highway so proposed to be stopped up diverted or turned and the line of the said public highway so proposed to be made as aforesaid and that such proposed new highway will be more commodious to the public than the said public highway so proposed to be diverted or turned together with the proof of due publication of the several notices required by the statute in that case made and provided and that the plan of the old and proposed new highway will be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace for the said County on or before the 6th day of March 1923.

Dated this 7th day of December 1922.

**A. M. WILSON**

Clerk to the said Rural District Council of Amesbury.

Bennett Bros., Printers, Salisbury.

3.17: *Changes to Public Right of Way Poster, 1923 (WSHC)*

It could be said that the roots of *The Attorney-General versus Antrobus* court case can be linked to a much wider political debate. Stonehenge becomes the focal point of the dispute between landowners and everyone else. In the aftermath of Industrialisation, people were becoming aware of the limited access they had to green spaces, commons, and landscapes, (Bender 1998: 112) something that the Open Spaces Society campaigned for (Open Spaces, 2021). And just ten years prior to court case concerning Stonehenge, in 1895, the National Trust was created to hold land in public interest, albeit privately (Bender 1998: 113). Of course, as the story goes, Stonehenge became property of Cecil Chubb, who gave it to the nation. Despite his wish that Stonehenge should be free to access for all it was decreed otherwise due to a proviso (Bender 1998: 114) though conditional free access in the form of resident passes could be argued to be partial fulfilment of this (English Heritage, 2021j).

When discussing accessibility at Stonehenge, is worth mentioning that England does not have the 'everyman's right' or freedom to roam. Government legislation in 2000 introduced limited right to roam (Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000), which gave the general public conditional permission to access certain lands, provided they use the public footpaths and bridleways (Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000). Regarding access via public footpaths, Stonehenge is an interesting case. The Stonehenge Triangle is owned by EH but the massive surrounding landscape is of course, owned by the NT. The NT have several walks that people can take throughout

the Stonehenge landscape, although the Bridleway that crosses near Stonehenge is in danger of being moved in the ongoing A303 Tunnel Plans, having been moved once before in the 1920s. Stonehenge's landscape is accessible, with visitors able to trace the cursus and other monuments in the landscape, but access to the monument itself is only via the EH and the now defunct A344.

### **Affordability and Accessibility**

In their 2019/2020 Annual Report, EH freely state that Stonehenge is their 'most financially important site' (English Heritage, 2021c). It is evident that Stonehenge is one of the key properties within the English Heritage's care, particularly as it attracts 'considerable international tourism' with '75% of visitors from overseas' in pre-Covid times (English Heritage, 2021c). At the time of writing, the Stonehenge Guidebook is available in eight different languages from the EH online shop (English Heritage, 2021d). Tourism, particularly international tourism, is a key part of Stonehenge and English Heritage staff wear flags on their name badges to denote whether they are fluent in that language.

Today, general admission to Stonehenge currently stands at £21.10 per adult, £19 for concessions and £12.70 per child (English Heritage, 2021e), although these prices were accessed in the summer season, prices can vary for off-peak or peak and family tickets. International tourists can save with an 'Overseas Visitor Pass' which is 9 or 16 days unlimited, and between £37-£45 per adult (English Heritage, 2021e). This offers admission to over 100 EH sites, including Stonehenge, Tintagel Castle and Charles Darwin's Home (English Heritage, 2021e), making visits to sites much more affordable for overseas tourists. Although Stonehenge isn't one of the most expensive visitor attractions, affordability is different for everyone, so for many it is a special day out.

It will be interesting to see whether the visitor experience at Stonehenge diversifies over the coming years because of the unprecedented effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. In their 2019/2020 annual report, EH states that international visitors' figures are unlikely to reach the same levels until 2022/2023 (English Heritage, 2021c). Given that only 25% of visitors are UK-based, Stonehenge will have to change to encourage more 'home' visitors. In terms of diversification, it would be interesting to see different visitor experiences offered at Stonehenge. Currently, other than general admission, the only different visitor experience is 'beyond the stones' access at £47 per adult (English Heritage, 2021e). It might benefit EH if they were to offer other experiences at Stonehenge, for example, after hours candlelit access or guided landscape walks. The Roman Baths, in Bath offers a variety of visitor experiences, including behind the scenes 'tunnel tours' and T'ai Chi on the terrace above the main pool (Roman Baths, 2021). These events are popular and provide special experiences for visitors that are different from the norm. If Stonehenge is to thrive in coming years, it needs to be continually creative with the way it attracts visitors, ensuring its future by encouraging a returning visitor set.



3.18: Turnstile and Hut, Stonehenge (Open Spaces Society)

### **Solstice Access at Stonehenge**

As discussed in the paragraph above, the lack of diversification in visitor experiences at Stonehenge may explain why the solstices draw such large crowds, the two brief days of the year when Stonehenge is completely accessible for free. The Summer and Winter Solstices at Stonehenge are the only times when Stonehenge is completely accessible, and the inner circle can be accessed by the public. This has not always been the case. It is only in the last 20 or so years of Stonehenge's modern social history that the monument has been under managed access.

Following on from the brutal violence of the Battle of the Beanfield, there were several pieces of Government legislation that made solstice access to Stonehenge impossible, such as the Public Order Act of 1986, the Criminal Justice Act 1994 and the Stonehenge Regulations 1997. Though these are discussed in more detail in the political theme, they are worth mentioning here as they had a big impact on Stonehenge accessibility. From 1985 to 2000, there was little or no access to Stonehenge, the site part of an 'exclusion zone'. After the House of Lords deemed this illegal (Worthington 2004: 226), in 2000 the first managed access summer solstice was held in the 'spirit of compromise' (Worthington 2004: 226), a solstice celebration but under careful management. Worthington describes the 2000 Solstice as a 'night of celebration' (Worthington 2004: 227) for all those who had campaigned for years to gain solstice access to Stonehenge (Worthington 2004: 228). The managed access of Stonehenge allowed societal sub-cultures to celebrate at the stones once again, the final issue of 3<sup>rd</sup> Stone confirms that Stonehenge 'will almost certainly be open for business' for the Winter Solstice, after

years of writing about the exclusion (3<sup>rd</sup> Stone 2003). It is a system that seems to have worked, as in 2021, we have more years of managed access, than we do of exclusion.

On episode 12 of The English Heritage Podcast (The English Heritage Podcast, 2019a), Heather Sebire discusses the way English Heritage manages the Summer Solstice gatherings. From 7 o'clock till 8.30am Stonehenge is open to anyone for free, with a fee for parking. The attendee numbers depend on when Glastonbury Festival is, with Sebire noting 'when Glastonbury's on we get a lot of people come to the solstice then go on to Glastonbury' (The English Heritage Podcast, 2019a). At Glastonbury Festival too, the solstice is recognized as a key part of the festival, it is a tradition to sit at the stone circle on the last night of the festival and watch the sunrise over the Pyramid Stage. The researcher has fond memories of sitting with friends watching the sun hit the top of Pyramid, illuminating the festival in the early hours.

Although Sebire acknowledges that today's summer solstice celebrations are a 'modern day reflection of what must have happened all those thousands of years ago' she states that Stonehenge is 'more than somewhere to have a good time' (The English Heritage Podcast, 2019a) and that it's important to respect the stones. In 2020, due to the unprecedented impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, Stonehenge was closed to solstice goers on the Summer solstice, with English Heritage livestreaming the event over social media instead.

The British Archaeology magazine mused on the solstice closure in their 'Spoilheap' column of their July/August 2020 issue, dramatically stating that 'this might have been the first time that people have been banned from Stonehenge on the solstice since it was built' (British Archaeology Magazine, 2020: 50) seemingly glossing over the historic Battle of the Beanfield event and the following years of exclusion. Likewise, the narrow-minded view that the Stonehenge closure on solstice was 'one of the most striking symbols of the strange oppressive time in which we live' which seems unjust and somewhat naïve considering the backlash that the Black Lives Matter movement faced over the summer of 2020. Although the solstice closure was undoubtedly difficult, it pales in comparison to other events of 2020 due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. The 2020 Solstice livestream was viewed by 3.6 million people, raising a large sum for EH (Gibson 2020), so whilst people couldn't celebrate at Stonehenge itself, they could enjoy the solstice from home and support the management of Stonehenge and other places of cultural interest.

### **Disabled Access at Stonehenge**

When discussing admission and accessibility to Stonehenge, it is imperative to consider the accessibility for disabled visitors. In 2019, Stonehenge was voted the 'most accessible heritage site in the UK based on ratings from TripAdvisor' by UK Age Mobility (English Heritage, 2021a). It has a regular shuttle bus service, 22 disabled parking bays and the monument itself has a tarmac and grass path surrounding it (English Heritage, 2021b). It is also worth noting that the permanent internal exhibition has several tactile Stonehenge models which visitors can touch, and the spoken audio exhibits have subtitles and BSL for those who need it (English Heritage, 2021b).

Outside the visitor centre, there are Sarsen stones placed so that people can touch them (English Heritage, 2021a) and prior to COVID-19 (at the time of writing) the Neolithic Houses were open with volunteers who talked to visitors about Neolithic life and let

them handle replica objects. This engagement with visitors allows them to experience Stonehenge using different senses, i.e. touch to learn about the monument and its history. There are also Easy Read guides available on request, induction loops and transcripts of audio tours (English Heritage, 2021b). Although all these additions make the Stonehenge experience more accessible for visitors, it could always be improved. For instance, there are no braille guides or signage at Stonehenge and BSL tours are not available (English Heritage, 2021b). If these were incorporated into the Stonehenge experience it might improve the accessibility of the site and create an inclusive atmosphere. History is for everyone, regardless of your health.

## **Summary**

To summarise, it is evident from the discussion above admission and accessibility has always been a point of contention for Stonehenge. Accessibility to the Monument is closely linked to the political debate surrounding it and the idea of it as a ‘contested landscape’ and none more so is this apparent when discussing solstice access to Stonehenge. Access and accessibility also links to class and hierarchy in British society, as throughout the time period it is evident that Stonehenge is continually debated over who should have access due to their social background. It is evident that access to much of our heritage in the UK is a privilege, not a given. Management of the monument has changed since and today the Stonehenge is much more welcoming.

## **The A303 Tunnel**

One of the key ongoing discussions in Stonehenge’s modern social history is of course, the A303 Tunnel Scheme. Since the 1970s, and the handover of management of Stonehenge to English Heritage in 1983 (Bender 1998: 128), the concept of enclosing the A303 in a tunnel has been the source of many debates. One of English Heritage’s key objectives when they became custodians of Stonehenge was to work alongside the Department of Transport, on ‘a sensitive upgrade of the A303 as it passed Stonehenge’ (Darvill 2020). Although this was over thirty years ago, there has still been no improvement to the A303, and the busy road has a noticeable impact on the visitor experience at Stonehenge. The Stonehenge Tunnel Project would enclose part of the A303 near Stonehenge, 3.3 km to improve the landscape, traffic problems and the quality of visitor experience. However, it has been a divisive and polarising issue as many different subgroups in society have opinions on the matter.

The subject of the A303 tunnel came up frequently in the now defunct *3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* magazine. Although publications like *3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* are easy targets to dismiss as pseudoscience or make believe, they can be useful as they provide views on Stonehenge that aren’t necessarily from an academic perspective. In 1995, in an article titled *Autogeddon -Road Rage Stonehenge* the author despairs at the management of the tunnel scheme by the Department of Transport and English Heritage: ‘There seems to be little hope for compromise between these protagonists’ (Anon. 1995). They go on to declare that ‘this disgraceful display of governmental inertia leaves one of the world’s most important archaeological sites festering beside a noisy and dangerous road’ (Anon. 1995). Although this acknowledges worries about the impact of the A303 road on Stonehenge as it is, in terms of presentation and attractiveness, *3<sup>rd</sup> Stone* also comments on the potential impact that the Tunnel could have on tourism at Stonehenge in relation to the proposed (at the time) Visitor Centre: ‘putting the A303 in a tunnel may have a knock-on effect.’ (Trubshaw 2003).

In the final issue of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Stone magazine, readers are urged to rally against the planned tunnel: ‘Probably the most significant example of what public and professional pressure can do is the mothballing of the disastrous ‘Cut and Cover’ tunnel’ (Burnham, 2003). And with a knowing nod to the future of the scheme, Burnham adds that ‘far from resolved of course, the Stonehenge issue will run and run’ (Burnham, 2003).

One of the main reasons behind the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme is the positive impact it could have on the visitor experience at Stonehenge. In *Spoilheap*, a running column in British Archaeology Magazine (2017), Pitts praises Stonehenge, declaring it ‘a showcase for British heritage and antiquity, a symbol for Britain itself’ (Pitts 2017: 66) but acknowledges that the Monument could be more spectacular and ‘a flagship for British archaeology... if only, consider the road saga’ (Pitts 2017: 66). It is acknowledged that the A303 ‘divides the World Heritage Site in two so that the southern half might as well not exist’ (Pitts 2017: 66). The enclosing of the A303 into a tunnel would open the Stonehenge landscape and make it more accessible. Visitors could then choose to approach Stonehenge from several different routes, and it would encourage visitors to the Monument to interact more with the surrounding landscape. However, there is a worry that the A303 tunnel could cause further commercialisation of an already touristic archaeological site: ‘we can only hope that the improvements will continue without an excess of commercialised ‘heritage’ (Anon. 2014).

In recent months, the A303 tunnel was approved, much to the dismay of several campaign groups, such as the Save Stonehenge Campaign and leading archaeologists. Upon announcement of the decision for the tunnel to go ahead, Professor Mike Parker Pearson and others wrote to the Times, stating that a large area of the WHS would be destroyed ‘the size of 20 football pitches’ (The Times 2020) because they feel the tunnel is too short. In addition to this, he proclaims that ‘half a million artefacts are destined for oblivion’ and they urge the government to increase funding for the tunnel scheme so it can be extended to the full extent of the WHS (The Times 2020). This letter caused an incendiary effect in the British media, doubtless as it was meant to do, with dramatic headlines like ‘Rival Factions battle for Soul of Stonehenge’ (Humphries 2020).

Pitting of archaeologists against one another like this is hardly helpful in the face of recent proposed cuts in funding and planning laws by the current Conservative government. It could also be suggested that the debate surrounding the A303 Tunnel is largely binary, you are either for or against the tunnel scheme, with no in-between. It is also worth stating that the archaeologists who are speaking out publicly against about the A303 Tunnel Scheme are in a privileged position. They are notable enough that they do not have to consider the impact of their comments on their employability as those further down the career ladder do. Many of those in favour of the scheme may be concerned about their future employment or are part of the process of the A303 Tunnel Scheme, so cannot speak out about it or are contractually obliged not to.

In response to the letter to the Times from Professor Mike Parker Pearson et al. (The Times 2020), Professor Tim Darvill (2020) wrote an article for the *Apollo* magazine in defence of the Stonehenge Tunnel. Darvill is a member of the A303 Scientific Committee for the Tunnel Scheme (A303 Scientific Committee 2018) but writes in a personal capacity. Darvill begins with stating the impact the media has had on the A303 Tunnel debate, which has been ‘fuelled by negative publicity and misunderstandings about the processes by which archaeological concerns feed into planning and delivering

development'. Although he does acknowledge that the Tunnel Scheme is an enormous undertaking to protect and improve the archaeological heritage of Britain, he states that the 'improved ambience' of Stonehenge from the closure of the A344 should more than enough to prove that the A303 Tunnel Scheme is necessary.

The main points Darvill puts forward about the benefits of the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel are to do with improvement of the Stonehenge landscape and visitor experience. He reassures the reader by acknowledging that 'the project is not so much about building a road as taking one away' (Darvill 2020). By removing the A303 from the landscape, it will benefit visitors but also bring the landscape back to an older version, closer to what those who built Stonehenge may have seen. As well as this, the inclusion of 'green bridges' would allow further access to more of the Stonehenge landscape, 'better facilitating movement across the landscape for people and wildlife' (Darvill 2020). Visitors would be able to explore more of the landscape around Stonehenge and this could allow for new walking routes in the WHS.

Overall, Darvill is of the judgement that the impacts of the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel are overwhelmingly positive. The Stonehenge Tunnel would 'remove an existing blot on the landscape' (Darvill 2020), reducing distractions at the Monument 'noise and light pollution' and would allow for a better experience of Stonehenge and its surrounding landscape (Darvill 2020). If external factors like noise and pollution from the road were removed it would improve our experiences of Stonehenge and at solstices, the gatherings would get a better view of the rising sun, undiluted by lorry headlights.

It is evident that the public debate surrounding Stonehenge and the A303 Tunnel Scheme has been impacted by media coverage, such as the headline noted above. In 2019, the tunnel scheme was described as 'a grotesque act of vandalism' (Holland 2019), which will cause Stonehenge, to 'bear a scar the mark of our folly and short-sightedness' (Holland 2019). Holland goes on to state that 'based on Highways England's own figure, it will save just 4.8 seconds per mile on an average 100-mile journey.' (Holland 2019). However, this seems needlessly negative as Holland is not considering the positive impact that the A303 tunnel could potentially have on local residents. The A303 has often been used as the main route between London and Devon/Cornwall, for city-dwellers' holidays. It is 174 miles from London to Exeter via the A303 (Google Maps 2021), in which case the saving of '4.8 seconds per mile' (Holland 2019) makes sense, but regarding local journeys, the A303 tunnel could vastly improve traffic for residents in the area.

On Highways England website, a local resident states that 'the traffic has got so bad now, people have been waiting for this for thirty years, for us to be getting something done at last – it's just brilliant news' (Highways England 2021). Whilst it might only shave '4.8 seconds' (Holland 2019) off a London holiday maker's journey, it is obvious that the A303 tunnel would be of great value to local residents as it will improve traffic around Stonehenge and reduce their journey times. In terms of the A303 Tunnel Scheme it is important to consider the effect on local people as they will be the ones affected most by the changes. The A303 has never been adequate for the volume of traffic, particularly in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup>, with bottlenecks causing delays on a frequent daily basis (Darvill 2020). From evidence shown in this section, it clear that the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme is being appropriated by various groups to push their own agenda. This is succinctly put by Higgins (2019), who writes that Stonehenge is 'is at the centre of a peculiarly modern British circus'

(Higgins 2019) regarding the ‘absurdist drama’ (Higgins 2019) that surrounds the A303 Tunnel Scheme.

Over the course of writing this thesis, despite the approval of the A303 Tunnel Scheme at the end of 2020, it is now in the balance once again, as UNESCO has warned that Stonehenge could lose its status as a world heritage site, like Liverpool waterfront has, if the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme goes ahead (Bennett, 2021). The approval of the tunnel scheme was unlawful as it ‘did not properly consider damage that would be done to a string of prehistoric sites and many thousands of ancient artefacts’ (Morris 2021). Planning inspectors have thus concluded that the scheme would be the sole cause of ‘permanent and irreversible harm to Stonehenge’ (Morris 2021). At the time of writing, the Save Stonehenge Campaign, one of the leading opposing groups to the A303 Tunnel Scheme are raising funds to oppose it at the High Court (Save Stonehenge 2021). This currently stand (July 2021) at just over £80,000 (Save Stonehenge 2021). It is evident that the discourse surrounding the A303 Tunnel Scheme is varied and numerous and it will be interesting to see in later years if the tunnel ever comes to fruition.

## **Summary**

To summarise, the A303 Tunnel Scheme has been a major source of debate and contested views about Stonehenge. Although it could have an immeasurable positive impact on the site for generations to come, many still oppose the idea. The A303 Tunnel Scheme is only part of the latter half of Stonehenge’s modern social history from 1900 to 2020, spanning around 40 years. Despite this, the A303 Tunnel is a key part of the Monument’s history as it is highly contentious and linked to several key themes in this thesis, including contested landscape, politics, and accessibility. This is largely due to the inflammation of the tunnel debate by the media which has had a negative impact on the public image of the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme and on archaeology itself. The A303 and the tunnel scheme will continue to be a point of contention in Stonehenge’s social history, and it is hoped that it will be resolved.

## **Stonehenge and Pop Culture**

On the Stonehenge episode of the BBC Radio 4 ‘You’re Dead to Me’ podcast, historian Greg Jenner states that ‘in pop culture, Stonehenge is the most iconic Ancient Monument in Britain, one of the most famous in the world’ (BBC Radio 4, 2019). This is arguably the case, as Stonehenge appears frequently in all types of media, including music, television, and fashion. Stonehenge’s presentation in pop culture has been described as meaning ‘many things to many people’ (Wallis 2013: 321), with the presentation of Stonehenge being very different to what tourists actually experience when they visit the Monument (Wallis 2013: 321). There is a rich British popular culture that surrounds Stonehenge, which will be discussing in this section of Chapter Three, citing examples to indicate Stonehenge’s relevance to popular culture.

### **Tourism and souvenirs**

Perhaps the most obvious example of Stonehenge presented in popular culture is through tourism and souvenirs. A visit to Stonehenge is not complete without an ‘exit through the gift shop’ (Exit Through the Gift Shop 2021) if you will. Stonehenge is a heritage site which is ‘commodified within an inch of its life’ (Higgins 2019). It is

undeniable that Stonehenge has been commercialised, but tourism and souvenirs are an important part of the heritage economy and the national economy. Since the 1970s and the plans to improve tourism at Stonehenge (Wiltshire County Council 1984), it has become the perfect tourist trap (Bender 1998: 118). There is a distinct rise in Stonehenge souvenirs from the 1960s, which is understandable given that the first visitor centre was erected in 1968 (Bender 1998: 118). Further examples of Stonehenge souvenirs are documented in Chapter Eight, the Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive.

Today, English Heritage capitalises on the appeal of Stonehenge onsite and through its' English Heritage online shop, which at the time of writing had 372 products, from keyrings to special edition Barbour jackets, when 'Stonehenge' was searched as a key word. Prices range from £1.50 for a pencil to £1,250 for an 18-carat gold, bluestone, and diamond heart pendant, 'carved from authentic bluestone, only found in the Preseli Hills in Pembrokeshire' (English Heritage, 2021f). The wide range of products and the price range indicates the popularity of Stonehenge and the continuing appeal of souvenirs. While some may wish that Stonehenge was not as commercialised as it is today, the reality is that the ongoing management and preservation of the Monument partly depends on souvenirs and tourist culture, and the income it brings.

### Advertising

Stonehenge is often used as a theme in advertising. From 1900 to 2020, Stonehenge has been frequently used as a backdrop on several advertising campaigns. Part of the appeal of Stonehenge is that it is a highly reproducible symbol that can be easily applied in advertising, as the shape is easily recognisable for the audience. It could be argued that the trilithon, a common motif used in advertising, is as ubiquitous as the peace symbol, in that Stonehenge is an easily recognisable icon that can be applied adverts to add gravitas to a product. It is interesting to note that in the local area surrounding Stonehenge, there are a number of businesses that use Stonehenge or other related 'buzzwords' to improve the perception of their product as it links them to the Ancient Monument. Some examples include: Sarsen Stone Group (Sarsen Stone Group 2021), Henge Honey (Henge Honey 2021) and Stonehenge Ales (Stonehenge Ales 2021). Within archaeology, Wessex Archaeology use a trilithon in their logo (Wessex Archaeology 2021) and one also appears in the logo for the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at Bournemouth University (BU Arch & Anth 2021).



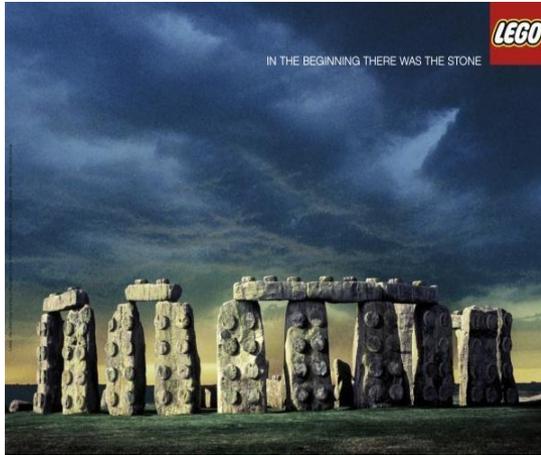
3.19: *Wessex Archaeology Logo*, 2021 (Wessex Arch)



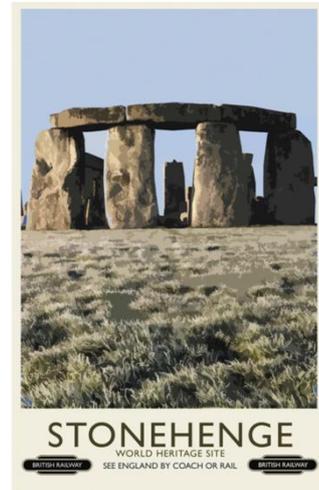
3.20: *BU Archaeology and Anthropology Department Logo*, 2021 (Twitter)

In addition, adverts often play on the importance of Stonehenge in British culture, using this to engage the audience in their product. For example, the National Lottery's 2015 ad campaign of 'PleaseNotThem' (National Lottery, 2015) which features a tongue-in-cheek Laurence Llewelyn Bowen 'tweaking' Stonehenge to reflect 'the juiciness of this

nation’ (National Lottery, 2015) albeit with interruptions from some rather irate security guards. This use of humour in conjunction with Stonehenge is meant to entice the viewer to buy into the National Lottery as they’ll be ‘saving’ Stonehenge from Bowen’s outrageous plans, using Stonehenge’s perceived importance in the advert to encourage their audience.



3.21: *Stonehenge Lego Advert*, 2005 (Pinterest)



3.22: *Stonehenge British Railways poster*, ca. 20<sup>th</sup> century (Pinterest)

## Art and Social Engagement

Stonehenge is often a theme for art or social engagement. It could be argued that Stonehenge is a good way to engage the public with archaeology as there are so many examples of it being referenced in popular culture. For example, as part of the Stonehenge 100 celebrations, Darvill gave a talk ‘Stonehenge Rocks: Right Here! Right Now!’ (Darvill 2018a) citing several examples of Stonehenge being presented in popular culture.

In 2012, Jeremy Deller’s ‘*Sacrilege*’ toured the country as part of the London 2012 celebrations (Jeremy Deller 2016). The work, which was a co-commission, was ‘enormously popular’ with the public when it toured (Jeremy Deller 2016). *Sacrilege* has been described as a ‘contemporary artwork representing an iconic heritage monument’ which ‘appears to go against ‘sacredness’’ (Wallis 2013: 320). When asked about his work, Deller replied that ‘there is no reason why a visit to Stonehenge should not be light-hearted as well as inspiring’ (Morris 2018). Although he acknowledges that it is a ‘symbol of the nation’ (Morris 2018), this doesn’t mean that ‘you can’t have fun with it and enjoy it’ (Morris 2018). Wallis echoes these sentiments as he argues that *Sacrilege* is about ‘freedom and tactile engagement’ (Wallis 2013: 322) with the Monument, something that he does not associate with the touristic experience at Stonehenge, describing it as ‘viscerally disengaged, spatially confined and physically distant’ (Wallis 2013: 325).



3.23: *Sacrilege*, 2012 (Jeremy Deller)



3.24: *Sacrilege and Jeremy Deller*, 2012 (Create)

Although Wallis' reflections on the tourist experience at Stonehenge date from before the English Heritage Visitor Centre, many of his statements in his 2013 paper can still be applied to the visitor experience at Stonehenge, when compared to the experience of *Sacrilege*. In 2018, English Heritage celebrated Stonehenge 100, the centenary of Stonehenge being given to the public by Cecil Chubb. As part of the celebrations, *Sacrilege* was set up again, outside the visitor centre, with visitors being allowed to bounce on *Sacrilege*, something that felt particularly ironic (the researcher was a visitor themselves) given that we were on our way to view the Monument. *Sacrilege* has been presented as a 'hyperreal' experience of Stonehenge, due to 'participation, intimacy and enjoyment' (Wallis 2013: 325).

This was the case for the researcher, bouncing on *Sacrilege* was fun, but also a way of experience Stonehenge that brought the Monument closer. It was tactile, you could touch the ‘stones’, measure yourself up against the height of a trilithon. Bouncing on the bouncy castle provided an experience that was ‘immediate, sensory and visceral’ (Wallis 2013: 320). It was a way of engaging with Stonehenge that was not possible from behind the ropes that corral visitors around the Monument.



3.25: *Sacrilege* at Stonehenge, 2018 (T. Grist Parker)

Finally, Wallis argues that *Sacrilege* is more ‘than is ‘more than a giant bouncy castle shaped like Stonehenge’ (Wallis 2013: 330), *Sacrilege* is in fact, an artwork that ‘plays with ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture’ (Wallis 2013: 330). This is, in itself, the beauty of *Sacrilege*. It is a fun artwork that the public enjoys as they can interact with it (because how many times will you get the opportunity to bounce around on art?) but it is also a way of engaging people with archaeology, particularly those who might not have found it interesting previously.

When discussing arts and social engagement in regard to Stonehenge, it would be remiss not to mention ‘Clonehenge’. Clonehenge is a blog and twitter account that documents peoples’ replicas of Stonehenge, whether these are in stone, car or often in biscuit form. In recent years, you can see the influence and replication of Stonehenge, it often appears in the background of video games (Clonehenge 2021) or ‘Neolithic’ theme films. From Clonehenge, Stonehenge also seems to be the most commonly replicated Neolithic monument, although recently there have been some barrows being built in the style of Neolithic long barrows, Stonehenge replicas are far more prevalent and can be found all over the world. The Clonehenge twitter and blog proved to be an

invaluable resource for documentation of Stonehenge replicas and it was really interesting to interview Clonehenge's creator as part of the research project.

One of the researcher's inspirations for the inclusion of popular culture in this research project was Sam Barsky's Stonehenge sweater, which he went viral for in 2018 (Barsky 2021). Barsky has been knitting since 1999 and all his sweaters are knitted freehand, based on his own designs (Barsky 2021). His most famous sweaters are those he knits to wear at famous landmarks, like the Stonehenge sweater below, the photograph for which he kindly gave me permission to reproduce in this thesis. Although art by itself, the Stonehenge sweater when worn by Barsky at Stonehenge morphs into another dimension of interaction with Stonehenge. It is an example of how people today are inspired by ancient monuments and create art based on these monuments.

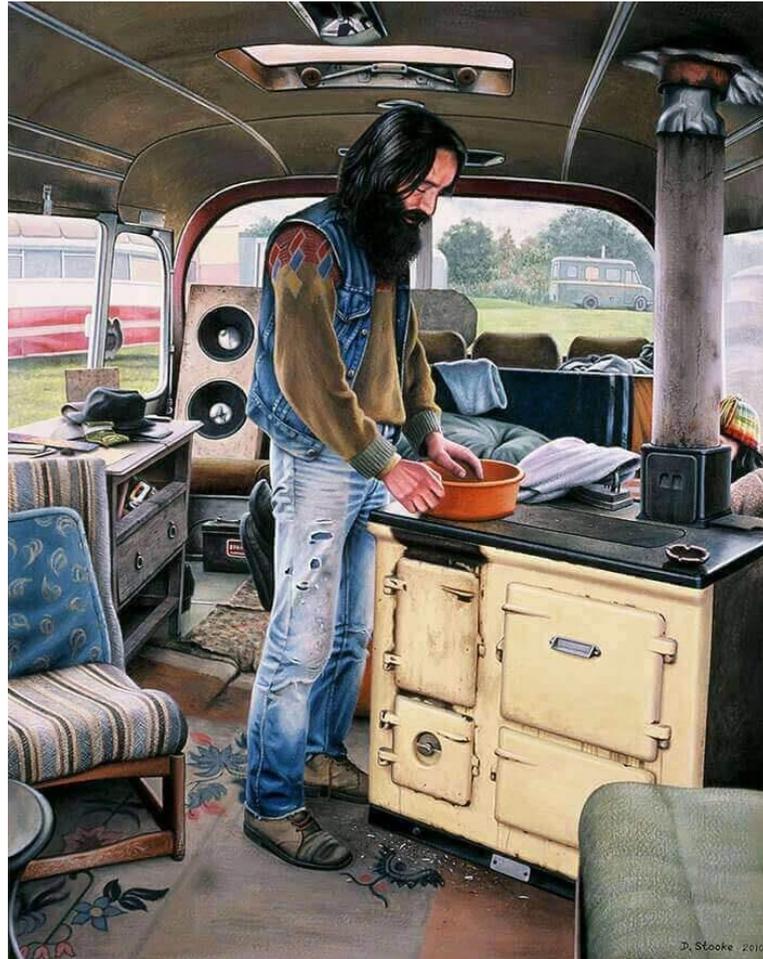


3.26: *Stonehenge sweater*, 2014 (Sam Barsky)

David Stooke is an artist who paints scenes of the Stonehenge Free festivals from his experiences being part of the New Age Traveller community and attending the festivals (Stooke 2021). His realistic pictures are evocative of the festivals, conjuring up the hustle and bustle that must have been going on and showing how a community comes together. *Phil the Beer* for example is a detailed portrait of Phil, showing the trappings of free festival life. He stands at the cream Rayburn in his bus, a speaker leaned against the seats behind him. Although it could be argued that these images represent a rose-tinted utopic view of the free festivals, minus the mud, the mess or the violence, they offer a glimpse of festival life behind-the-scenes and the homes of those who attended them.



3.27: *Stonehenge Free Festival 1984, 2007* (David Stooke)



3.28: *Phil the Beer*, 2010 (David Stooke)



3.29: *Stonehenge 1984*, 2016 (David Stooke)

In recent years, EH have recognised the importance of social engagement through art. The inclusion of a gallery at the Stonehenge visitor centre allows for various exhibitions, which is part of EH's new creative programme, one of the first exhibitions being 'Your Stonehenge', which was a showcase of 150 personal photographs celebrating the public's visiting history at Stonehenge (English Heritage 2019b). This set of photographs were collected after the Stonehenge 100 celebrations (Morris 2019) chosen with the help of Martin Parr who commented that the photos were a 'social history of Britain' (Morris 2019). It is evident from the photographs what the Stonehenge means to people and how it has been present in their lives. This photo archive formed part of the inspiration for Chapter 7 in this research project.

In July 2021, EH announced their 'England United' project, using the 'patriotic outpouring created by England's successes' (Brown 2021) to launch their website and England flags featuring 'almost every surname in the country' (2021h) of 32,000 surnames (2021h) allowing those in England to discover the 'origins and prevalence' (the guardian ref) behind their surnames. The St George flags featuring the printed surnames were hung at several sites across the country, including Stonehenge and Dover Castle (2021h). English Heritage stated that the surnames provide a 'snapshot of England and it's people today and a window into their stories' (2021h).

The surnames project was launched to coincide with the World Cup, in which England got to the final for the first time in 60 years (BBC 2021) but was marred by racism towards English players (BBC 2021). The 'England United' project could be seen as reclamation of the St George flag, which is often seen as a nationalist symbol in the UK, linked with football hooliganism (Jeffries 2014). Matt Thompson of EH was quoted by the Guardian as saying: 'we wanted to get behind that whole sense of togetherness that is here right now to think about the idea of the English flag' (Brown 2021). At best the project and printed flags could be seen as a celebration of English cultural history; at worst a reminder of how the English flag has come to resemble post-Brexit Britain, anti-immigration and nationalism.



3.30: *England United*, 2021 (English Heritage)

## **Fashion**

Stonehenge is often used as a muse in fashion, notable examples of this included Vivienne Westwood's MAN collections, the Barbour x English Heritage coats with their Stonehenge printed linings and of course, Jeremy Deller x Aries. This collaboration produced a capsule collection of streetwear that celebrated Stonehenge and other elements of prehistory and archaeology, including the Cerne Giant, with frequent nods to Deller's signature Acid Smiley (Salter 2019). Below are a few examples of the collection which is part of the WiltshireB4Christ exhibition (Salter 2019).

As part of an interview, the creative director for Aries, Sofia Prantera stated that 'the simplicity and immediateness of the trilithon shape has the power of an ancient brand' (Salter 2019) and that it is the ideal logo, especially for a brand that is part of skateboard culture, known for redeveloping ideas (Salter 2019). This is interesting as it is another example of a societal alternative sub-culture interacting with Stonehenge, although the wearer might not necessarily see the significance. It shows the power of Stonehenge as a symbol in pop culture that it goes from being a WHS monument to being on a streetwear t-shirt, worn by skaters.



3.31 *Aries x Jeremy Deller Collection*, 2018  
(McGarrigle, 2019)



3.32 *Aries x Jeremy Deller Collection*, 2018  
(McGarrigle, 2019)



3.33 *Aries x Jeremy Deller Collection*, 2018  
(McGarrigle, 2019)



3.34 *Aries x Jeremy Deller Collection*, 2018  
(McGarrigle, 2019)

As recognition of the impact that Stonehenge has had on fashion, the researcher started a twitter thread on Stonehenge t-shirts using the hashtags ‘stonehengegetshirts’ and ‘stonehengepopculture’ amongst others. Each tweet talked about a different t-shirt that used Stonehenge symbolism, showing Stonehenge’s influence on pop culture. These included band t-shirts such as Led Zeppelin and Hawkwind, as well as classic tourist t-shirts and fashion labels like Stüssy, a popular streetwear brand. Though a fun way to talk about archaeology and its influence on pop culture, it was also a good way to engage an audience by using a clothing staple, the t-shirt to trace some of Stonehenge’s modern social history through fashion.

## Music

From previous discussion, it is evident that Stonehenge has had an impact on many different aspects of popular culture. It could be argued that the impact is most obvious in music as there is a wide range of songs spanning several genres inspired by the monument and its history. Till states that Stonehenge has become ‘increasingly associated with music and musical culture’ (Till 2010: 4) and gives several examples of it being referenced, such as Hawkwind and Black Sabbath (Till 2010: 4). Stonehenge is

a key example of music using ‘the panoply of ancient people and places’ (Darvill 2014: 463) as their muse. It could be stated that the monument is an essential part of popular music and its cultural heritage, given the influence it has had in the 20th and early 21st centuries (Darvill 2014: 463). The table below documents several examples of music that relate to Stonehenge, although this is by no means an exhaustive list.

Although the songs referenced below cover a range of genres, from rap to rock, many of the songs the researcher found related to the Stonehenge Free Festivals or the Battle of the Beanfield. Out of 12 songs total, 5 contain lyrics that allude to the Beanfield or the exclusion zones and fencing around Stonehenge. For example, both *Itinerant Child* and *Back to the Stones* use language that reference police brutality ‘four hundred cozzers holding riot shields’ (Dury and Jankel 1997) and the involvement of the government ‘the road to the henge was blocked off by the state’ (Harper 1993).

Similarly, *Stonehenge Decoded* and the *Battle of the Beanfield* use these themes, both ‘Perimeter of barbed wire stands, Encircled by the patrolling man’ and ‘flashing lights, exclusion zones’ relate to the impact of the police presence and enforced exclusion zones at Stonehenge during this period. It is evident from the songs collected in this table that the festivals and altercation had a big impact on music of the time. This is supported by Darvill who stated: ‘music contributed much to the solstice celebrations at Stonehenge and promoted free-thinking’ (Darvill 2018b). Although Darvill was writing about Stonehenge between 1965 and 1977 this statement still applies to the music in the table below.

### 3.B: Table of Songs that contain lyrics that relate to Stonehenge

Song	Song Lyrics	Artist/Band	Release Date
Back to the Stones	‘the pigs come on Saturday and surrounded the road Tore down our house and destroyed our abode The road to the henge was blocked off by the state’ (Harper 1993)	Roy Harper	1993
Battle of the Beanfield	‘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’ (Chadwick et al. 1991)	The Levellers	1991
Cathedral	‘7 o’clock in the morning, here it comes I taste the warning and I am so amazed I’m here today, seeing things so clear this way	Crosby, Stills and Nash	1977

	In the car and on my way to Stonehenge’ (Nash 1977)		
Confrontation	‘Driven towards Stonehenge at the time of the summer solstice Celebrations, in clear defiance of injunctions which were in force’ (Brock et al. 1987)	Hawkwind	1987
The Corner	‘The corner was our Rock of Gibraltar, our Stonehenge, our Taj Mahal, our monument’ (Moore et al. 2005)	Common, featuring Kanye West and The Last Poets	2005
Do It	‘Building rhymes like buildings, like a Stonehenge druid’ (Markie and Beastie Boys 1994)	Beastie Boys	1994
Itinerant Child	‘We didn’t realise until we hit the field There were four hundred cozzers holding riot shields’ (Dury and Jankel 1997)	Ian Dury, The Blockheads	1997
Stonehenge	Instrumental (Gillan et al. 1983)	Black Sabbath	1983
Stonehenge	Instrumental (Oakenfold, 2019)	Paul Oakenfold	2019
Stonehenge	‘Stonehenge! ‘Tis a magic place where the moon doth rise with a dragon’s face’ (Guest et al. 1984)	Spinal Tap	1984
Stonehenge	‘What’s the meaning of Stonehenge? It’s killing me that no one knows’ (Devik et al. 2013)	Ylvis	2013
Stonehenge Decoded	‘Perimeter of barbed wire stands Encircled by the patrolling man Stonehenge decoded, I was there Sacrificed to this land so fair’ (Hawkwind 1992)	Hawkwind	1992

The Stonehenge Free Festivals have their own section in this chapter, but they are worth discussing in relation to music and popular culture as they had a substantial impact. The Stonehenge Free Festivals were seen as subversive, something different from the norm. At the time, festivals were a new concept and were not as commercialized as they are today. To be an attendee at one of the Stonehenge Free Festivals was ‘a badge of subcultural capital’ (Till 2010: 4) and being part of the line-up for bands had the same outcome (Till 2010: 4). Association with the Stonehenge Free Festivals and Stonehenge became a popular thing for bands as it increased their status within the music scene. This link to festival culture and the music scene has contributed to Stonehenge’s status as a place of power (Darvill 2014: 462). And this place-production is influenced by festival sub-cultures and music genres, which continued interest in today contributes to the image of Stonehenge as an alternative festival site. Stonehenge is of interest in music and popular culture based what previously happened there (Darvill 2014: 462).

Although Stonehenge’s musical heritage is intangible, it contributes to place-production of the monument within popular music, an idea introduced by Darvill (Darvill 2014: 462). Popular music has an ‘almost tribal structure’ that within is possible to ‘identify sub-cultures, countercultures and alternative scenes’ (Darvill 2014: 467). This is evident in the set lists that survive from the festivals, bands ranged across the genres from ska to rock (Der Festival Zone b) with Stonehenge having a clear influence on the latter, Black Sabbath’s infamous maga-trilithon stage set, later parodied in this is Spinal Tap being a classic example (Till, 2010: 5). The Stonehenge Free Festivals were seen as the ‘antithesis of commercial music culture’ (Till 2010: 4). This had a profound effect on Stonehenge and its popular culture image and it could be argued that the free festivals were a key turning point in Stonehenge’s modern social history. These festivals have cemented Stonehenge in popular culture and heritage today, evident in the ‘talking up in songs’ (Darvill 2014: 467).



3.35: *Mick Jagger and Keith Richards at Stonehenge, 1967* (Michael Cooper)

More recently, EH collaborated with The Nest Collective to produce Songs of England which ‘weaves together new original performances with evocative stories from the nation’s historic landmarks’ (English Heritage 2021k). These are presented on an interactive map, designed by Alan Kitching, which people can explore to discover more about the history of England’s geographical landscape (English Heritage 2021k). Songs of England uses traditional folk music and stories to tell the audience about some of EH’s most famous sites such as Stonehenge (English Heritage 2021k). Songs sung at Stonehenge by Sam Lee, the founder of The Nest Collective include *John Barleycorn* and *Awake Awake Sweet England*. Lee stated that he chose *John Barleycorn* for Stonehenge to represent the solstice celebrations and turning of the year at the monument (English Heritage 2021e). He hopes that these songs encourage people to engage with ‘the folk history of our ancestors’ (English Heritage 2021k).



3.36: *Songs of England* Logo, 2021 (English Heritage)

## Summary

To summarise, Stonehenge is closely linked with popular culture, particularly in the UK. The Ancient Monument is a popular archaeological icon and is seen as the main representative for archaeology in pop culture, a flagship for UK historical sites. It is a good example of how archaeology is disseminated in popular culture in Britain, reduced to its marketability and commercialised. Stonehenge adds value to products of popular culture, it gives them gravitas. This can help to explain the emphasis put upon it in digital media and the tourism/souvenir economy related to historical monuments. The Monument influences a variety of different types of popular culture which in turn influence our understanding and interpretations of it. Stonehenge is a touchstone for many within British society. Having looked at the Monument’s relevance to tourism, art and music, it is evident that Stonehenge is a British pop culture icon, as recognisable in British culture as David Bowie or E-Type Jaguars.

## Paganism and Stonehenge

Since 1900, Stonehenge has been a focal point for many alternative sub-cultures, with perhaps two of the most well-known sub-cultural groups being the Druids and Pagans. Although there are a wide variety of beliefs that interact with Stonehenge, for the purposes of this thesis, British Pagans (recommended via personal correspondence with

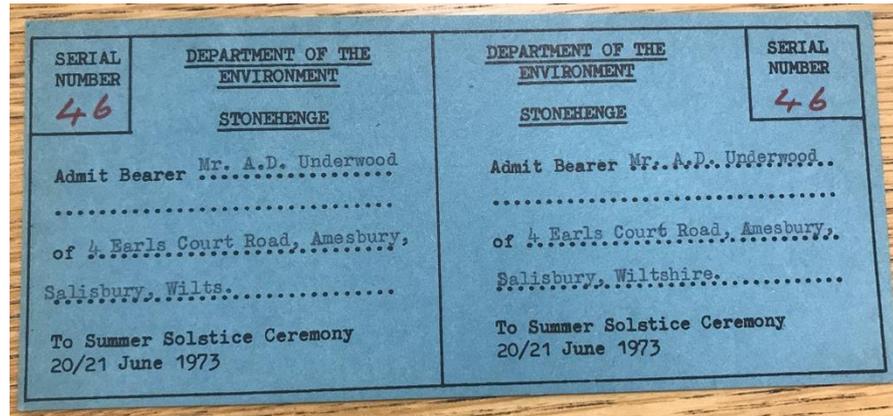
Professor Ronald Hutton) is used throughout – with Druids and Pagans referred to frequently. Please note that the researcher is by no means an expert on Paganism, hence correspondence with Hutton, but will do their best to acknowledge those who see Stonehenge as a sacred temple. This section will discuss Stonehenge in relation to British Pagans, looking at how worship has developed at the Monument from 1900 to 2020.

### **Building a tradition**

In the timeline recorded in this thesis, Druidism becomes linked with Stonehenge in the early 1900s, having gone through a revival earlier on in the Victorian period. Greaney on the ‘You’re Dead to Me’ Stonehenge podcast episode, states that ‘the first time Druids went to Stonehenge was 1905’ (BBC Radio 4, 2019), which appears to become a tradition in coming years. This could have been helped by the involvement of Sir Edmund Antrobus with Druidism at Stonehenge (Hill 2009:150), which could explain why the Druids were allowed to celebrate at Stonehenge during this time. This Druidic link to Stonehenge seems cemented by 1915, when the Amesbury Estate Sale Papers are published. The Stonehenge lot is advertised as ‘the renowned Druidical remains of Stonehenge’ (Knight et al. 1915), which the prospective owner is assured have been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1913 (Knight et al. 1915).

Although Stonehenge is first linked with British Pagans early on in 1900, the popularity of the monument and the tradition of celebrating Summer and Winter solstice (amongst the other Pagan festivals) continues into the 1920s and onwards. Although the celebrations are not always peaceful, with some disruption, (which is covered in more detail in the Contested Landscape section of this Chapter) it is evident that over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the tradition of some British Pagans celebrating at Stonehenge is firmly established.

This interest in the monument by Druids and other British Pagans could be regarded as Neopaganism, which is a type of Paganism that aims to establish a new era, whilst staying ‘in a pagan, pre-Christian tradition’ (Leskovar 2013: 190). In addition to this, Hutton reasons that ‘Neopagans are people who practice a religious tradition that is about sixty to one hundred years old, but thousands of years old in the minds of Neopagans themselves’ (Hutton 2007: 190). It could be argued that Stonehenge is such an important place for some British Pagans due to its setting in the landscape. In Neopagan thinking, links between us and nature is a central pillar (Hutton 2007:191) which could indicate why Stonehenge is a focal point for British Pagans as it is an example of ancient interaction with nature.



3.37: *Summer Solstice Ceremony Pass, 1973 (A. Underwood)*



3.38: *Druid Procession at Stonehenge, 1961 (A. Underwood)*

### **British Paganism and Archaeology**

In the past, British Paganism has sometimes been regarded with derision by academics in archaeology, particularly in relation to Ancient Monuments. This cannot have been helped by cartoonish depictions of British Pagans, particularly Druids and their beliefs in the media. Morris (1994) memorably describes this media image as ‘cranky, senile old men’ which has become a ‘farcial cultural icon’ (Morris 1994). Similarly in 1995, when the *3rd Stone* reports that the ‘Druids have challenged English Heritage to a cricket match to decide who is the rightful owner of Stonehenge’ (3rd Stone 1995), which could arguable be seen as English eccentricism at its best. Despite this media image, it is evident that the academic stance towards British Pagans has been changing over the last 30 years with an emerging sphere of Paganism academia. Much of this

research focuses on Stonehenge or Avebury, in recognition of the sacredness of these sites to British Pagans.

British Pagans' interactions with Stonehenge and other archaeological places of interest are informative for academic research as it provides examples of the role these Monuments have in modern day belief systems. Wallis and Blain (2003) note that more British Pagans are actively engaging with archaeology (Wallis and Blain 2003: 308) and that this engagement is having a visible impact on academically studied 'sacred' sites that are heritage managed (Wallis and Blain 2003: 309). Wallis admits that Paganism has an effect on archaeological sites and that: 'one only has to 'visit' Stonehenge or Avebury...to witness how many people may perceive such places as sacred' (Wallis 2015: 133).

Cusack and Wallis have both written about the relationship between Pagans and Stonehenge, as well as the benefits that can be gained by archaeologists and Pagans working together. Cusack considers contemporary paganism and Stonehenge in her paper 'Charmed Circle', acknowledging the role that Stonehenge has for alternative beliefs and subcultures, arguing that 'the prehistoric monument of Stonehenge has a much more powerful vernacular identity' than the explanations provided by 'academic archaeological discourse' (Cusack, 2012: 152). This is not to diminish academic writings about Stonehenge but reasons that archaeologists should be open to interpretations about Stonehenge that are not necessarily academic. For example, when Pagans interact with sites like Stonehenge and Avebury, Cusack argues that they are 'part of a 'new folklore' that demands recognition from archaeologists' (Cusack, 2012: 152) and that 'folklore can become a point of communication between Pagans and archaeologists' (Cusack, 2012: 152)

Although she is careful to state that this can be seen as pseudoarchaeology: 'this view has failed to find support among academic archaeologists who regard such vernacular and theological interpretations of sites as unscholarly' (Cusack, 2012: 151) coming to the conclusion that 'in the deregulate spiritual marketplace of the twenty-first century, Stonehenge has been liberated from the official interpretations of archaeologists, and embraced as a site of alternative, principally druidic, spirituality which is perceived to be of value for contemporary Britain' (Cusack, 2012: 153).

Wallis reflects on the relationship between British Pagans and archaeologists, citing two examples of interaction between the two sub-cultural groups in society. The 2008 Stonehenge SPACES and Stonehenge Riverside Project took place at similar times and both involved British Pagans: they 'involved Druid blessing rituals, but while one ceremony was agreed by all participants to be successful, the other was divisive, largely because of disagreements over the treatment of human remains.' (Wallis 2015: 139). The Stonehenge SPACES project was seen to be a success in collaborating with British Pagans as it 'marks a clear and unambiguous example of relationship building, transparent and collaborative dialogue and mutual respect' (Wallis 2015: 139). It is evident that British Pagans and archaeologists can respect one another and work together (bearing in mind there is often a crossover, some academics such as Wallis identify as Pagan) but this needs to start with 'consultation and collaborative dialogue' (Wallis 2015: 149). By recognising British Pagans as a diverse sub-cultural group, with differing opinions and beliefs, rather than a 'singular community, speaking with one voice' (Wallis 2015: 147), we can begin to move forward at Stonehenge.

Accessibility to Stonehenge for British Pagans has changed from 1900 to 2020 and none more so during the exclusion zone years of 1985 to 2000. Discussion between interest groups in the 1990s contributed to better access to Stonehenge (Wallis and Blain 2003: 313). The managed open access at Stonehenge for summer solstice now involves British Pagans as ‘peace stewards’ (Wallis 2015: 130). It is evident that various archaeological sites, though mostly Neolithic and Bronze Age constructions (Wallis and Blain 2003: 310) are regarded as ‘sacred’ (Wallis 2015: 133). This is attributed to ‘specific rooted folkloric narratives’ (Wallis and Blain 2003: 308) which inform British Pagans how to build their identities on the basis of interaction between ‘self, spirit and site’ (Wallis and Blain 2003: 308). This can be linked back to antiquarian views of Stonehenge which regarded Stonehenge and other prehistoric monuments as ‘Druid temples’ which led to the established folklore (Wallis 2015: 133) around them today which British Pagans use as the basis for their beliefs concerning Stonehenge.

### **The Attraction of Stonehenge**

It is undeniable that for some British Pagans, Stonehenge holds great attraction and is an essential part of their beliefs. Till states that places which are involved with ‘ritual activity have a particular ability to connect individuals to each other’ (Till 2010). The researcher discussed Paganism and Stonehenge with Professor Ronald Hutton to better inform the research project and their own ideas, with the correspondence is available in Appendix G. Although the researcher had previously thought that Stonehenge was important to all British Pagans, Hutton wrote that Stonehenge is an ‘immensely important sacred place’ (Hutton, pers. comms.) but is often of most importance to ‘Druids and non-denominational Pagans who are often influenced by Druidry’ (Hutton, pers. comms.). Hutton went on to state that the monument means less to British Pagans who are Northern Tradition members and those ‘associated with classical Mediterranean pantheons’ (Hutton, pers. comms.); but that some Wiccans do take part in ceremonies at Stonehenge. It appears that the importance of Stonehenge depends on the British Pagans’ own set of beliefs, rather than solely being of importance to Druids only.

As well as this, it was thought that Stonehenge may be of more importance to British Pagans who are local to the monument, although again this is not the case. Professor Hutton explained that ‘locality is not a very significant determinant’ to British Pagans in regard to Stonehenge. Some will happily travel a long way to the site if it is of ‘major symbolic significance’ to them for special occasions, whereas others who may be more local will not if it is not of special regard to them. Based on this conversation, it is evident that Stonehenge is of great importance and sacredness to some British Pagans, that they are prepared to travel long distances to visit and celebrate at the monument.

In regard to prehistoric sites, Cusack puts forward the idea of ‘spiritual tourism’ which she breaks into three reasons. Neolithic circles’ (such as Stonehenge) primary appeal for these ‘tourists’ is aesthetic (Cusack 2018) and by interacting with these monuments, this provides an experience that feels ‘special’ (Cusack 2018). Finally, the ‘specialness’ is linked with ‘ideas about the relationship of the distant past to the present and future ... and the process of identity-construction and self-improvement’ (Cusack 2018). This could explain the interest that some British Pagans have in Stonehenge and why it holds attraction for them. This attraction is further supported by Cusack’s work as states that ‘megalithic monuments contribute to a sense of British-based identity’ (Cusack 2018)

with stone circles such as Stonehenge ‘widely regarded as numinous’. (Cusack 2018). It could be argued that some British Pagans go to Stonehenge because they regard it a ‘special’ place which helps to cement their identity as British (Cusack 2018).

This is supported by the idea of Stonehenge as a ‘a site of pilgrimage for the postmodern homeless self’ (Till 2010). Although Stonehenge and sacredness is often solely attributed to British Pagans, many may regard Stonehenge as a sacred site but not necessarily identify as a Pagan (Wallis and Blain 2003: 309). Despite the fact that Stonehenge has a specific narrative (Wallis and Blain 2003: 310) built around it, the engagement with it is ‘diverse and complex’ (Wallis and Blain 2003: 311) and cannot be attributed to any single British Pagan relationship (Wallis and Blain 2003: 310). In short, Stonehenge holds attraction for some British Pagans, but what this attraction is, is entirely dependent on the person themselves, their interpretations of Paganism and how they interact with Stonehenge. The relationship between British Pagans (those that value it) and Stonehenge is a complex and multi-faceted relationship.

### **Summary**

To summarise, it is evident from the above discussion of relevant literature that Stonehenge is a sacred site for some British Pagans. They regard it as a temple, somewhere that is essential in celebrating their faith, particularly at Summer and Winter solstice. Stonehenge is a place for British Pagans to celebrate events, such as those which are part of the Wheel of the Year. There is a growing section of academia that focuses on Paganism and its links to archaeology, particularly Neolithic archaeological sites. It is evident that British Pagans today use these places to gather as communities and practise their beliefs and Stonehenge is a good example of this. It indicates how Stonehenge is important to one subculture in society, from 1900 to the present day.

### **Summary of Chapter**

The involvement of Stonehenge in different aspects of society from 1900 to 2020 indicates that Stonehenge has a significant role in modern social history and could be presented as a catalyst for change. Although it is difficult to imagine the past when one is at Stonehenge today, Stonehenge is presented here in a way that relates to its modern social history, looking beyond the manicured lawn. Though some of it is not easily digestible, such as the more violent periods.

To conclude so far, it is evident that Stonehenge has a rich and varied modern social history within the period discussed. Perhaps the best way of explaining Stonehenge is to quote Kevin Hetherington: ‘it is an impossible, unrepresentable space but one that also means a great deal to many different groups of people.’ (Hetherington, 1995: 153). Stonehenge provides a common ground for sub-cultures in society, particularly those within the Pagan community and Travellers. It is a passive place for like-minded people to gather at, that unites as much as it divides. Stonehenge is a place of great importance, both spiritually and otherwise to many, but one that must be taken of and managed to ensure its longevity. As written in 3<sup>rd</sup> Stone: ‘We all want our sacred sites to be free and open to us all but sometimes sites need protecting from the very people who claim to love them.’ (3<sup>rd</sup> Stone, 1995: 1).

## **Chapter Four – Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey**

Aside from the literature and media research, the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey was the first part of primary data collected for this project. The survey was planned in December 2020 with the help of the thesis supervisors. The ethics checklist and supporting documents were then submitted at the end of January. The survey was then built and launched the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2021. It then ran for two months from the 5<sup>th</sup> of February to the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 2021.

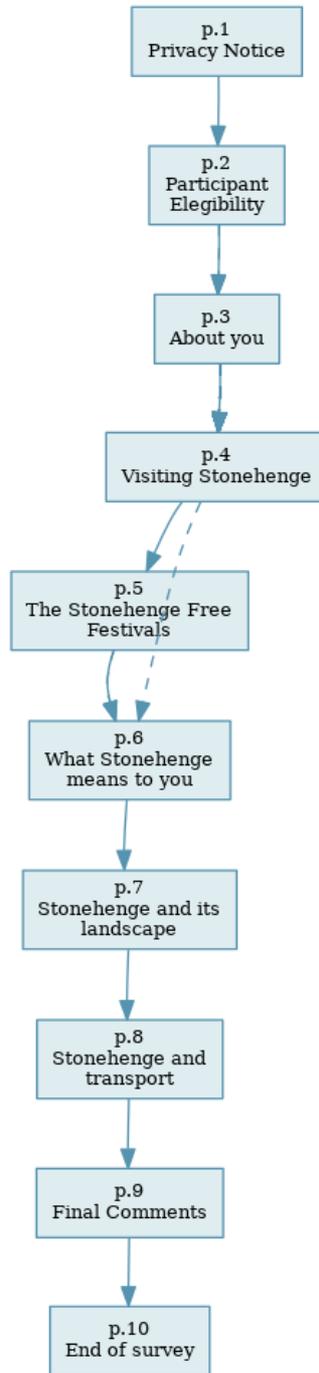
### **The Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey**

Upon launching, the survey was originally named ‘Stonehenge: step into our story’ based on title ideas for the thesis at the time. This survey title was then changed after its completion, to ‘Public Perceptions of Stonehenge’ as this title is a better indicator of the survey’s purpose. This title will be used throughout the thesis to refer to the survey. The target for participation was 150 responses and it garnered 143 total, although one response was deemed invalid due to the date of birth (which was 01/01/1900) and is not included in the following data analysis. The survey was widely advertised through social media and various groups who had an invested interest in Stonehenge. Overall, the survey got positive responses and there were very few negative comments. This will be addressed in the analysis.

The revisions made to the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey meant that the results were in two separate data sets. The data has been combined by the researcher to present it in its entirety here. The survey was mapped out into eight pages, for ease of navigation and to inform the participant about the subject for that set of questions. A diagram of this is shown on the following page. After the edits made on the first launch for the survey, the survey was reduced from 39 to 33 questions by adding some of the questions in the ‘Privacy Notice’ section into an additional Participant Information document.

The survey data was either numerical or textual and was analysed using a range of techniques. Numerical data is presented in graph or chart form. Textual data is analysed by breaking down the responses using thematic coding. Both data types will be later discussed in reference to the eight key themes of the thesis, assessing the extent to which they support or change the ideas set out in Chapter Three.

This chapter will discuss the data provided by the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, providing an analysis of each question, where applicable and commenting on what this can tell us about public views and opinions of Stonehenge. The raw survey data is available as the two separate data sets in Appendix B. Some questions have been redacted from the data sets due to the personal nature of the information provided (for example, dates of birth and email addresses) to maintain the privacy of the participants who took part in the survey.



4.1: Survey map for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

## **Analysis and Discussion of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Data**

### **Privacy Notice**

The privacy notice for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey had a summary to inform potential participants. This included the survey's subject, what was hoped to be achieved with the results, participant criteria and an estimated time for survey completion. It also contained the three participant documents (please see Appendix B for these) which the participants were encouraged to read prior to starting the survey. All participants had to answer question 1 which asked for their consent to take part in the survey. If the answer was 'no' they were directed to the screening out page and thanked for their time.

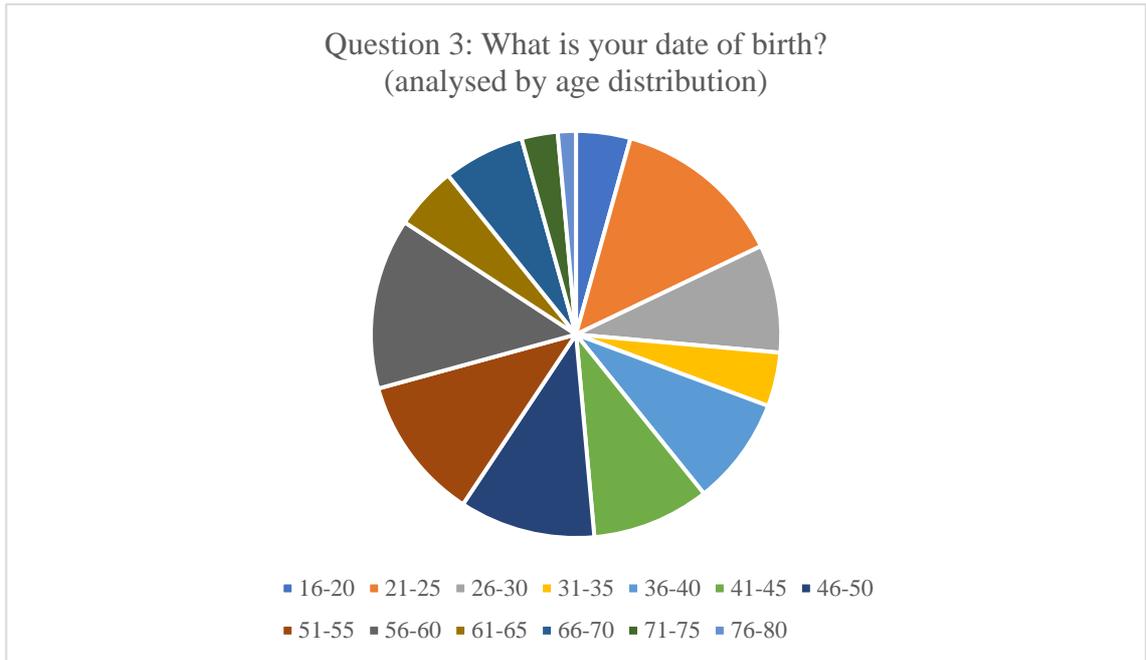
### **Participant Eligibility**

One of the key items of participant criteria was that anyone who took part in the survey had to be aged 16 years or older at the time of participation. The 'Participant Eligibility' page was to screen out anyone who was underage. All participants were required to enter their date of birth, any potential participants who did not meet the criteria were directed to the screening out page and thanked for their time and interest in participating in the survey.

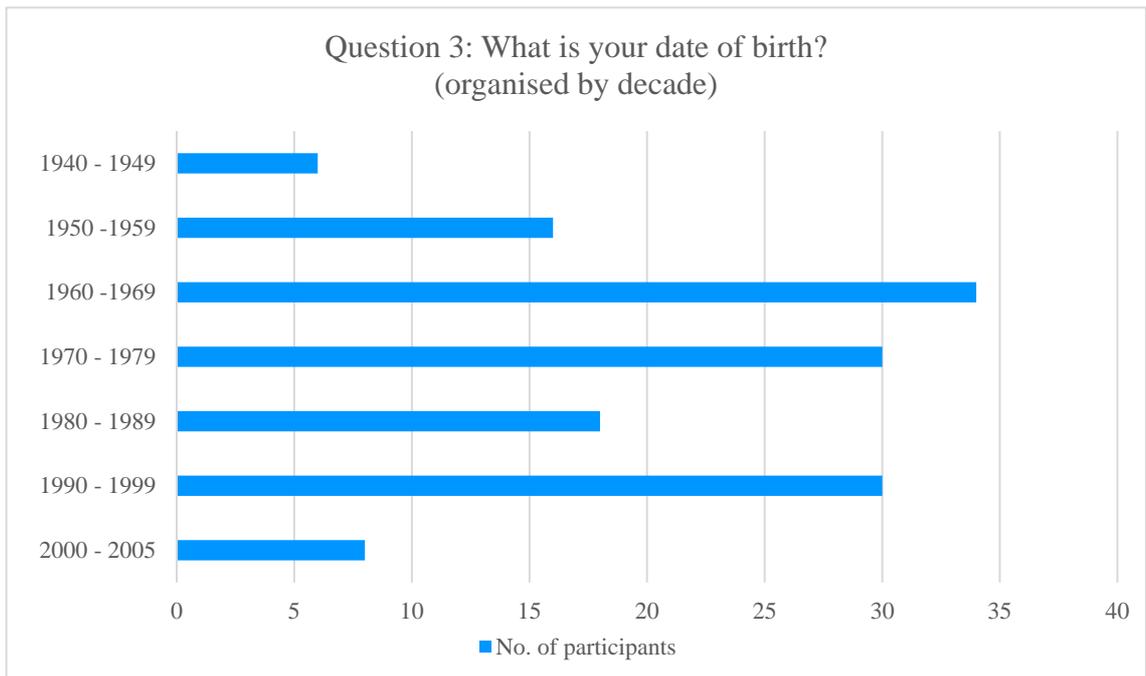
### **About you**

This page of the survey collected basic information about participants so that the researcher could understand their individual background in relation to Stonehenge and its' modern social history. For this section, the researcher was careful to only collect information that was useful for the research project. Participants were not asked any questions that gave the researcher additional data about them that was not relevant to the research. For example, ethnicity was not used as a determining factor in this research project for how people perceived Stonehenge, so this was not asked. The three questions on this survey page regarded age, gender identity and beliefs. The participants were asked this because the researcher wanted to know whether these factors influenced their experiences and opinions of Stonehenge. For instance, would a participant who identified as Pagan or Druid be more likely to disagree with the A303 Tunnel Scheme than someone who identified as Atheist?

Before the data collected in the About You section is discussed, please note that the survey will be analysed and dissected using the three participant factors set out above. Each question that provides numerical data will be broken into age, gender identity and beliefs; with three separate charts which illustrate the relationship between the participant factor and question topic. Textual data will be analysed using the same thematic code that is used for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews and other primary data (detailed in Chapter 2). By analysing the survey data in this way, it allows for cross-comparison between participant factors and will show patterns in the data. From this, the researcher will be able to ascertain what opinions and experiences different societal groups and sub-cultures have about Stonehenge.



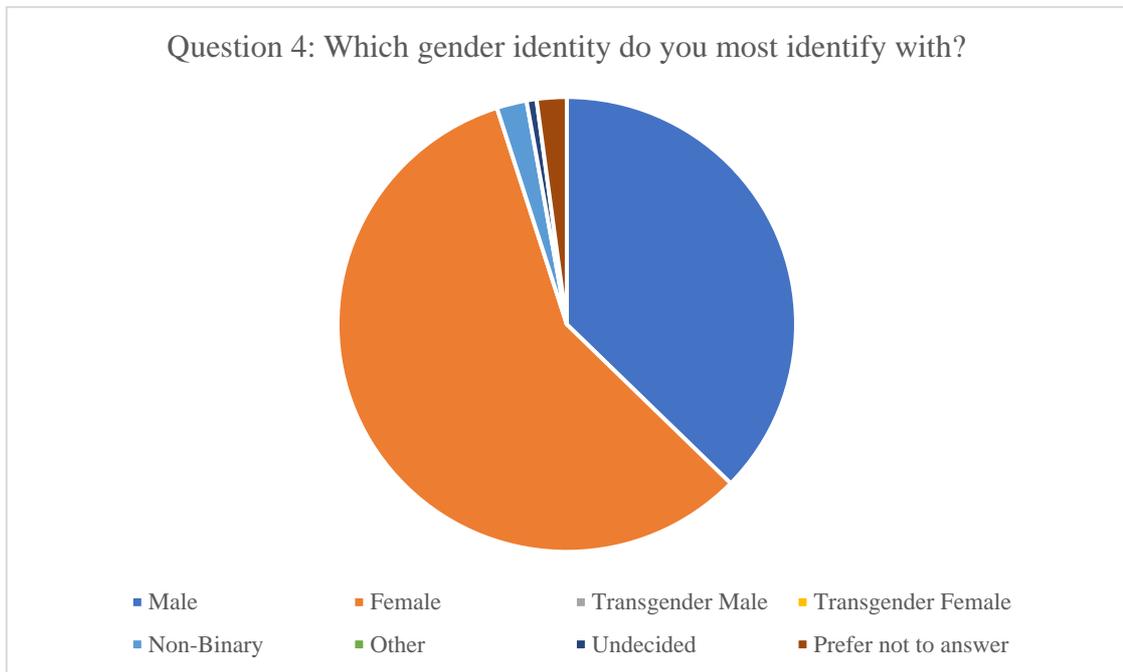
4.2: Participants' dates of birth, organised by age distribution categories, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.3: Participants' dates of birth, organised by decade, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

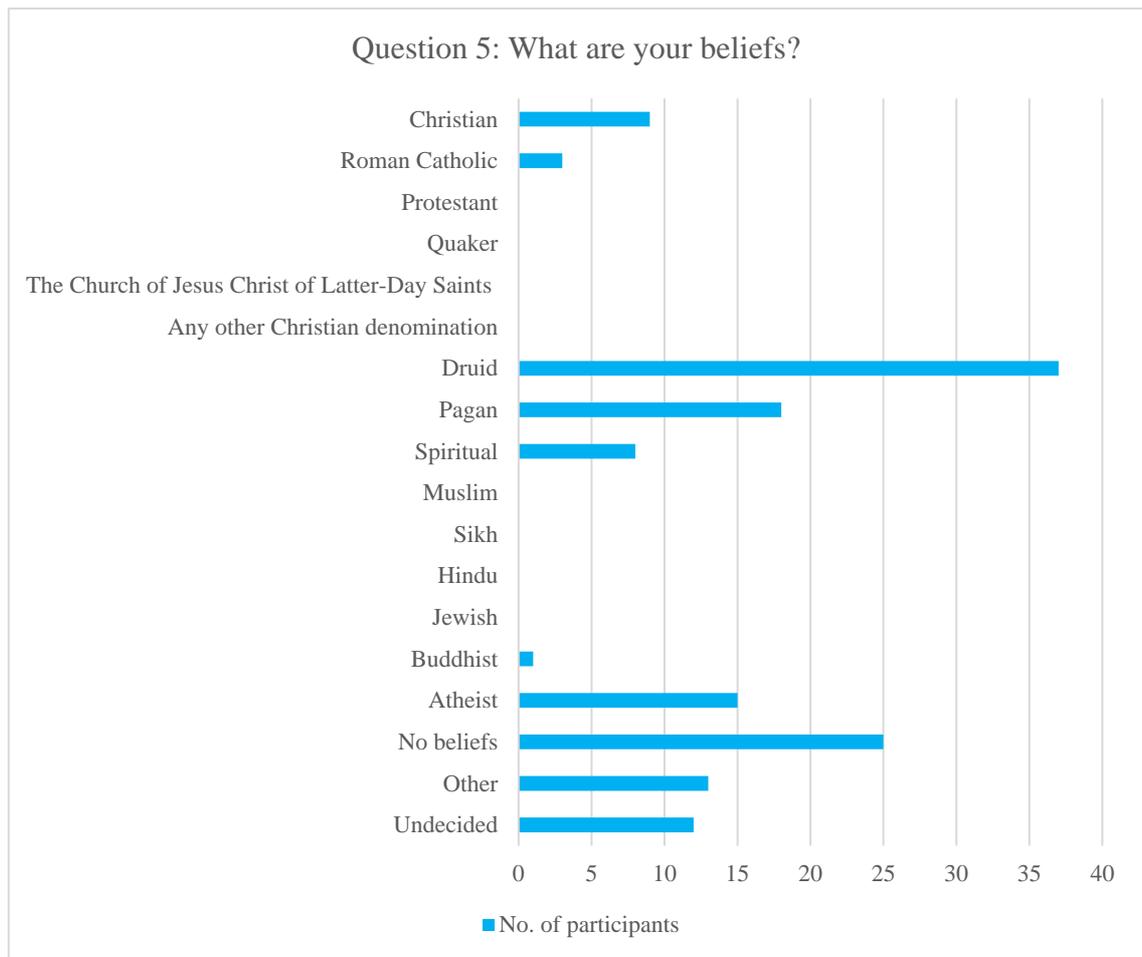
In the data collected, there was a wide range of ages presented. The participants were aged from 17 to 77 at the time of the survey, with their ages were spread across seven decades from 1944 to 2004; the three most frequent decades being 1960 - 1969, 1970 - 1979 and 1990 - 1999. In reference to illustration 4.2, the participants were broken down into thirteen age ranges, the youngest being 16-20, the oldest 76-80. The two most common age ranges were 21-25 and 56-60, which together was 28% of the total survey population. Age ranges were used for this survey as it made it easier to compare

answers and assess perceptions of Stonehenge within a relatively large data set. For example, participants who were born before 1984 would have had a very different tourist experience of visiting Stonehenge when compared to those who were born after English Heritage gained ownership of the monument.



4.4: Participants' Gender identity, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

Prior to discussing the gender identity data, the researcher would like to reflect on the building of the survey. When creating it, the researcher decided to include Transgender Male and Transgender Female as gender options in a misguided attempt to be inclusive. On reflection, these would not be included as options, as Trans men and women are men and women. It is hoped that this did not make any participants feel excluded, the researcher received no feedback stating as such but going forward will not include these as gender identity options if they do another survey in the future. Question 4 was not obligatory for participants, as gender identity is a personal thing, though all 142 participants answered this question. Most participants were female, (58%) with the second largest majority male (37%). A small proportion of the survey population identified as Non-Binary, 3% or Undecided, 1%. 3% of the participants preferred not to answer.



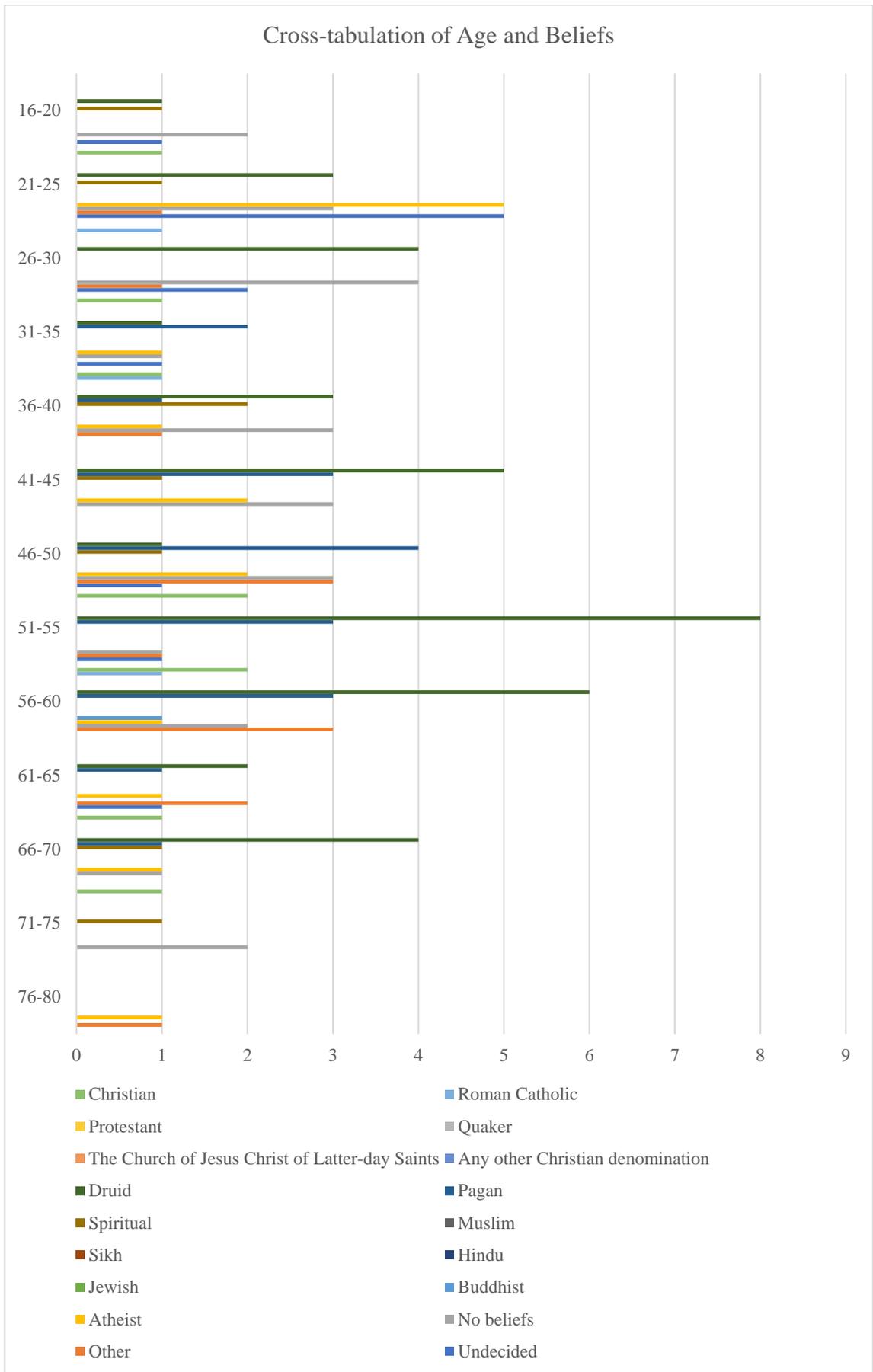
4.5: Participants' Beliefs, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

Question 5 regarded the beliefs of participants. Participant beliefs were determined by the researcher to be of great importance when perceiving their views about Stonehenge and its history due to the participation in it of British Pagans, such as the Druids. It was important to have a range of beliefs represented in the survey, so there were 18 total. When building the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, some of the ONS' latest research was consulted to see which religions or beliefs they include in their own data sets. Although an effort was made to include 'alternative' beliefs such as Druid, Pagan or Spiritual, it was commented by a participant that this question did not include 'Wiccan' as an option. In reflection, the research would have used 'British Pagan' as an all-encompassing option and added an additional question where participants could have stated their belief system within this umbrella term.

Although there was a range of beliefs show in the survey dataset, the vast majority (37 total) identified as Druid, which This could have been due to the lack of options for British Pagans available but could also be linked to survey distribution as both OBOD and BDO were contacted. This distribution of the survey by these organisations clearly garnered a positive response from their members which is shown here. The other most popular beliefs for participants were 'No beliefs' with 25 total and Pagan, of which 18 participants identified themselves as. 55 of the participants were either Druid or Pagan, 39% of the 142 total. It is important to bear this in mind when regarding the survey data, as this may affect some of the results. For example, most participants were against

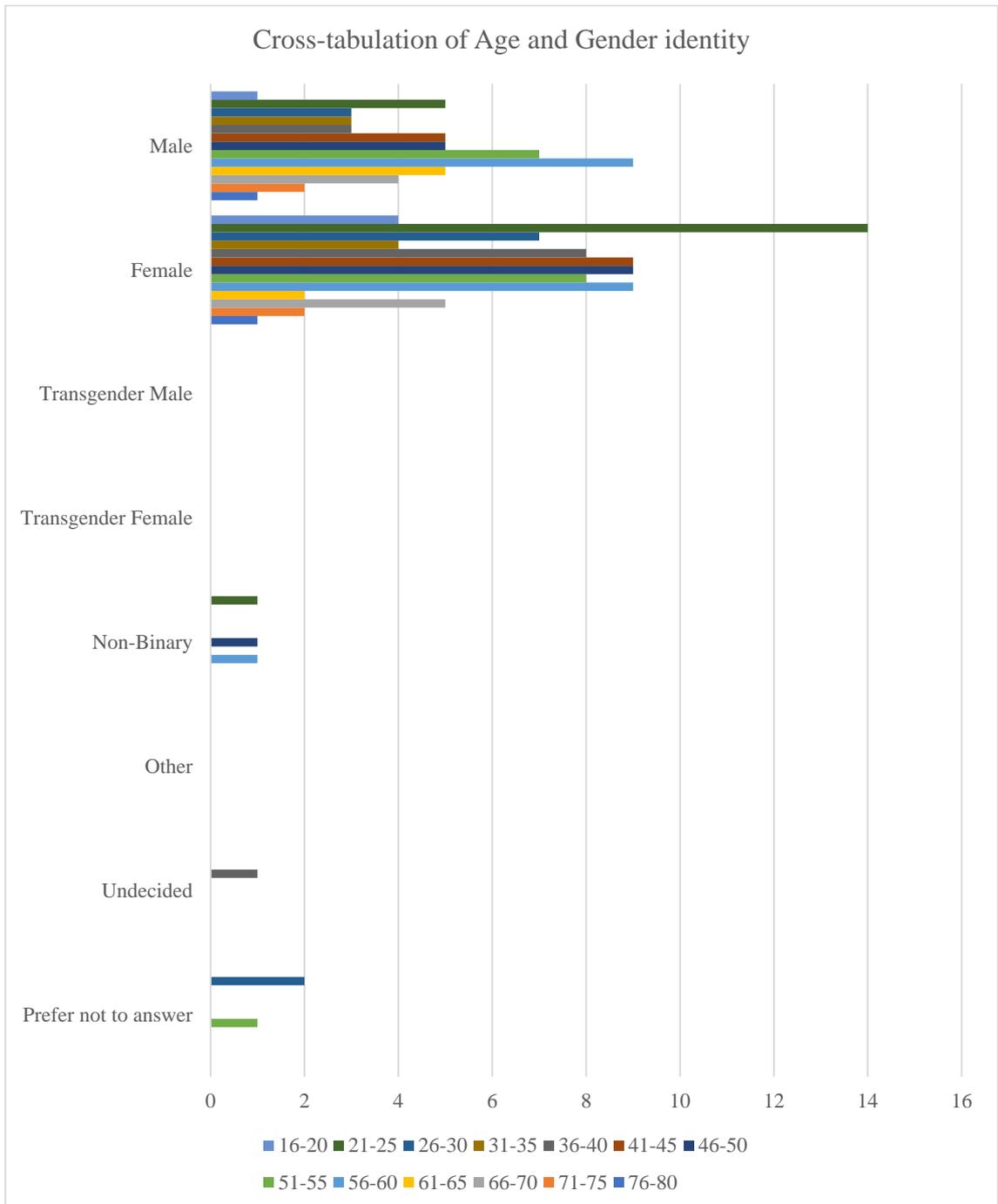
the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, which could be explained by the number of British Pagans (Druid or Pagan) that took part in this survey.

Prior to further discussion of the survey, the researcher cross-tabulated each participant factor (Age, Gender identity and Beliefs). Because these three information sets are used to analyse the entire data set, it made sense to establish whether there were any links between them. It is hoped that using these sets will allow the researcher to see patterns in the data and ascertain what opinions and perceptions the different social groups or sub-cultures hold about Stonehenge. For example, are those who identify as Druid or Pagan more against the A303 Tunnel Scheme than those who are Christian?



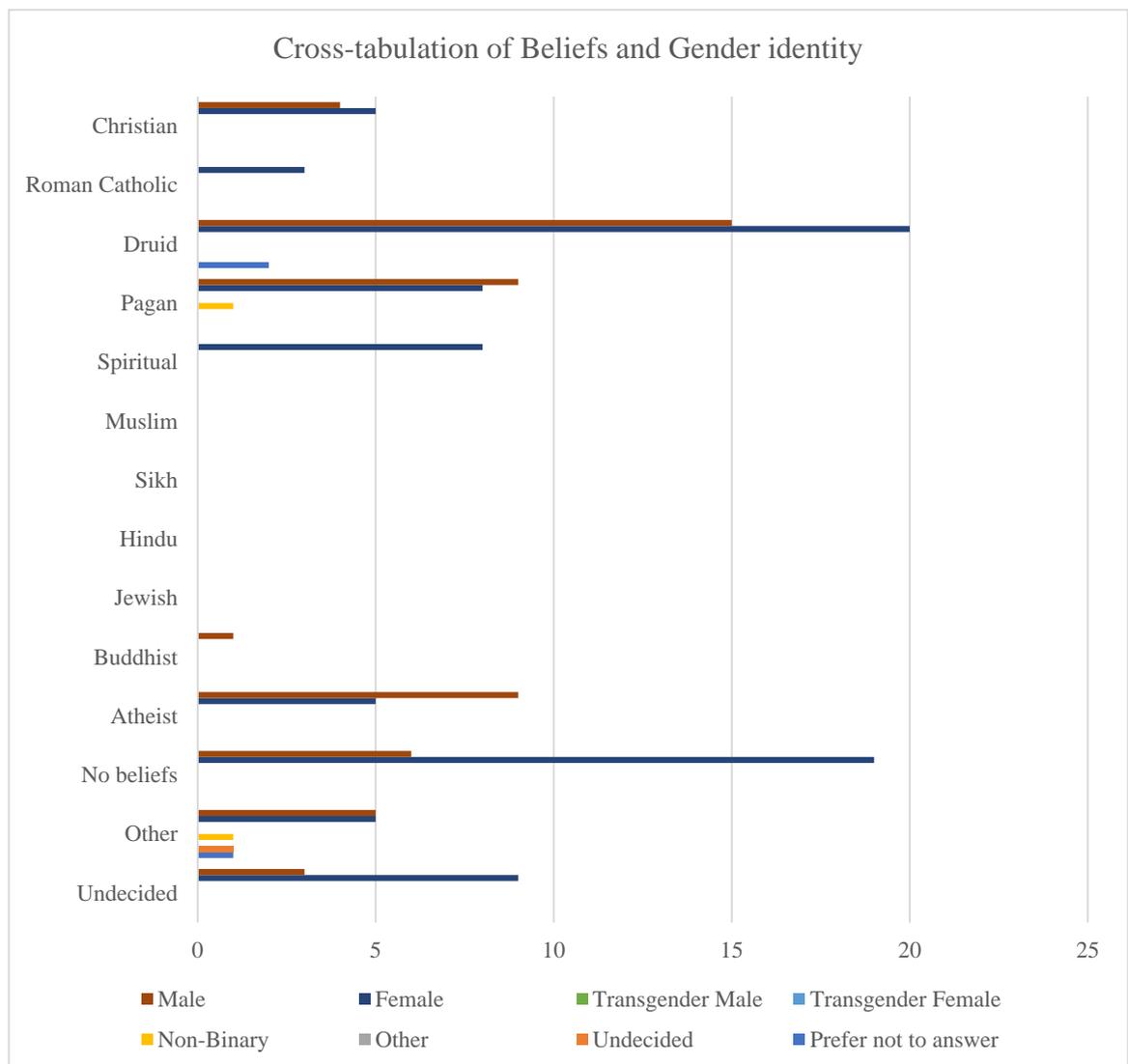
4.6: Cross-tabulation of Participants' Age and Beliefs, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

For cross-tabulation, ‘Druid’ was the most common belief held by those aged 41-45, 51-55, 56-60 and 66-70. But for those aged under 30 at the time of the survey, Undecided was the main belief selected. Those aged 26-30 were the most common age for No beliefs but 21-25 year olds were the main age for Atheism. Overall, Pagan or Druidism was most common for those aged over 30, indicating that this survey population contained a large number of British Pagans aged between 31 and 70. It is evident from this cross-tabulation that there was a wide range of beliefs across all ages.



4.7: Cross-tabulation of Participants’ Age and Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

The cross-tabulation of Age and Gender identity indicated that women aged between 21- 25 were the largest participant group. That the most common age x gender identity group was women aged 21-25 is not surprising as the researcher themselves falls into this category. The survey was advertised on the researcher’s archaeology social media, of which many followers are of this age. It was also interesting to note that those who identified as Non-Binary were a range of ages. The gender identities Male and Female had participants from all 13 age ranges, with at least one participant in each. Aside from women aged 21-25, the second most common age ranges were women aged 41-45, men and women aged 46-50 and women aged between 56-60. All these ranked equally. The smallest participant group in this cross-tabulation was Undecided, which had one participant aged between 36-40.



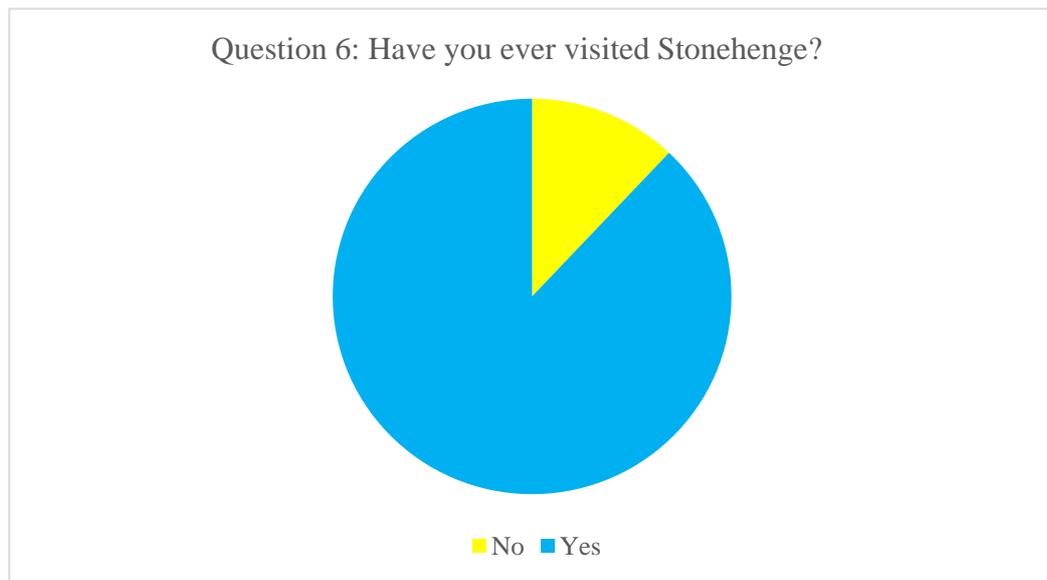
4.8: Cross-tabulation of Participants’ Beliefs and Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

For the cross-tabulation of Beliefs and Gender identity, it was evident the gender identities with the widest range of beliefs were Men and Women, although these were also the largest participant groups in Gender identity. The participants who identified as Non-Binary, Undecided or Prefer not to answer, were either Druid or Other in their beliefs. One participant who identified as non-binary also stated their beliefs as Pagan which could perhaps indicate a connection between the two. However, the survey data

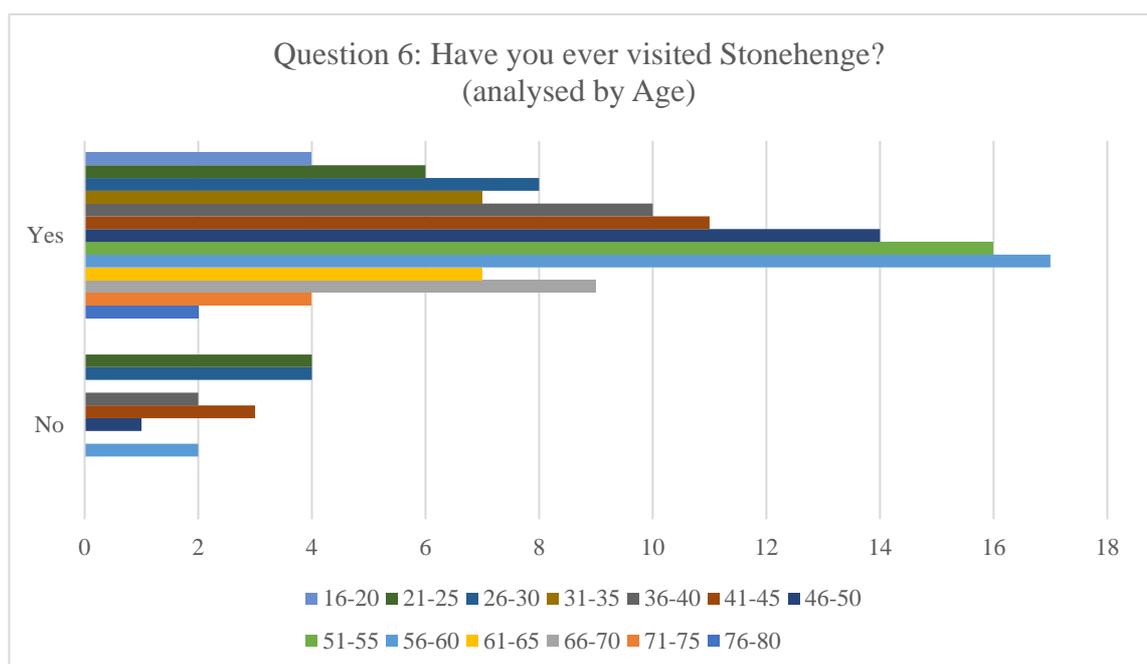
from the research project is not enough to prove whether there is a definitive link, with a larger survey population this may be possible.

### Visiting Stonehenge

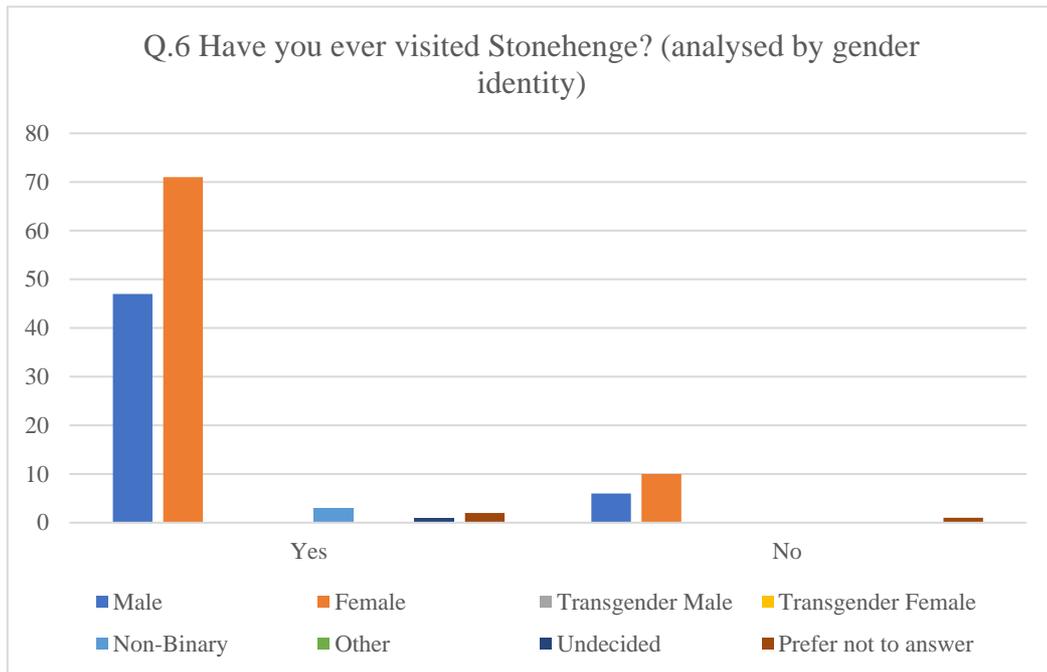
This section of the survey consisted of three questions regarding participant visits to Stonehenge, especially how many times they had visited and their participation in the Solstice celebrations. Participants were asked about their visiting habits as the researcher wanted to discern whether the people in the survey population visited the monument regularly or whether it was a special trip. Out of the 142 participants, 124 had previously visited Stonehenge, with 17 having never visited at the time of participating in the interview.



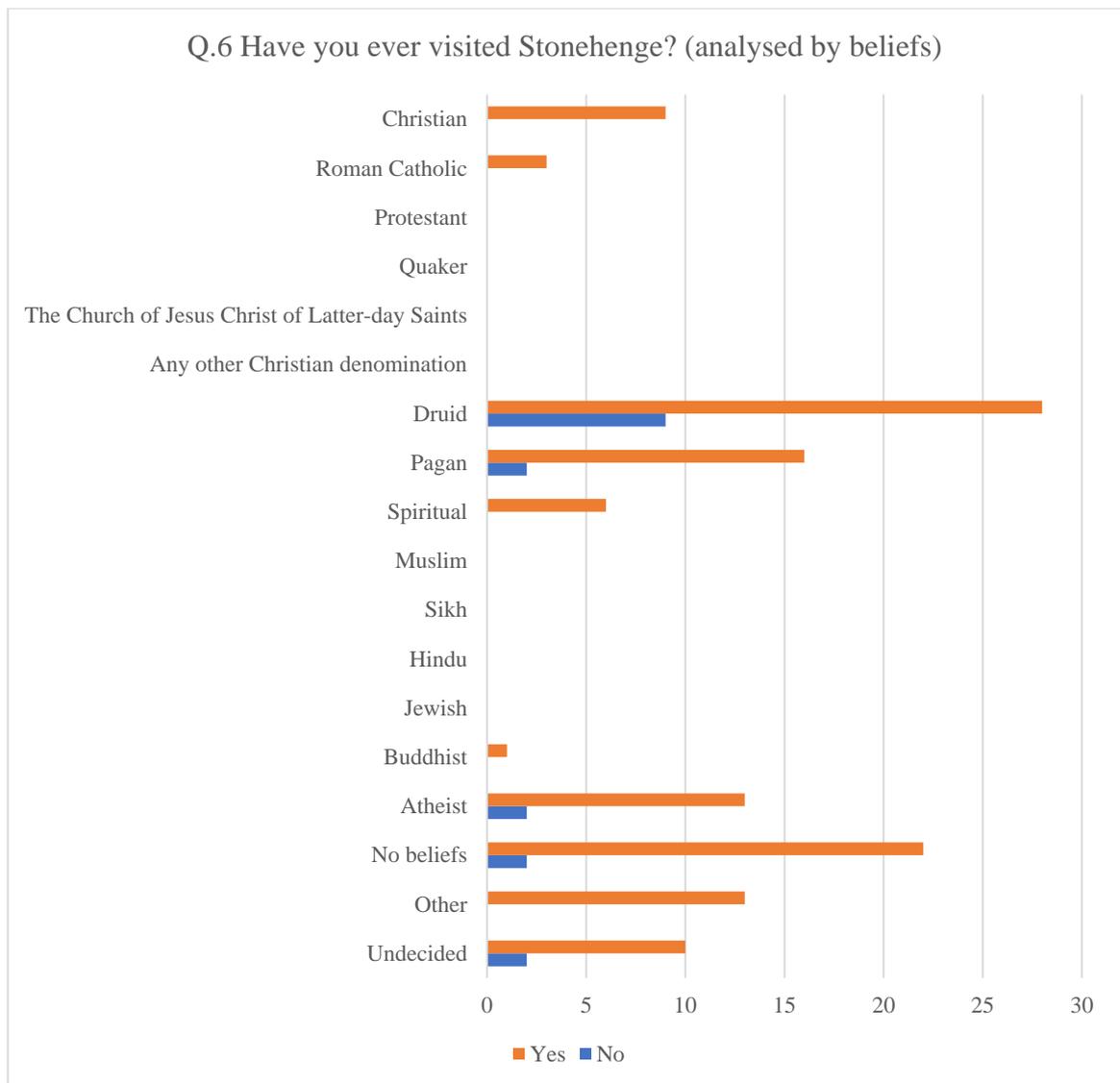
4.9: Visiting Stonehenge, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.10: Visiting Stonehenge, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.11: Visiting Stonehenge, analysed by Gender identity, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

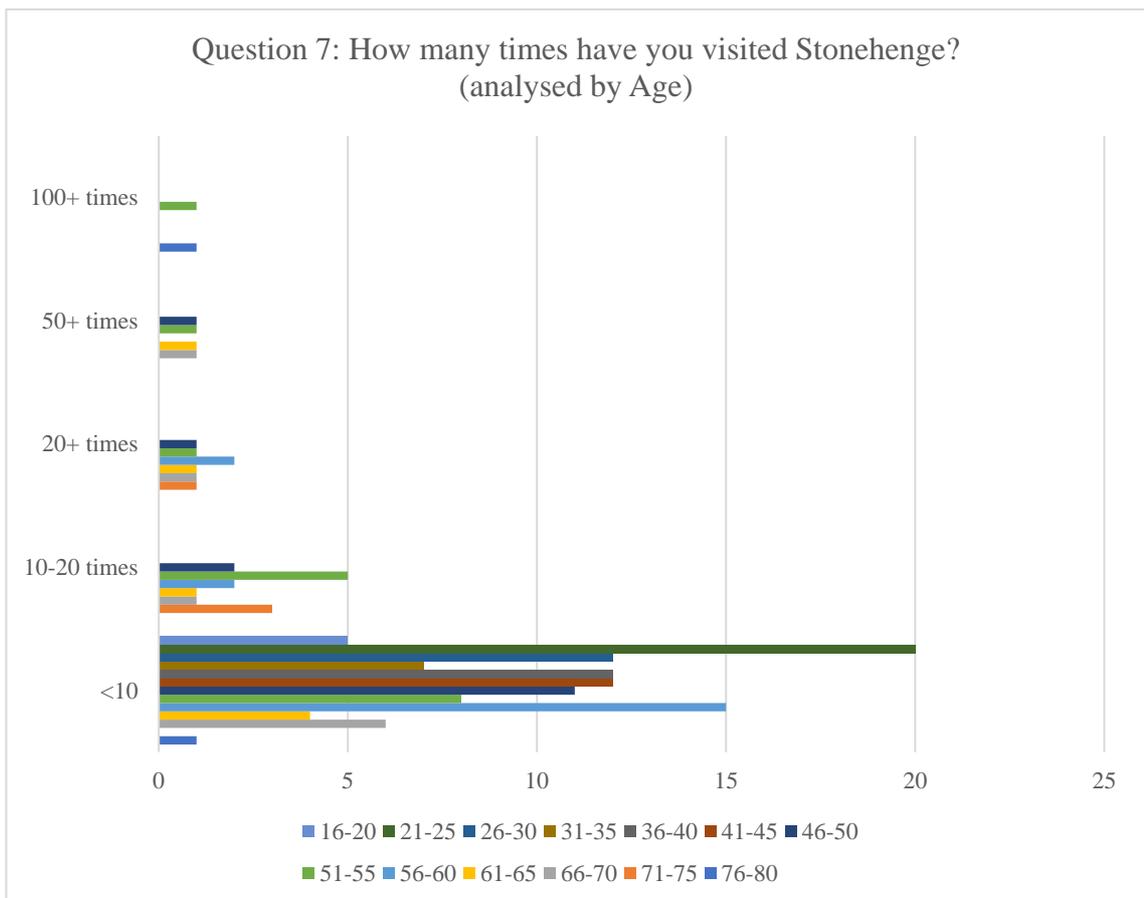


4.12: Visiting Stonehenge, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

When Question 6 was analysed by Age, it was evident that all ages present in the survey population had visited Stonehenge. For those who had not visited, participants aged between 21 and 30 were the majority. Regarding gender identity, women were the most common group who had not visited Stonehenge, but they were also the largest gender population for the survey. It is perhaps unsurprising that Druids had visited Stonehenge the most, but they also had the largest number of participants who had not visited Stonehenge. It could be said that the participant factors do not indicate any strong trends when applied to Question 6, except to give an idea of how many of each participant group have or have not visited Stonehenge.



4.13: Number of visits to Stonehenge, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.14: Number of visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

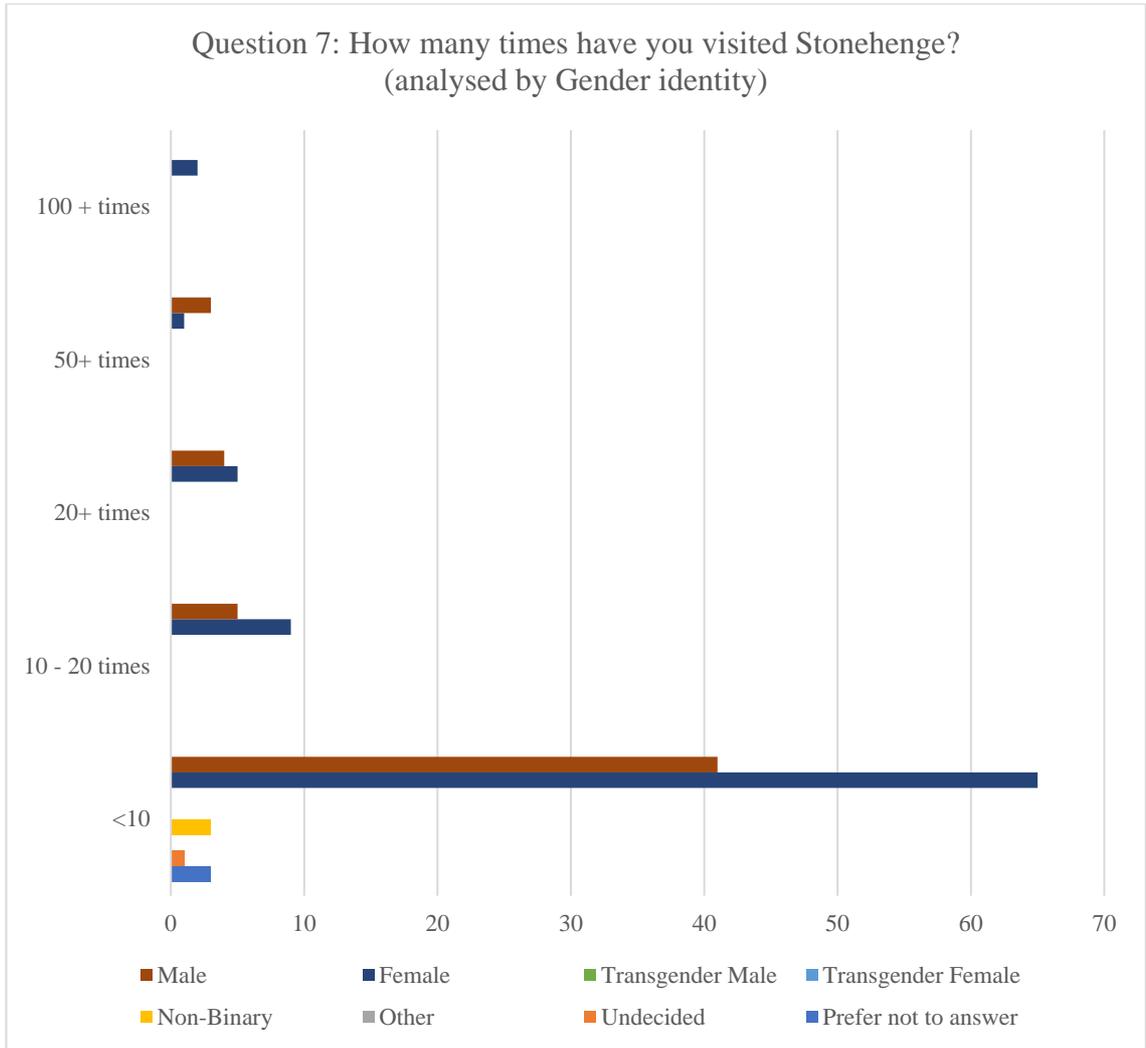
If participants had visited Stonehenge, the survey then directed them to Question 7 which used a ranking scale for participants to indicate how times they had visited. This

question was included as the researcher was interested to see whether those who identified as British Pagans were more likely than other beliefs to have visited more frequently. It was evident from the responses that the majority of participants (113 total) had visited Stonehenge under 10 times. A very small proportion of the survey population, 6 participants total, had visited the Monument 50 times or more but it was clear that this was not the norm for the average participant who took part.

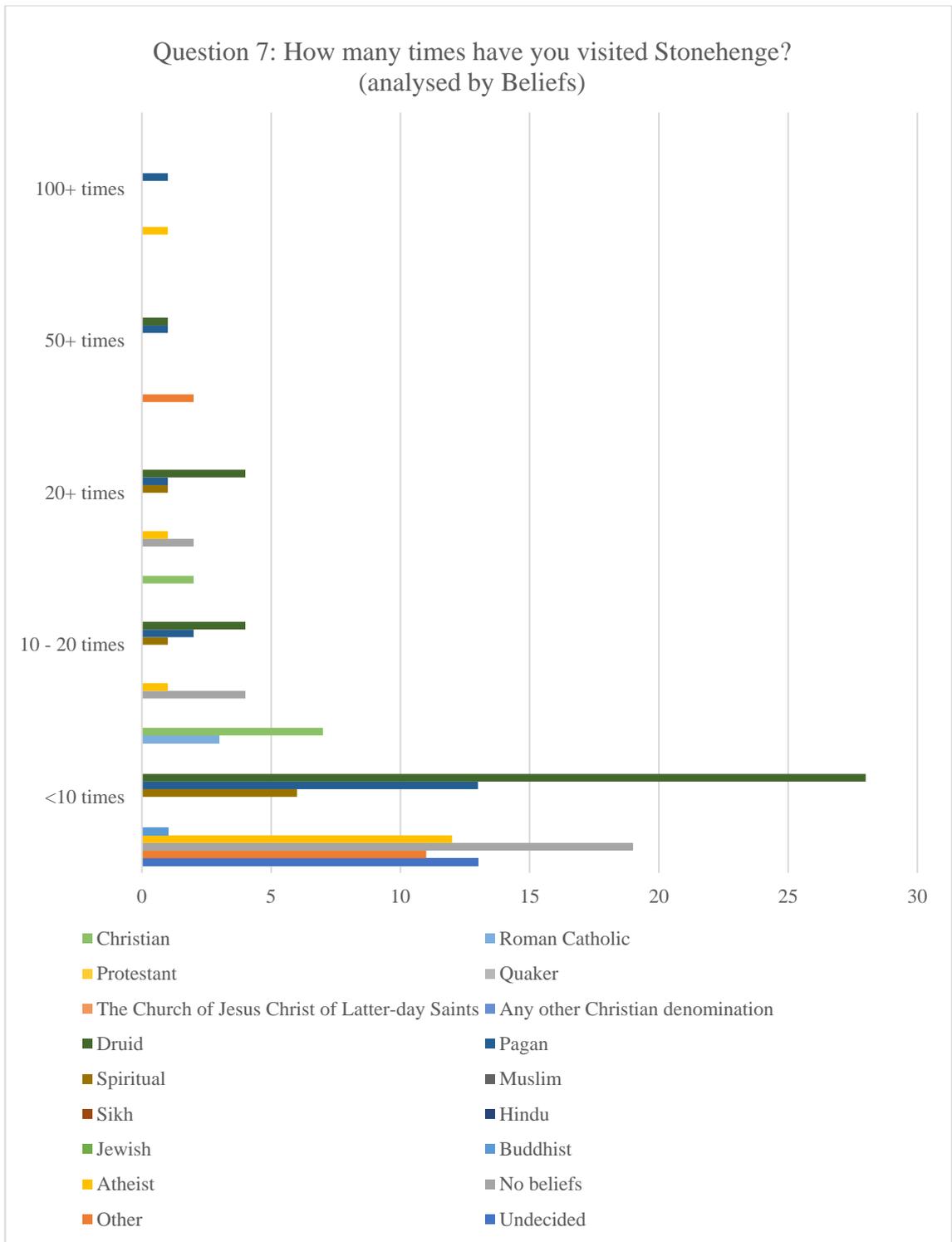
Prior to this online survey, it was expected older age ranges would have visited Stonehenge more often. This was evident in the dataset. The two participants who had visited Stonehenge more than 100 times were aged between 56-60 and 76-80, respectively. In contrast, all participants aged under 46 had only visited 10 times or less. This difference in visiting habits could be explained by age but could also be attributed to other factors such as time and cost. Younger people in society generally have less disposable income than older generations and have different priorities. For example, at the time of writing, it cost £19.40 (English Heritage 2021d) for a Stonehenge concession ticket (if the person is a student or over 65) which equates to just under 3 hours of work for an 18 year old on minimum wage (Gov.UK, 2021), not including travel, souvenir and food expenses. Although this ticket is the same price for someone aged 65 and over, they are likely to have a higher earning job or a pension which makes it less of an expense. However, the difference in numbers of visits analysed by age can also be explained by placing the survey data within the historical context of Stonehenge. Older participants who went to the Stonehenge Free Festivals and Solstice celebrations in the past will have a higher visit count than those who did not or were not old enough at the time.

For gender identity, again most participants had visited Stonehenge 10 times or less. The two participants who had visited 100 times or more were both women and were Pagan and Atheist respectively. It must be noted here that an answer for question 31 revealed one of these participants to be an EH volunteer, who had included volunteering at Stonehenge in their visitor figures. Those who were Non-Binary or Undecided had visited under 10 times. It was previously thought that Druid and Pagan would have been the beliefs who visited Stonehenge the most, but this was not the case, although these beliefs appeared in every ranking scale range, with 2 Pagans having visited Stonehenge more than 50 times total. The researcher was surprised that Druids had not visited Stonehenge more often, and that it was Pagans who visited more frequently. This could suggest that Stonehenge is just as important to Pagans as it is to Druids but could also indicate that although a person may identify as Druid, they do not regard Stonehenge as an essential part of their belief system.

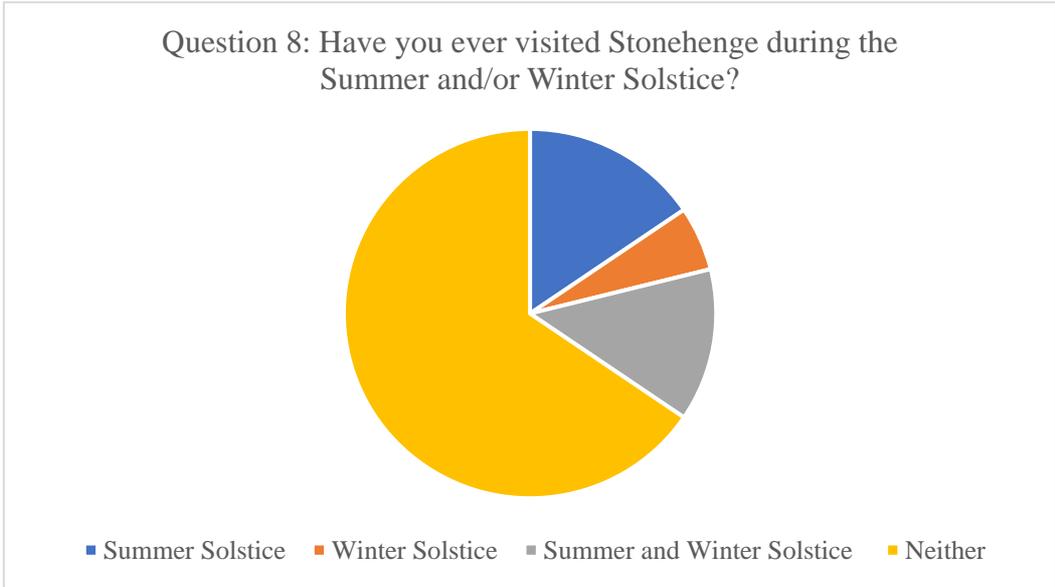
It could also be said that those who identify as Spiritual also regard Stonehenge as important as 2 out of 6 Spiritual participants had visited Stonehenge more than 10 times, though none had been more than 50. Although it was useful to break down Question 7, as the survey population is small, these findings cannot be generalised. It is evident that Pagans, Druids and Spiritual believers visit Stonehenge more frequently than other beliefs, but this can only be applied to the survey participants and not in a wider context.



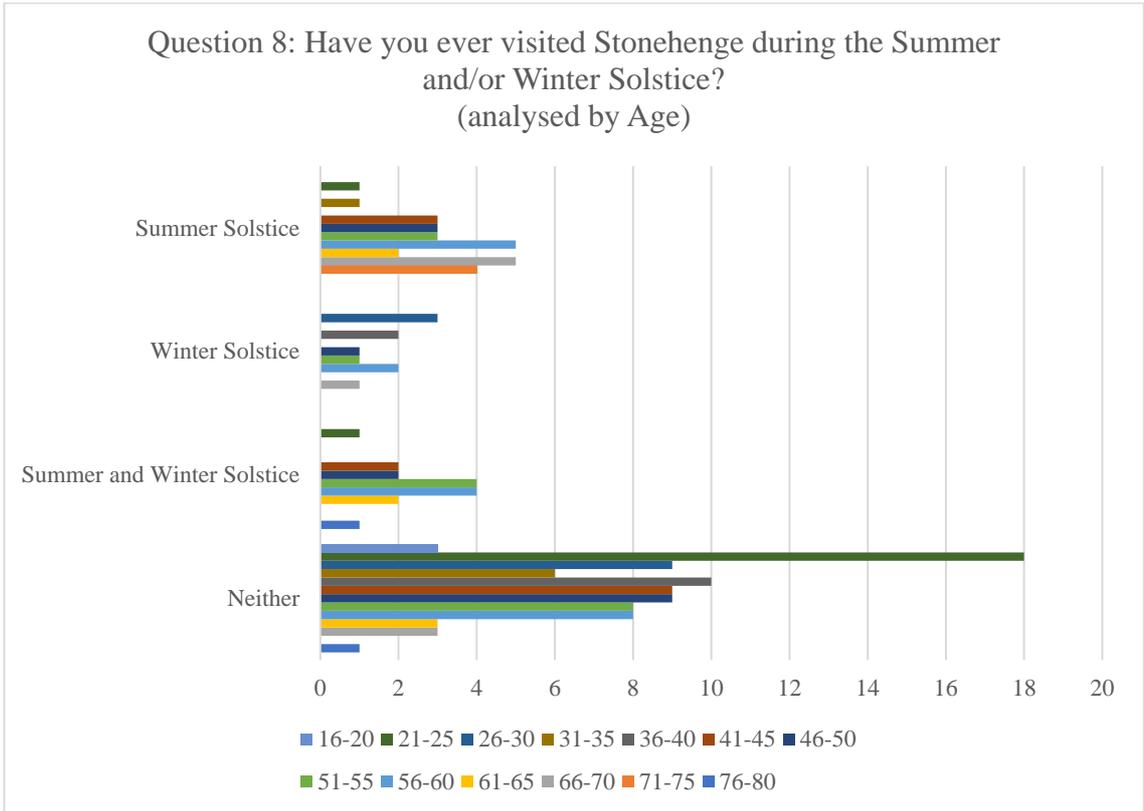
4.15: Number of visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



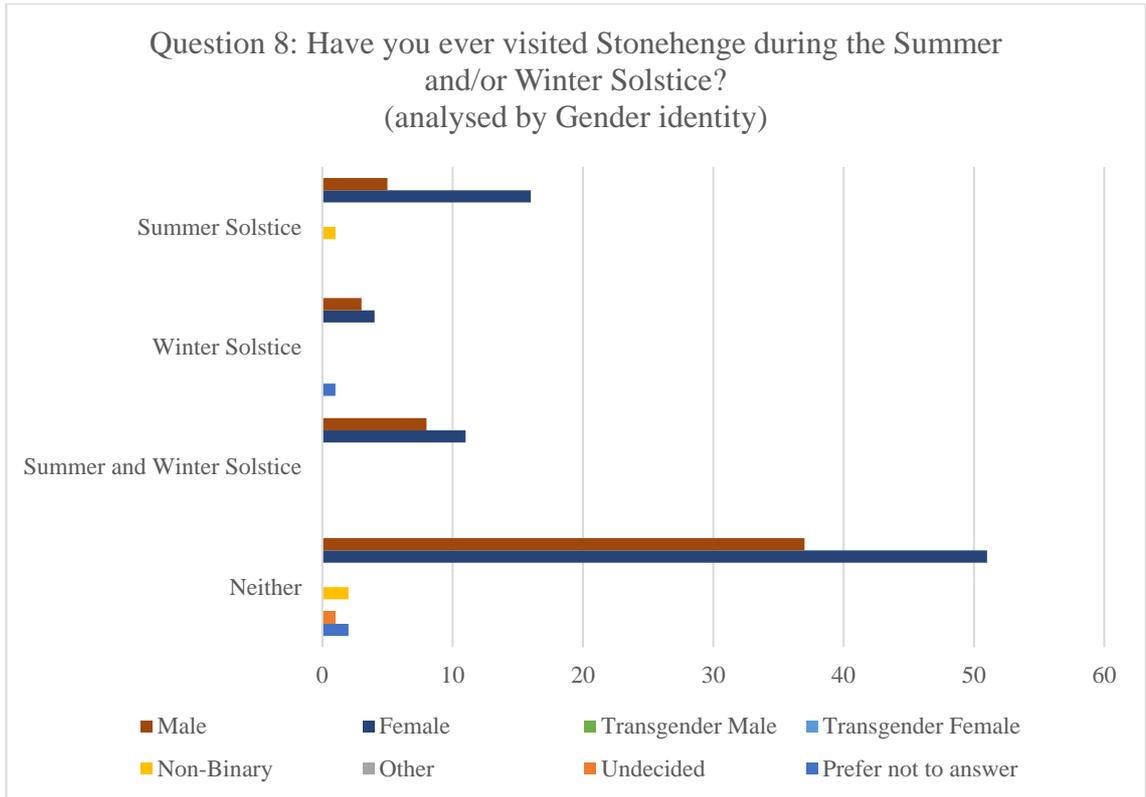
4.16: Number of visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



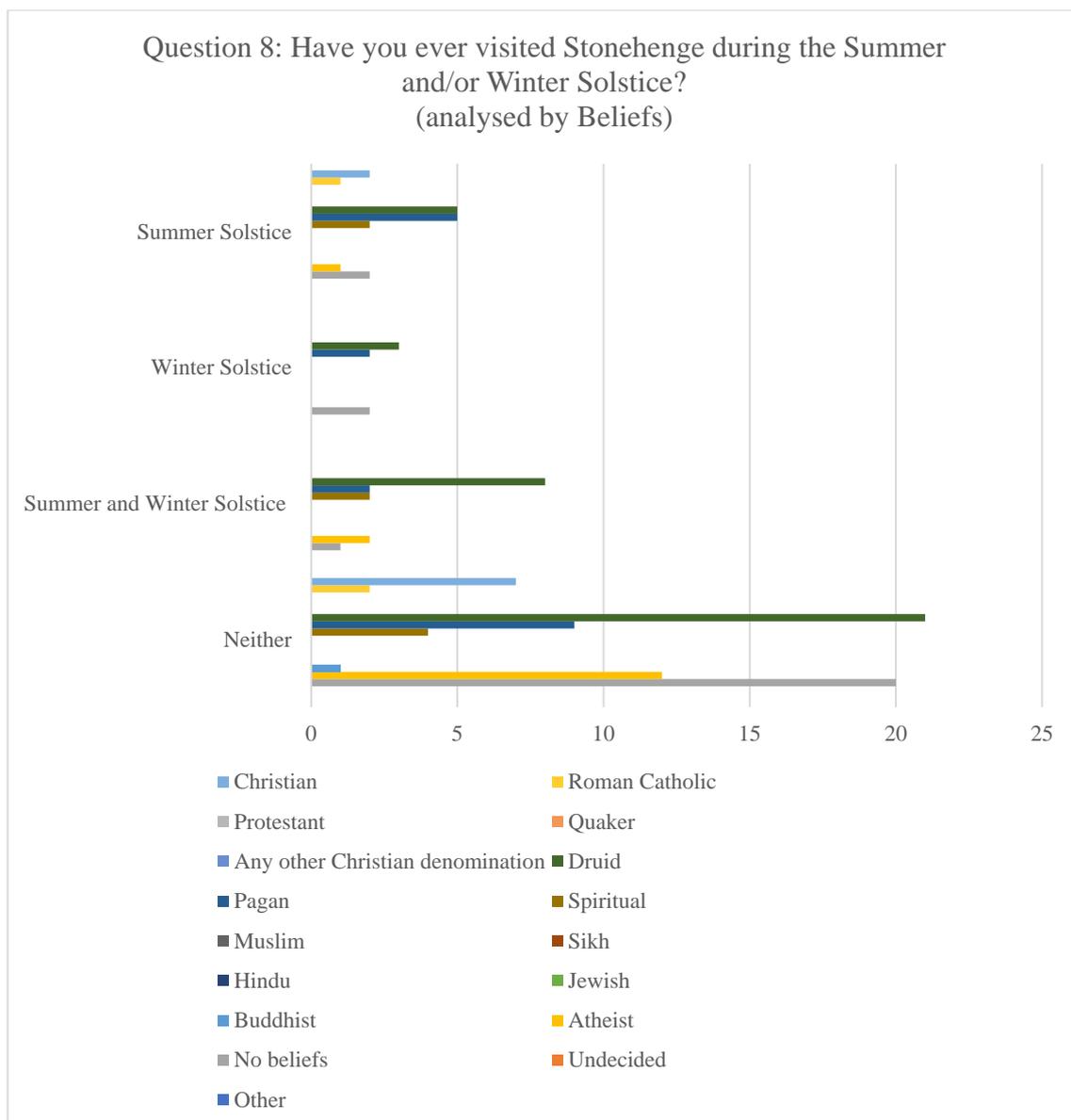
4.17: Solstice Visits to Stonehenge, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.18: Solstice Visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.19: Solstice Visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Gender identity, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



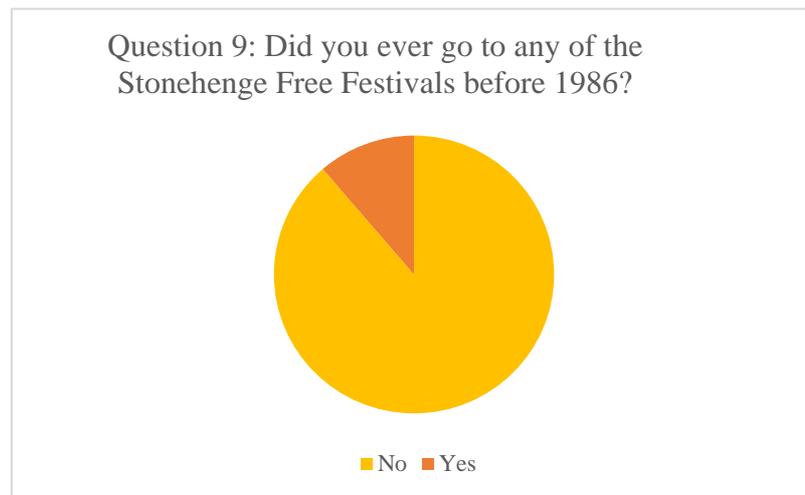
4.20: Solstice Visits to Stonehenge, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Participants were then asked about their visits to Stonehenge at the Solstices. Prior to data collection, it was thought that visits at the Winter and/or Summer solstices would be a common answer as these are the two times of year where Stonehenge is free and completely accessible to all. The data indicated that most people who participated in this survey have never visited Stonehenge at either solstice. Of those who have, they were more likely to have visited on the Summer solstice. When this question was analysed by age, it was evident that those under 25 were most likely to have never been to either Solstice. None of the 16-20 year olds had been and only 1 participant aged 21-25 had been to both, with 1 having gone to the Summer solstice. Of those who had been to both solstices, those aged 46-50 were the majority but 26-30 year olds were the most common age range for the Winter solstice. For the Summer solstice, the two age ranges that were the majority were 56-60 and 66-70. This could be explained by the Stonehenge Free Festival, which was held around the Summer solstice and which participants of these ranges went to (please see 4.22 for reference). Cross-analysis by

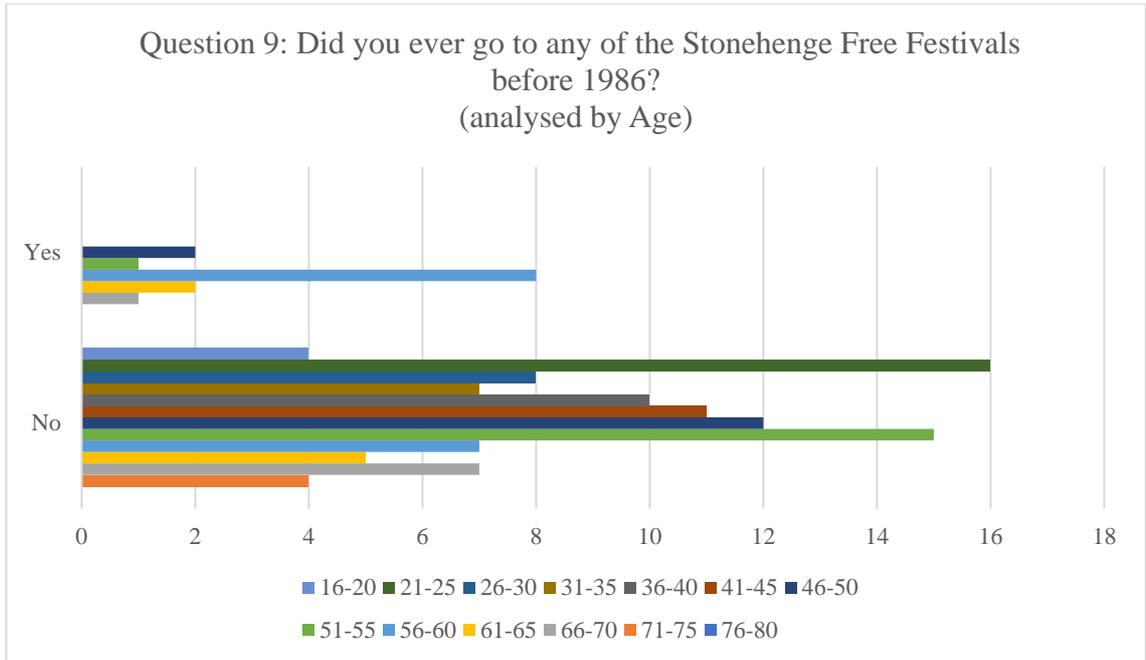
Gender identity to not reveal anything new aside from breaking down the data. Analysis of Question 8 regarding Beliefs was interesting and not what was expected. It was thought that Druids and Pagans would have been the main group to have gone to the Summer and/or Winter Solstices at Stonehenge. There was a scattering number of Pagans and Druids who had been to the Summer, Winter or both Solstices but the majority of Druid and Pagan participants had not been to either. For example, for both solstices, there were more Christians who had been than Pagans. This could suggest that Druids and Pagans do not see the Solstices as essential to celebrating their beliefs and further on in this chapter, it is evident that some see the Solstices as an excuse for a party rather than a religious occasion, which is why they do not attend.

### The Stonehenge Free Festivals

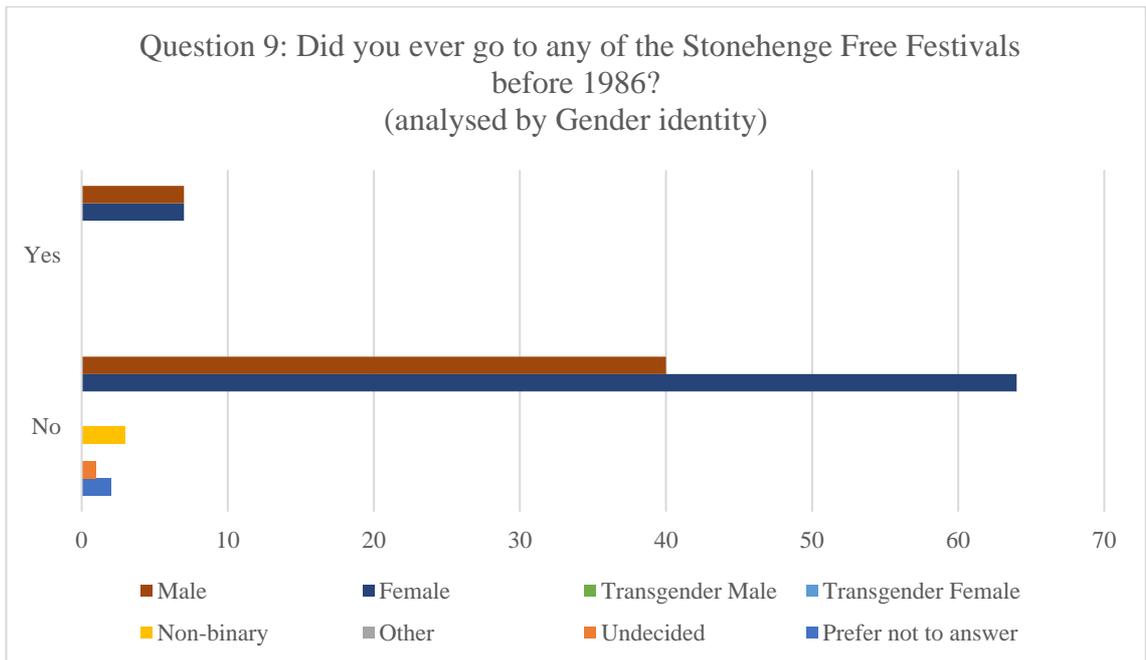
This survey section was short, with three questions, two of which had a section A which, dependent on answers, participants were routed to. The main priority was to understand how many participants had been to any of the Stonehenge Free Festivals whether they had any experiences that they wanted to share. Participants were also asked about 1985 and if they wanted to share experiences of the Battle of the Beanfield. Aside from the age check at the beginning of the survey, all questions afterwards were optional. Some of the questions that were asked of participants touched upon difficult topics, like the Battle of the Beanfield, so it was up to the individual whether they wanted to share their experiences or skip that question.



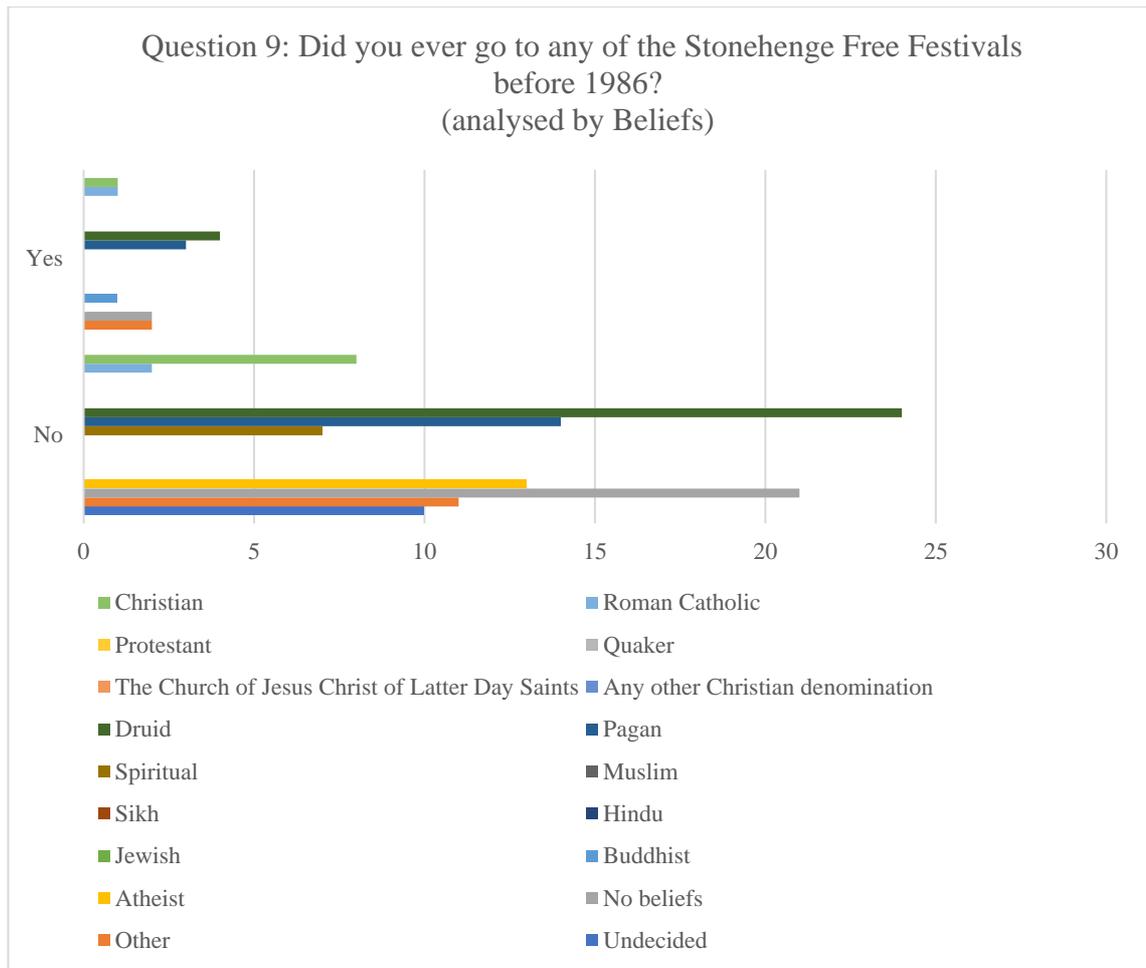
4.21: Stonehenge Free Festival attendance before 1986, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.22: Stonehenge Free Festival attendance before 1986, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

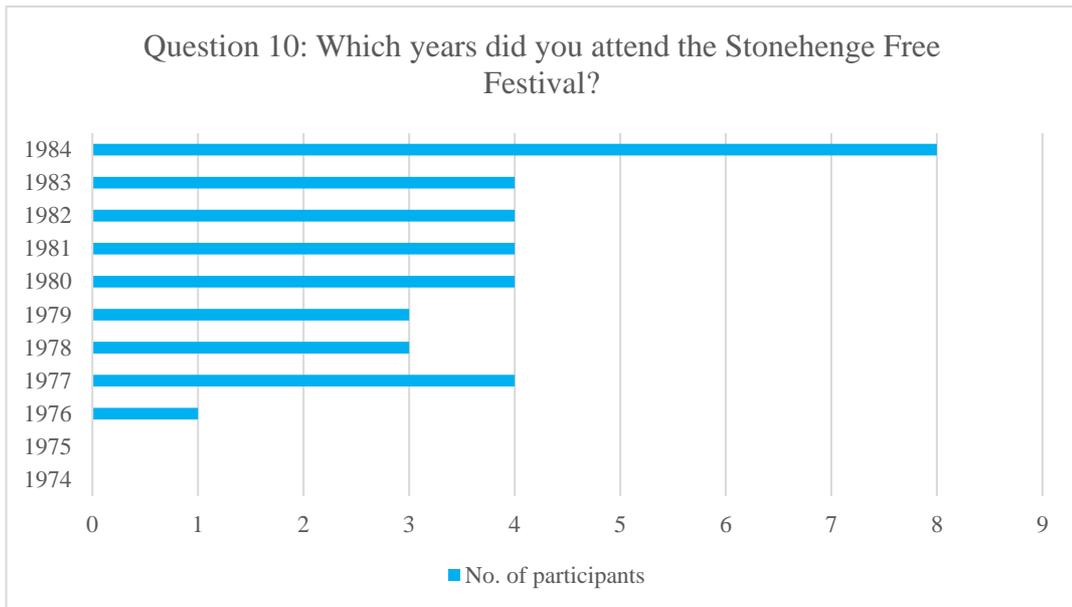


4.23: Stonehenge Free Festival attendance before 1986, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

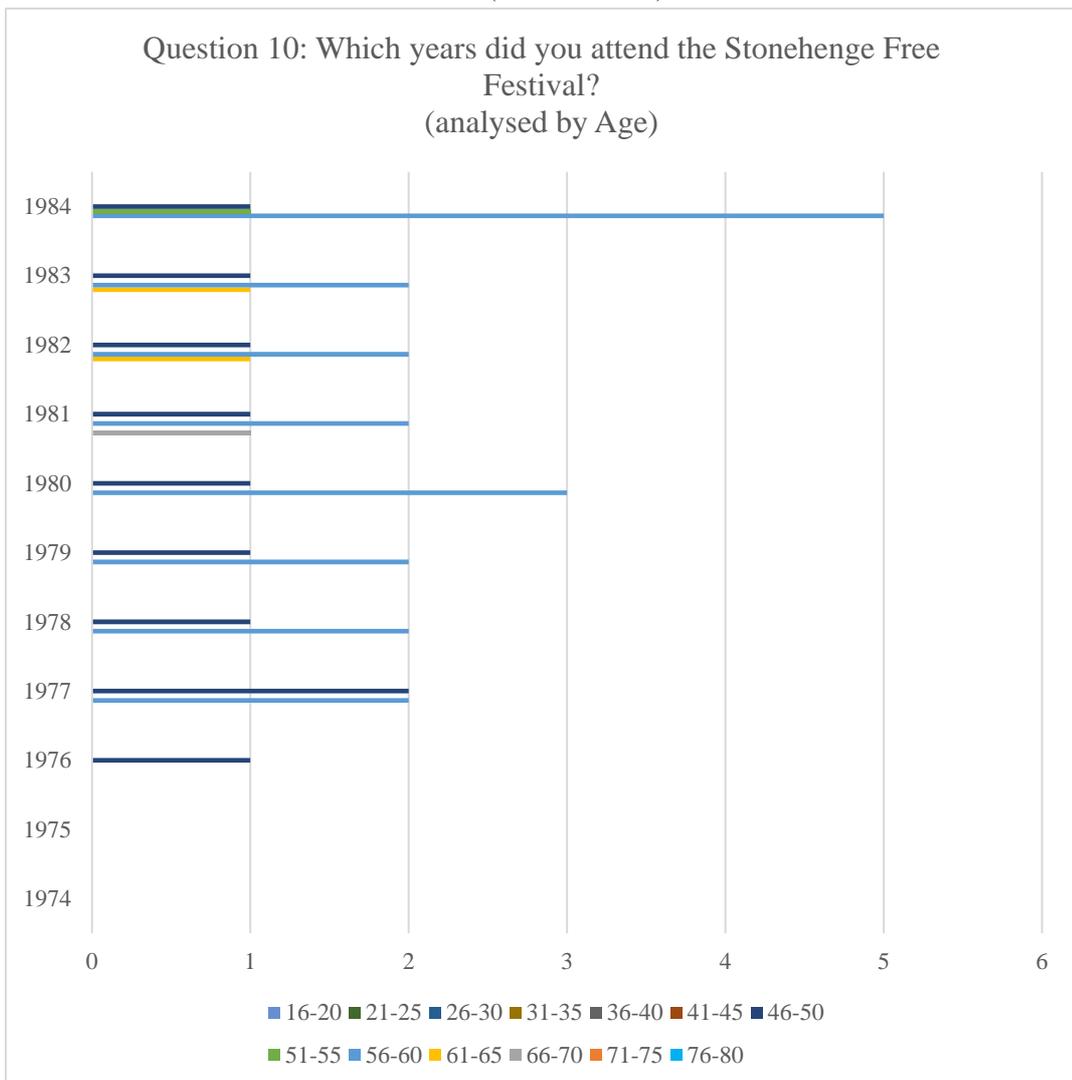


4.24: Stonehenge Free Festival attendance before 1986, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

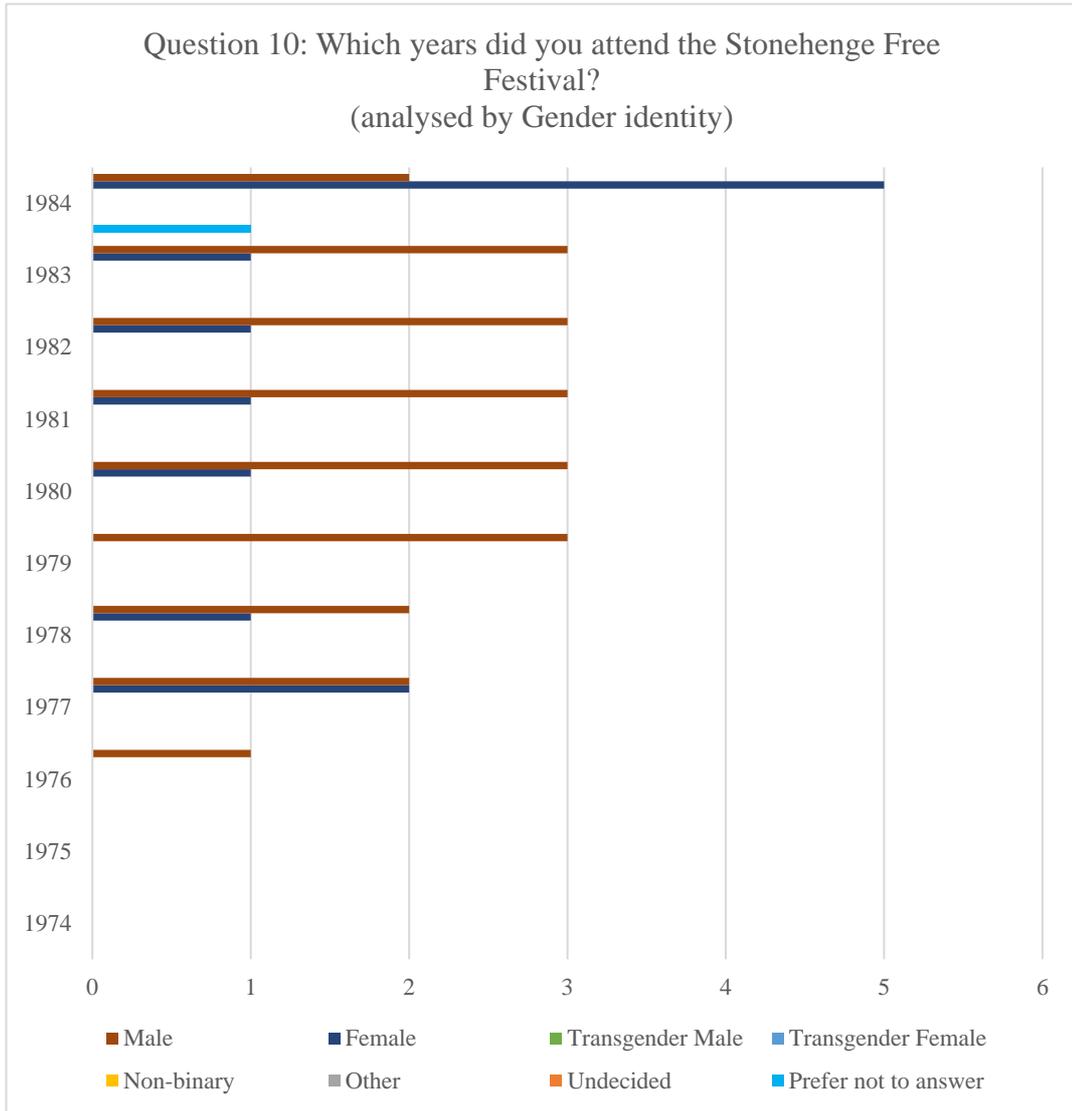
This section began with asking participants whether they had been to any Stonehenge free festivals prior to 1986 as the researcher was interested in how many participants had been to the ‘main’ free festivals before the exclusion years. The 14 participants were aged between 46 and 70, with 8 aged 56-60. Regarding gender identity, the free festivalgoers were a 50/50 split between male and female. Beliefs were more interesting, the researcher had expected that most participants would be Druid or Pagan, as the free festivals gave access to Stonehenge, and half of the participants identified as such. 3 were Christian, Roman Catholic or Buddhist, with 2 No Beliefs or Other. That the majority were British Pagan is not unsurprising for the free festivals as there had been Druid celebrations at Stonehenge since 1900. Free festivals at Stonehenge merged into this tradition and it would be likely that British Pagans would attend these as part of their solstice celebrations.



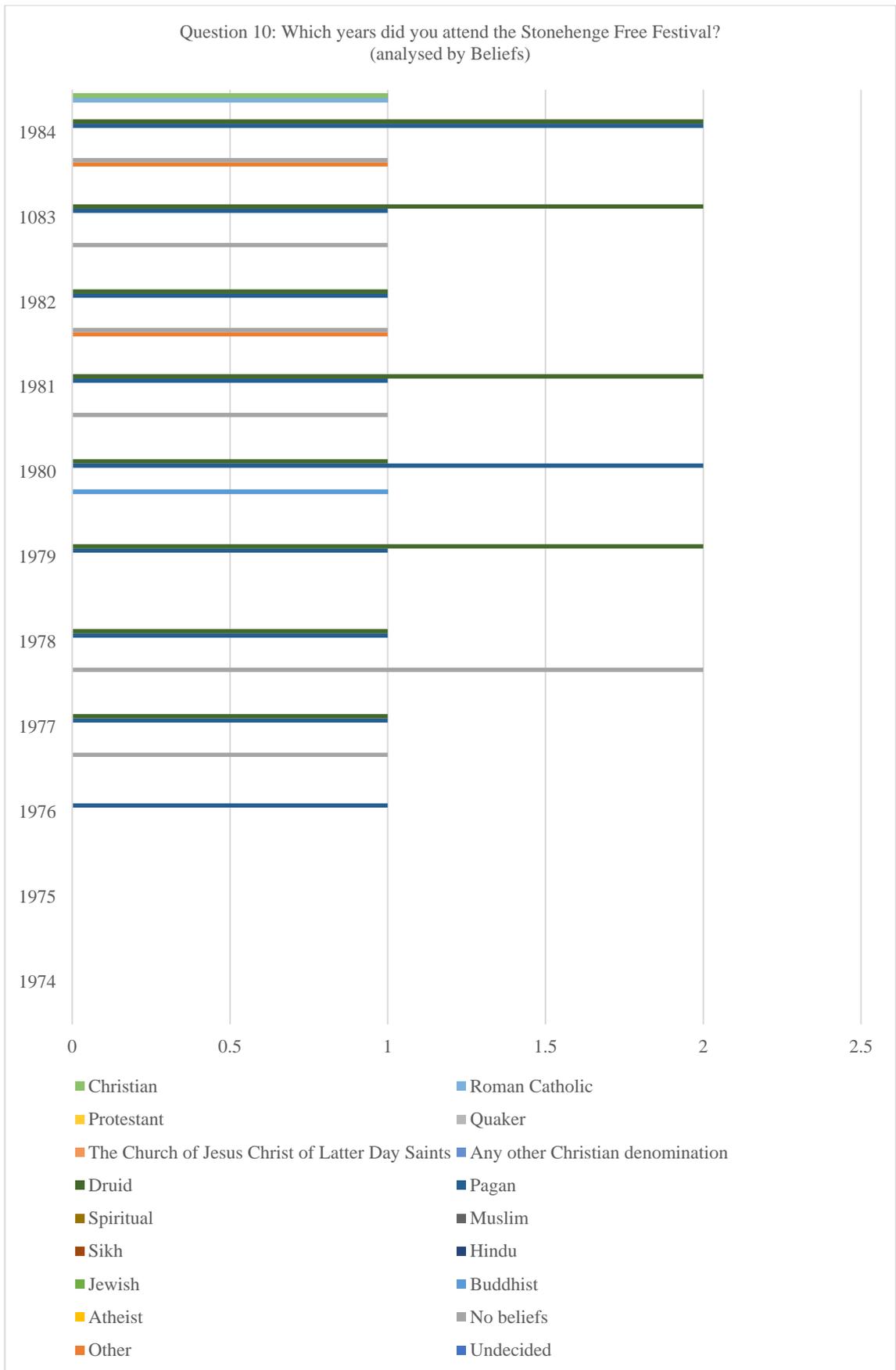
4.25: Participant attendance at the Stonehenge Free Festival from 1974-1984, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.26: Participant attendance at the Stonehenge Free Festival from 1974-1984, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.27: Participant attendance at the Stonehenge Free Festival from 1974-1984, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.28: Participant attendance at Stonehenge Free Festival over the years, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Aside from the 1974 and 1975 years, at least one participant had attended the Stonehenge Free Festivals each year. The most popular festival was the 1984 one, which was (as indicated by literature research in Chapter 3) when the Stonehenge Free Festivals reached their peak popularity. In terms of age, 1 participant aged 46-50 had been to every festival between 1976 and 1984 and the four later years of the festival, 1981 to 1984, had the most variation in participant ages.

It is noticeable in graph 4.27 that there is a ‘Prefer not to answer’ response, despite the gender identity results from question 9. This is not a mistake during survey analysis, aside from certain questions (such as dates of birth), none of the survey questions needed required responses. Thus, a participant could choose not to answer question 9 but could answer question 10, which explains this response. When analysed by gender identity, both male and female participants had been at every festival between 1977 and 1984, aside from 1976, though more men than women had been over the years. Analysing the responses by Beliefs, it is clearly evident that out of the 14 participants, those who identified as Druid and Pagan went the most regularly to festivals. It could be argued that the participant responses to this question indicate that the Stonehenge Free Festivals were diverse in ages and beliefs and that the festivals attracted a range of sub-cultures in society, given that British Pagans were also free festivalgoers.

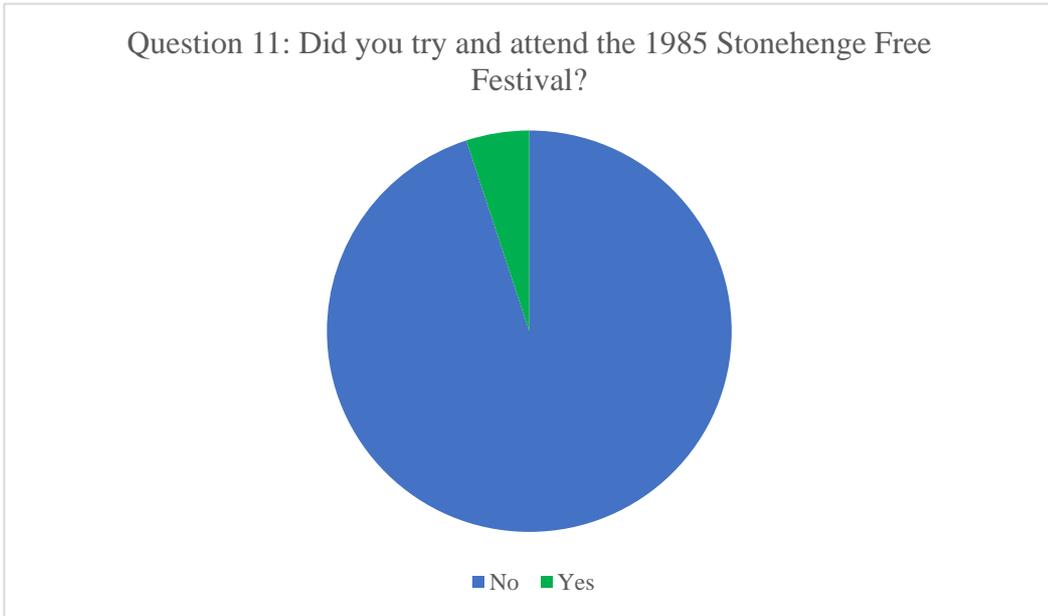
**4.A : Table of Thematic coding results for Question 10a (Have you got any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Stonehenge Free Festivals?)**

<b>Archaeology and History</b>
<b>Religion and Beliefs</b>
<b>Culture</b>
We had to camp quite a bit away. We had a phone number to ring and they told you a small camp site to go to. Ours was in a lovely wood by Woodhenge. Which I’d never heard of till then. They had a bus to take the children while us adults walked. There was never any distrust or doubt that we would all be reunited at the meeting point by the stones. Every time someone left the camp they handed out any food they had left over and you could walk around the campsites and pop into any tent bus etc and meet lovely genuine people. Even the trips were given out under guarantee lol. We were all there as like-minded people. We all left around midnight to do the long walk to the stones and when we got there and the beautiful sun came up it was an experience and a site that will never be forgotten.
No rules, no hierarchy. Just people doing what was necessary.
A large peaceful festival not unlike Glastonbury in feel. Drugs very freely available and clearly advertised. No police visible. We had travelled to attend the festival but did not go to the stones. I had already visited them as a child and was not interested in them in a spiritual way.
<b>Emotive</b>
For a young child it was amazing like going to another dimension where you could do anything you wanted.
<b>Politics</b>
The year I attended the field was wet and muddy, there were zero facilities, the police presence was heavy and hostile and, to make matters worse, The Pop Group arrived on site in the early hours of the morning and

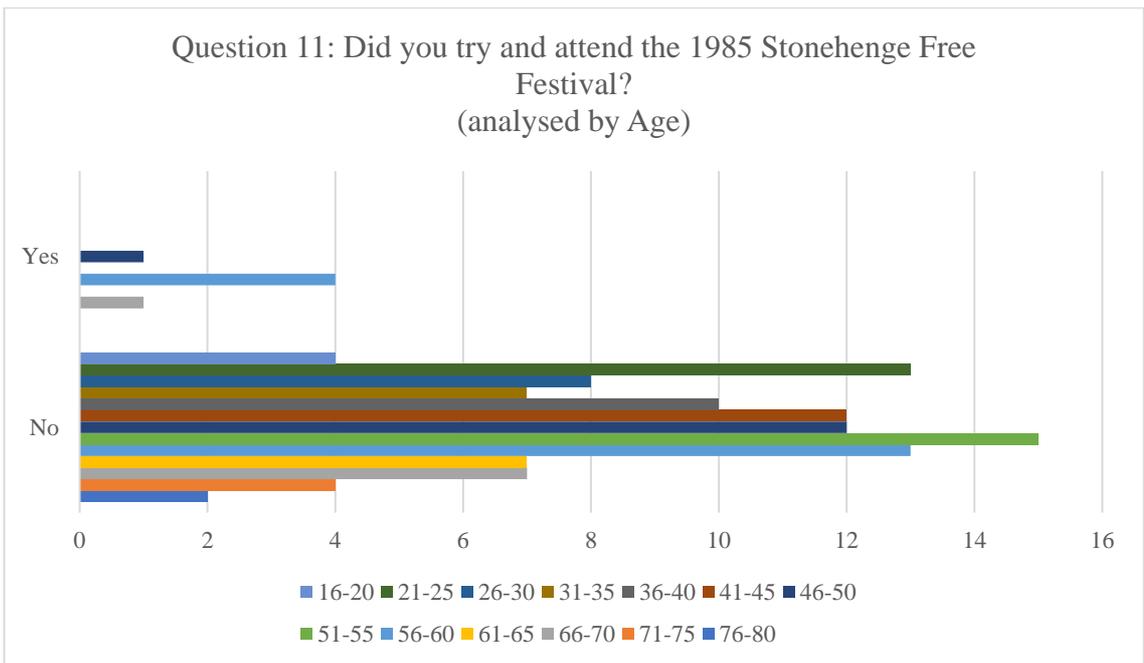
decided they needed a loud and uncoordinated sound check that went on for over an hour. In short, it was pretty grim. Did have a brief chat with Sid Rawle though, both of us agreeing that we'd rather be at Avebury.
Mainly about drugs... Having to step over people on lsd. A guy hey man we need to leave the stones the Druids are here. A bus stopped out came 50 men wearing bowler hats and suits and then proceed to put on Klu Klux Klan like robes. I said" hey man they're not druids! "
<b>Unable to categorise</b>
Probably, but I don't remember.
I was a toddler!
Only that I regret being too young to have gone to any!

Question 10a was an opportunity for participants to tell their stories about the Stonehenge Free Festivals if they wished to do so. From the literature research for the project, it was clear that the free festivalgoers were often represented in an unflattering light by the media at the time. The survey was a chance to gather some primary data about the Stonehenge festivals that could be later discussed in further detail in Chapter 9 alongside the other textual question responses. This question garnered eight responses from participants. Two did not clearly fit into the thematic code, but from those that did, the primary theme was politics. There is evidence that the Stonehenge Free Festivals were seen as a political statement with 'no rules, no hierarchy' but an undercurrent of police involvement which was 'heavy and hostile'. There is also some friction with the Druids over sharing the Stones, with one participant doubting their credibility, describing them as '50 men wearing bowler hats who put on Klu Klux Klan robes'. A rather unfortunate description perhaps.

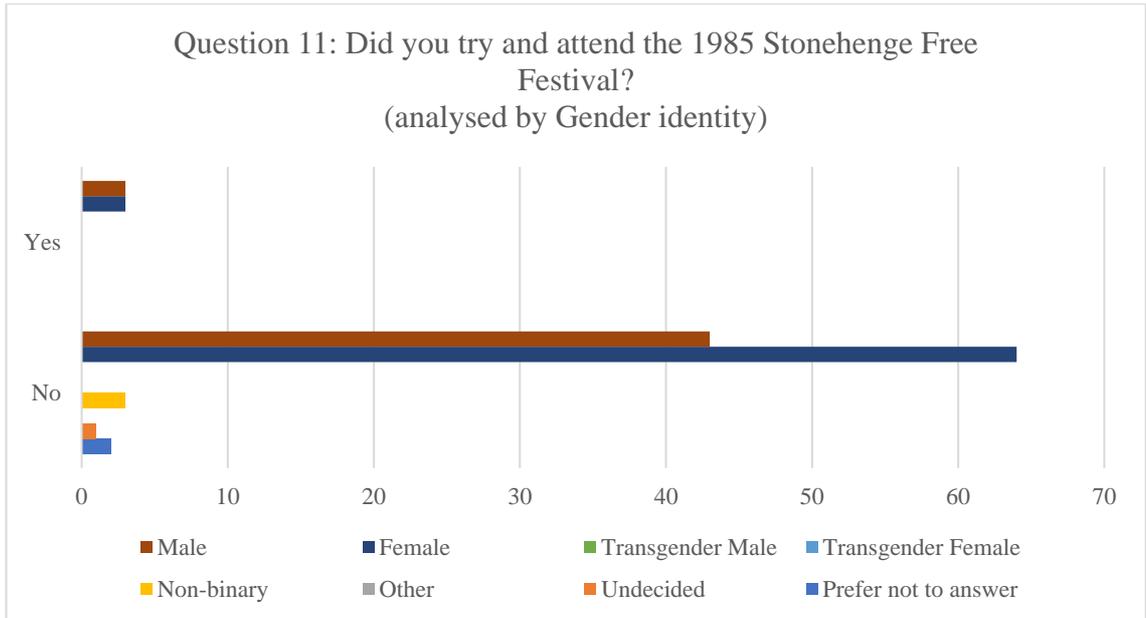
Although there is a feeling from these stories that the festivals were on the fringes of society, they also paint a picture of relaxed gatherings of like minded people. One participant responded in an emotive way, stating that as a young child, the festivals were 'amazing' for them, 'another dimension' where they were free to do as they pleased. Others shared stories about the culture of the free festivals, from these perspectives the festivals seemed to be a sort of anarchic utopia, where drugs were 'freely available and clearly advertised' yet there was a community which looked after each other. One participant shared that camping at Woodhenge, there was a bus to take children to Stonehenge, yet there was no 'distrust or doubt' that they wouldn't meet again at the meeting point by the Stones. This community spirit is also apparent in the sharing of food, and social openness: 'you could pop into any tent and meet lovely genuine people'. It could be suggested that these memories of the festivals presented a rose-tinted view, given what we know about the Battle of the Beanfield and exclusion years, but it also indicates that the festivals were a place for community gatherings, where people who might have otherwise felt out of place in mainstream society were welcomed.



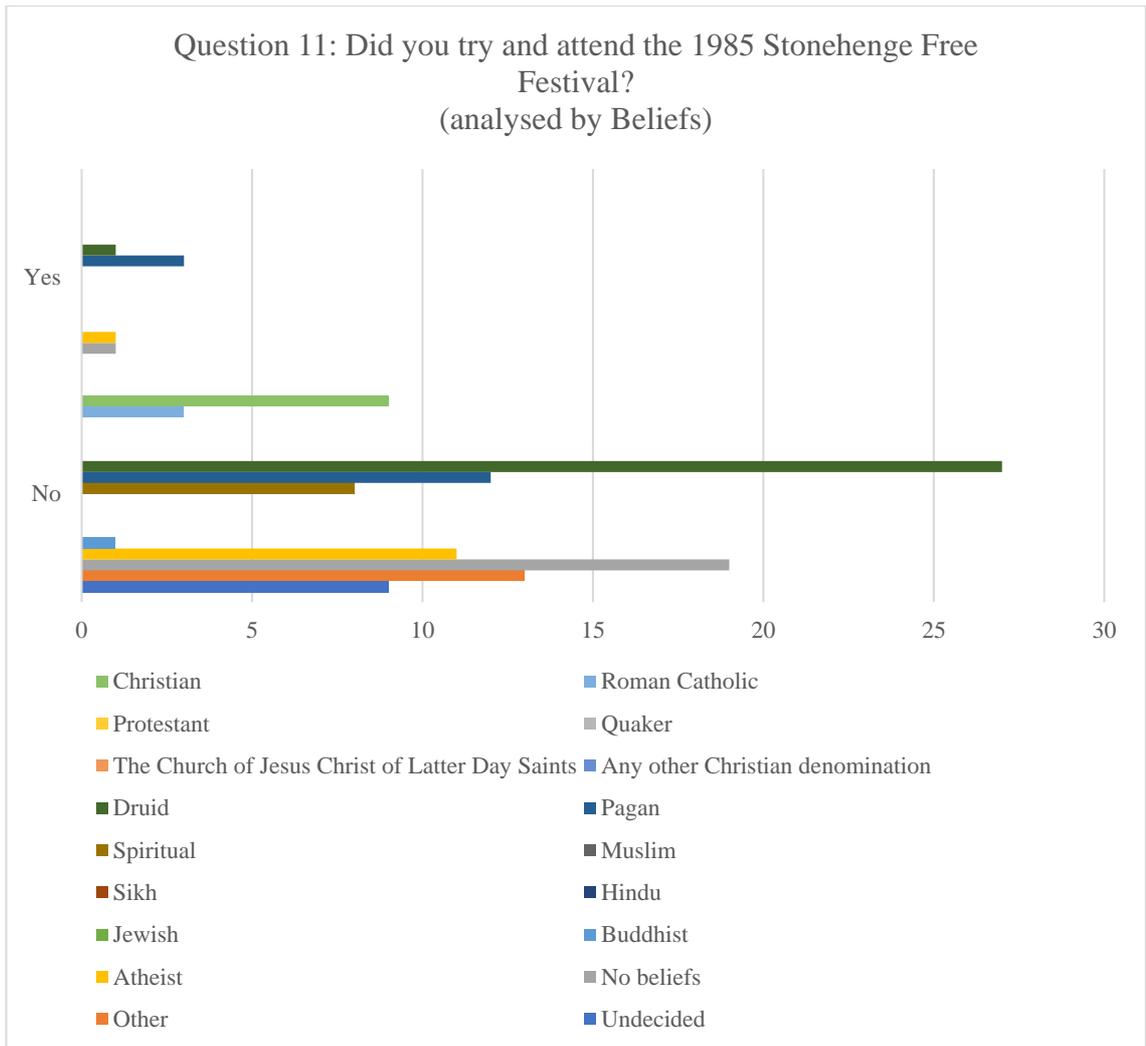
4.29: Attempted attendance of the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.30: Attempted attendance of the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.31: Attempted attendance of the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.32: Attempted attendance of the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Out of 142 participants, just 5% of participants had attempted to attend the planned 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival. This was less than half of the participants who had attended the previous Stonehenge Free Festivals. Out of the 6, 4 were aged 56-60, again indicating that in terms of the survey dataset this was a common age to attend the festivals (they would have been in their teens or twenties at the time). Of those who had attempted it, it was again half and half between male and female participants, with 4 identifying as Pagan and 2 Druid. These results again show the importance of Stonehenge to British Pagans, that they attempted to attend in 1985 despite the injunction by English Heritage.

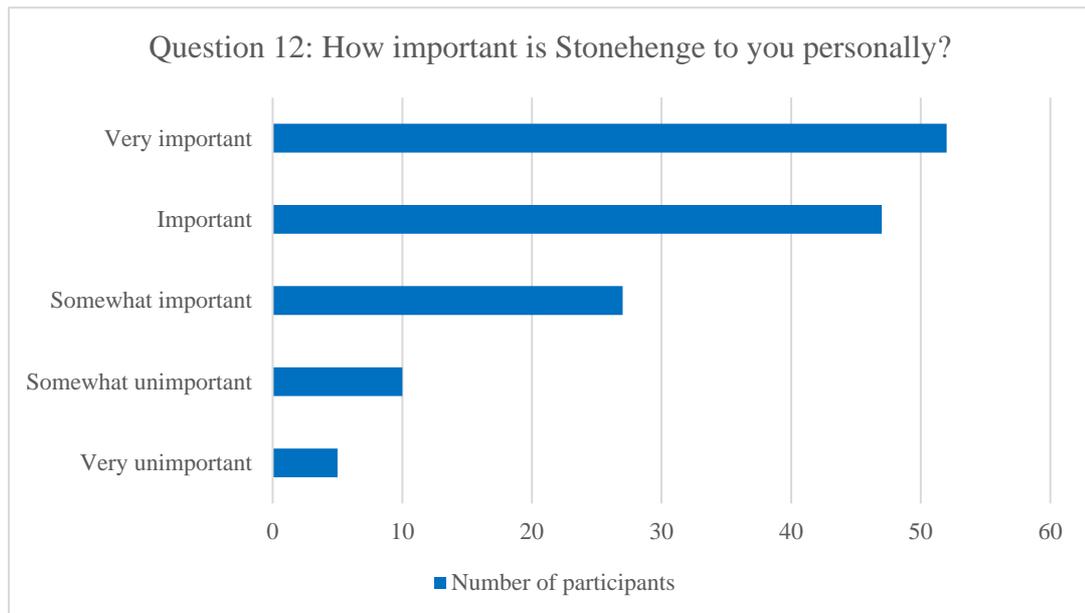
**4.B: Table of Thematic coding results for Question 11a (Do you have any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Battle of the Beanfield?)**

<b>Archaeology and History</b>
<b>Religion and Beliefs</b>
<b>Culture</b>
<b>Emotive</b>
Not really knowing what was going on. Bits of euphoria mixed with bits of blind panic...
<b>Politics</b>
Beaten. Shell shocked. ( I still have about six weeks missing from my memory). Not broken.
Running up behind one of the Police as he bent over and hitting him in the backside with a piece of wood that had a six inch nail through it. Lol he screamed like a pig.
We were turned away by the Police at Marlborough.

Question 11a did not receive many responses as it did not apply for most of the survey population. From the 4 participants that did reply, it was evident that the Battle of the Beanfield was a violent and shocking experience. For one participant, the Battle was ‘euphoric’ but contrasted with ‘bits of blind panic’ and they were unsure what was going on. The other responses were categorised as political due to their mention of clashes with the police. One was turned away at Marlborough so missed the Battle of the Beanfield, but 2 participants were in the thick of it. There was violence on both sides, as told by one participant. They hit a policeman in the backside with ‘a piece of wood that had a six-inch nail’ with the assaulted proceeding to ‘scream like a pig’. Another free festivalgoer described their experience of the event as ‘beaten’ and ‘shellshocked’, adding that they still ‘have about six weeks missing from their memory’. Although the argument can be presented from both sides (as previously discussed in Chapter 3) these stories support the idea that the Battle of the Beanfield was a traumatic experience for free festivalgoers.

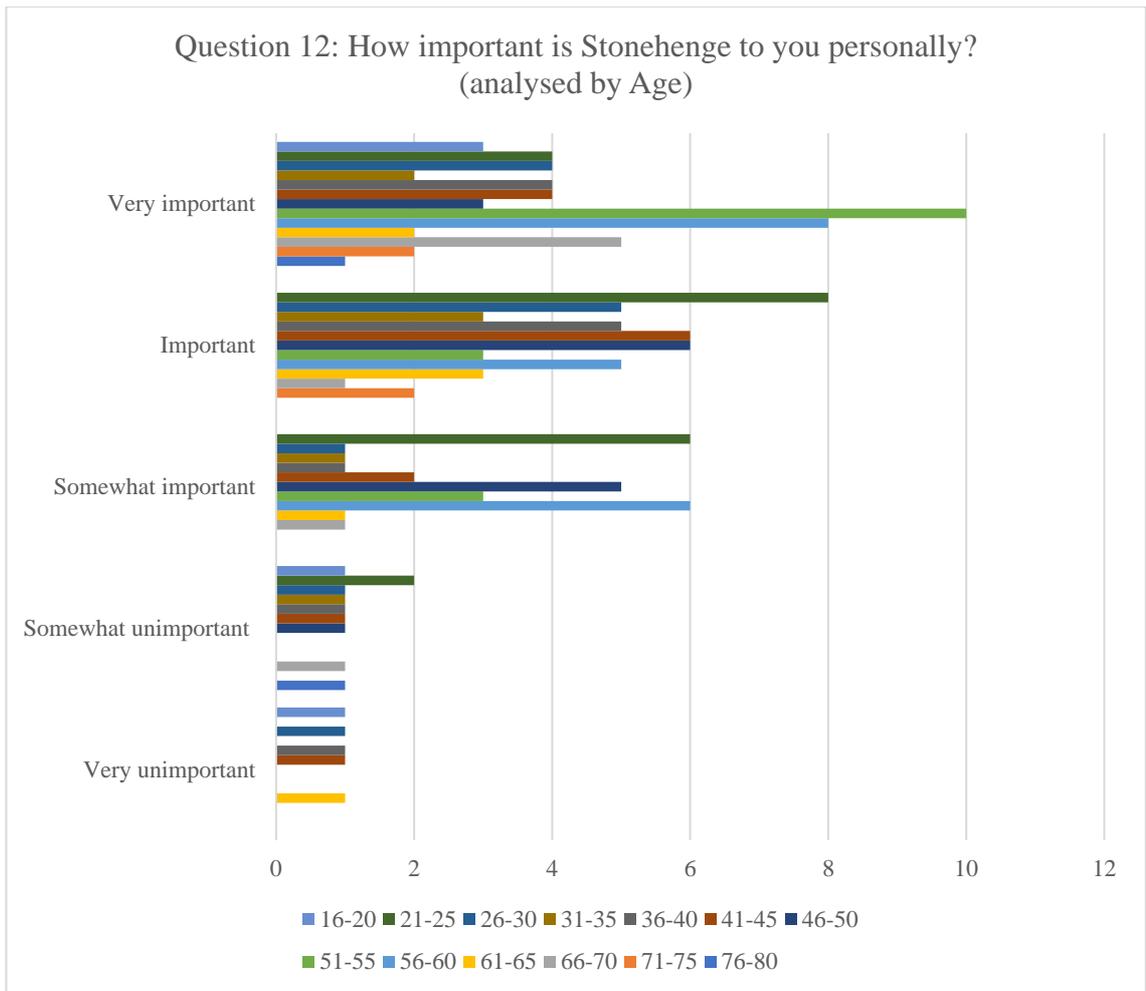
**What Stonehenge means to you**

On this page of the survey, participants were encouraged to think about their relationship with Stonehenge, how they would describe the monument and its relevance in contemporary culture. The data from this part of the survey was an indication of participants' perceptions of Stonehenge and how important they felt it was, both personally and in contemporary culture. The 'What Stonehenge means to you' section used a range of question types, including ranking scales and key words. The analysis for questions 13 and 15 is written together for ease of reading and to enable cross-comparison. For this reason, this section begins with questions 12 and 14, then 13 and 15, finished with the analysis for question 16.

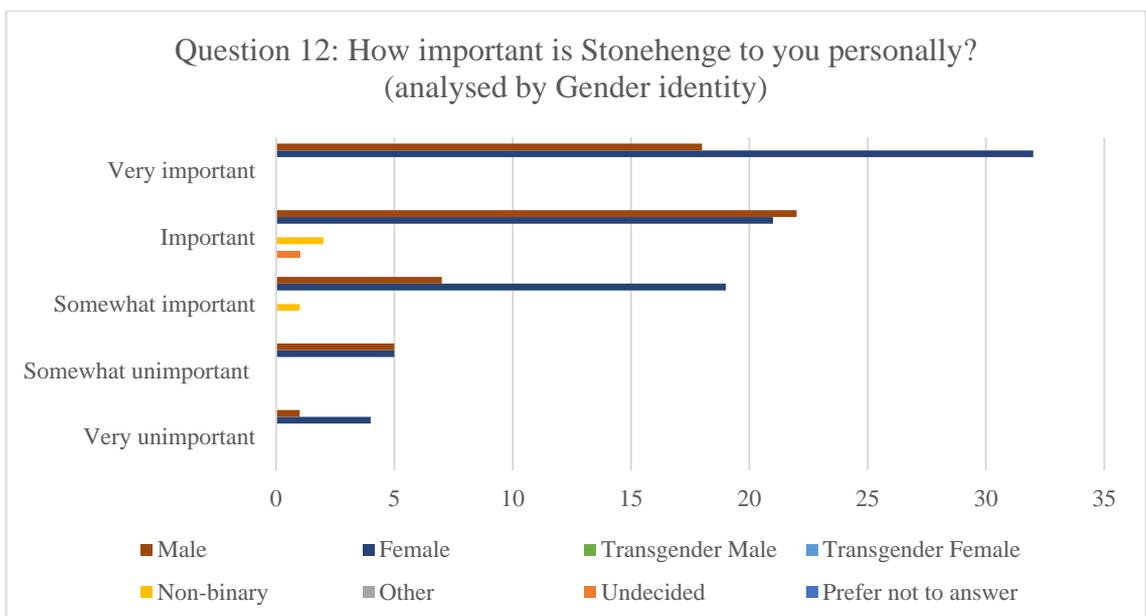


4.33: Stonehenge's importance to Participants, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

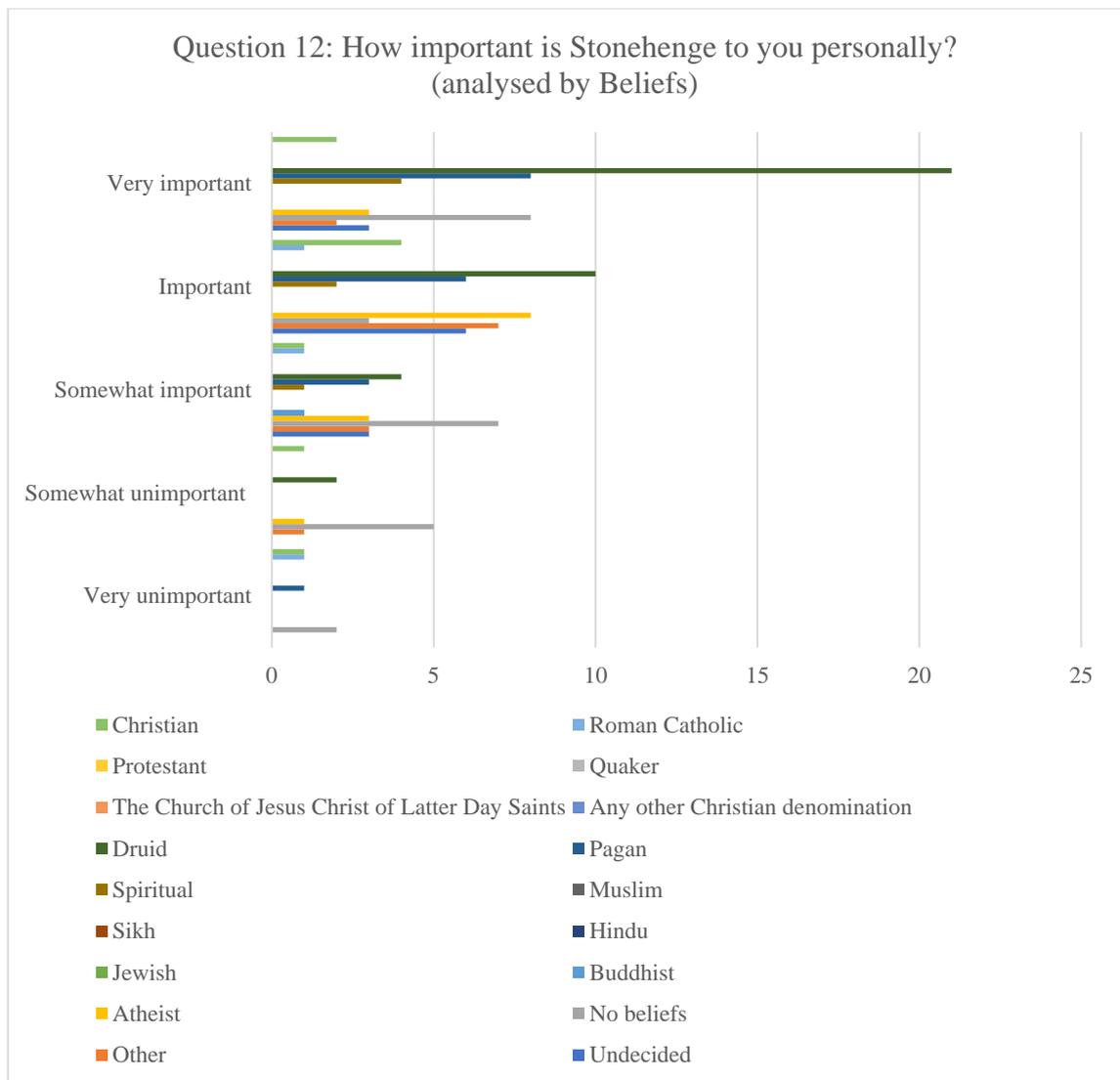
The topic of Question 12 and 14 was the importance of Stonehenge, both personally to participants and to contemporary culture. These questions used a ranking style, from 'very important' to 'very unimportant'. Interestingly, the majority of participants ranked Stonehenge as 'very important' to them personally, but 'important' to contemporary culture. This suggests that though most participants regard Stonehenge as highly important in their personal lives, they think that it is less relevant culturally.



4.34: Stonehenge’s importance to Participants, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.35: Stonehenge’s importance to Participants, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

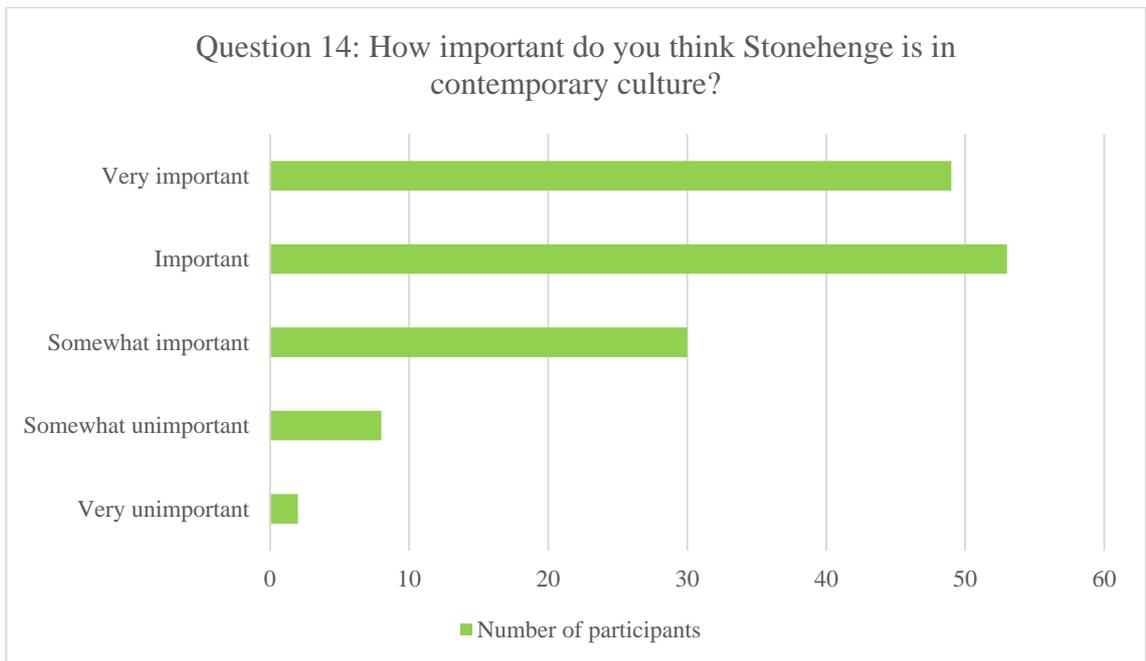


4.36: Stonehenge’s importance to Participants, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

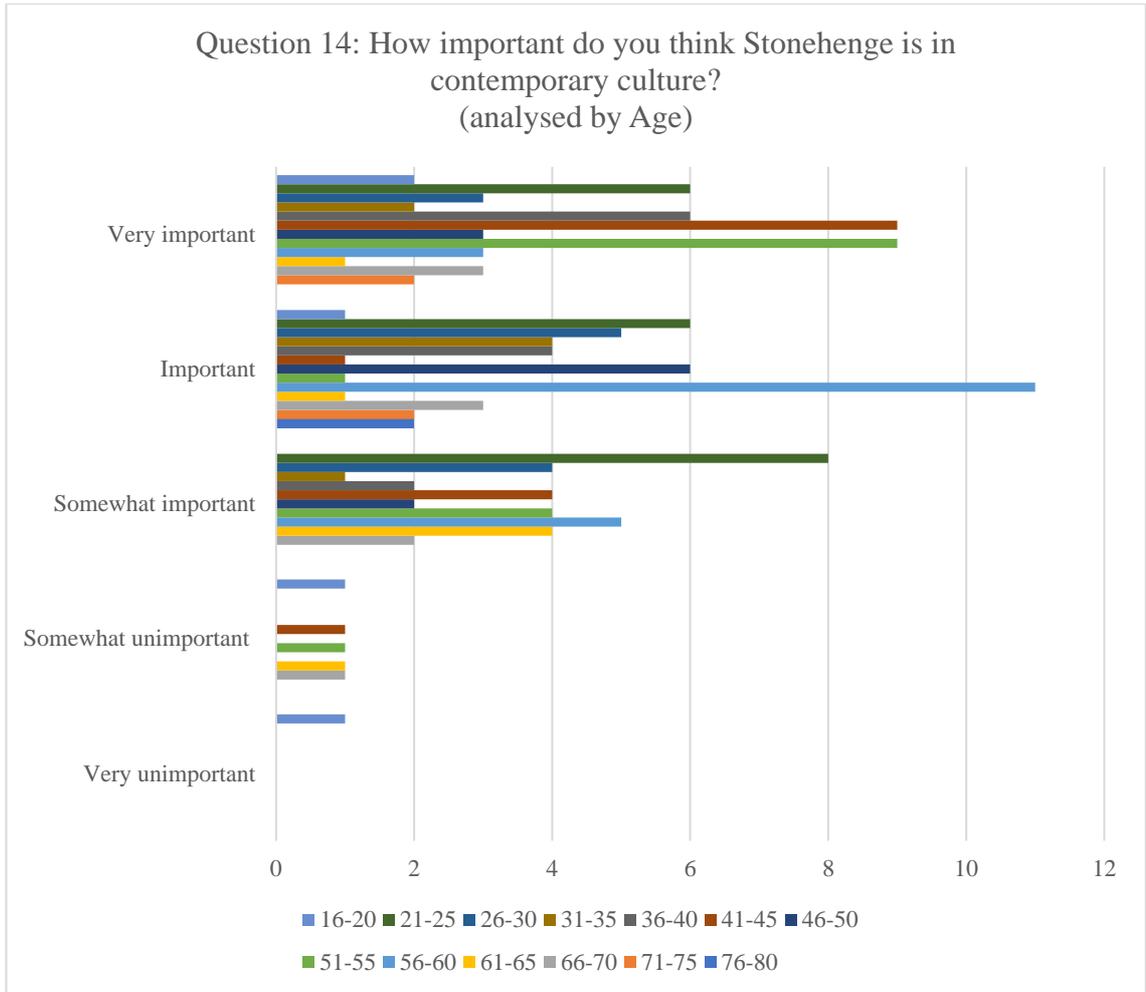
For question 12, most participants ranked Stonehenge in one of the three ‘important’ categories. When analysed by age, there was a range of ages across the categories, with at least one participant in each age range regarding Stonehenge as ‘very important’. From this, it could be suggested that within the participant population, Stonehenge is just as important to those who are older than those who are younger. Gender identity analysis did not reveal much aside from showing which gender identities regarded Stonehenge as more important personally than others.

Stonehenge could be said to be an essential part of life for many people who are British Pagans. This is indicated in the Beliefs analysis of question 12. Aside from 2 Druids who regarded Stonehenge as ‘somewhat unimportant’, and 1 Pagan who ranked it as ‘very unimportant’ all British Pagans who took part in this survey ranked Stonehenge in one of the ‘important’ categories, with over 20 Druids ranking it as ‘very important’. For other beliefs, most ranked it in the ‘important’ categories, with a spread of rankings for each belief. Overall, ‘Very important’ was the most common ranking category, with ‘Very unimportant’ the least selected response with only 5 participants choosing it. It is

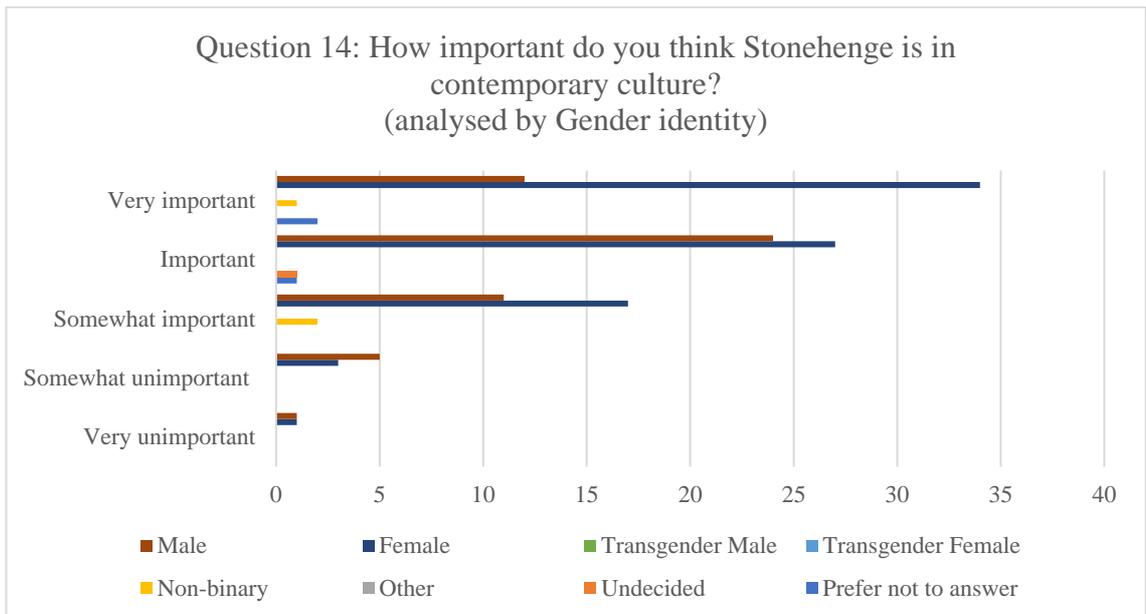
evident from this data that most participants in the survey held Stonehenge in high regard, as over 74% of respondents chose ‘very important’ with few regarding it as unimportant to them personally.



4.37: Stonehenge’s importance to Contemporary Culture, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



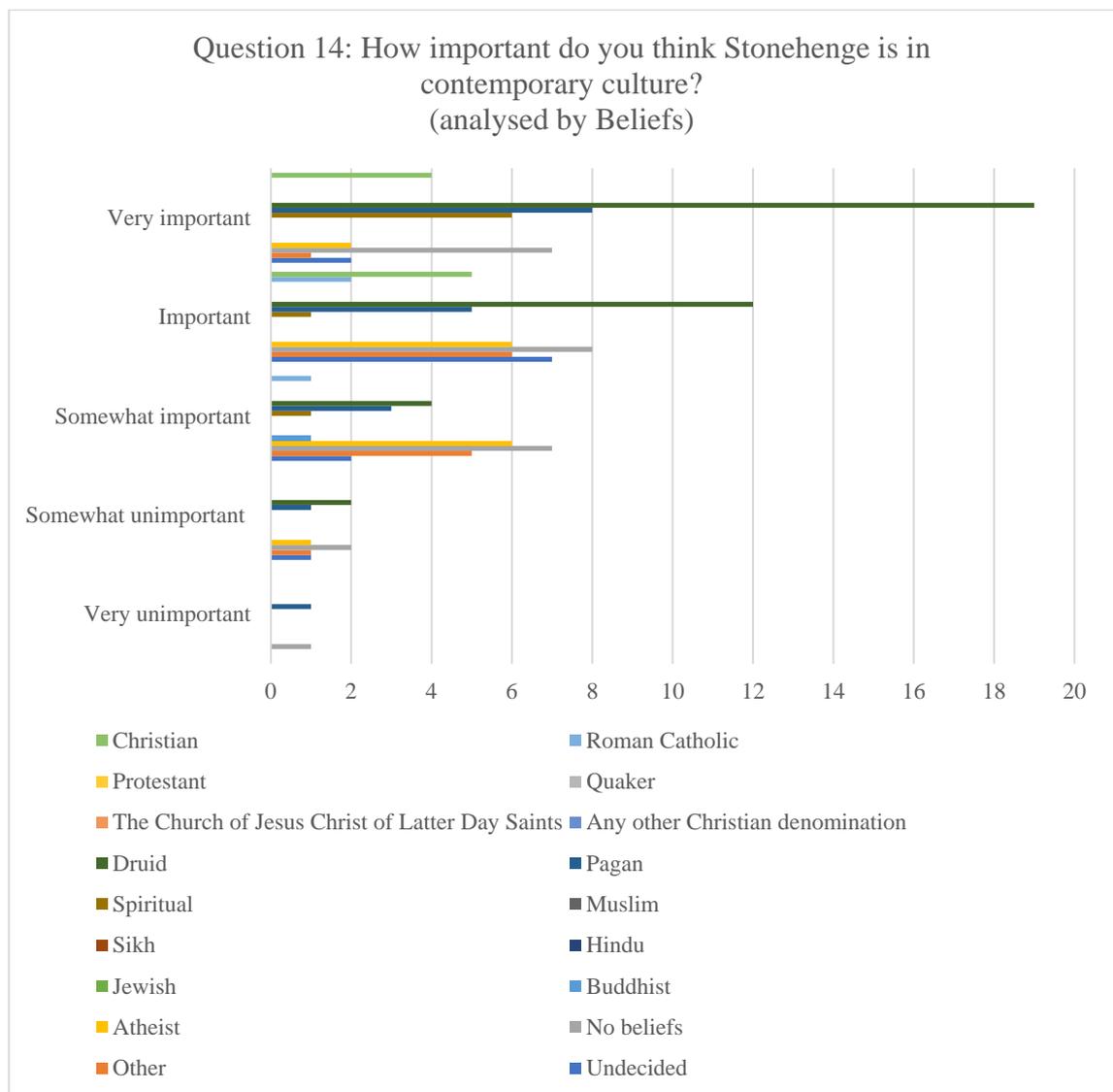
4.38: Stonehenge’s importance to Contemporary Culture, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.39: Stonehenge’s importance to Contemporary Culture, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Question 14 yielded similar results to question 12, although there were some differences. More participants ranked Stonehenge as ‘important’ for this question, and the majority still ranked Stonehenge in the three ‘important’ categories. Interestingly, when analysed by age, more participants in the 56-60 age range ranked Stonehenge as ‘important’ than ‘very important’. The researcher was expecting that ‘very important’ would be the most common answer for this age range, given the number of them that were present at the free festivals. However, the 41-45 and 51-55 age ranges had the largest number of participants who answered ‘very important’ to this question.

Despite the range of ages in the three ‘important’ categories, the only age range that regarded Stonehenge as ‘very unimportant’ was 16-20 year olds. Participants aged 16-20 are likely to have less knowledge of Stonehenge and the free festival years due to their age (the free festivals were arguably a large contribution to contemporary culture) which could explain why they ranked it as ‘very unimportant’. Gender identity analysis for this question revealed a range of identities across the responses, likewise with Beliefs. Analysis by Beliefs that answers to question 14 and 12 were of very similar correlation, although less Druids thought Stonehenge was ‘very important’ to contemporary culture than they did personally.



4.40: Stonehenge’s importance to Contemporary Culture, analysed by Beliefs, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

For questions 13 and 15 of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey, the thematic code was used to analyse participant word choice. The participants were asked to use three words to describe Stonehenge and Stonehenge’s importance in contemporary culture. The researcher wanted to see what the most frequent words chosen were, which was easier to do when the data was broken down, with the end results presented in creative word clouds. For ease of reading, both questions will be referred in the subsequent writing below.

To begin, the responses to questions 13 and 15 were organised into lists of usable and unusable responses. The participants were asked to give three words only for their answer, so any responses that were more than this (including whole sentences) had to be disregarded. In order for the researcher’s analysis to work, the responses had to be easily broken down into three separate words.

The usable responses were then organised into word frequency to show how many times a word was used in relation to the question. This was particularly interesting as it gave an idea of what the main public perceptions of Stonehenge were by looking at the most frequently used words. In relation to Stonehenge itself (q.13), the top three were Ancient, Sacred and Spiritual, and for Stonehenge’s relevance to contemporary culture (q.15) they were History, Heritage and Spiritual. It was interesting that there Spiritual appeared at the top of both frequently chosen word lists, but this could be explained by the large number of Participants who identified as Pagan or Druid.

Finally, the data results were organised using thematic coding, to see which key theme was most prevalent in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge results. This could then later be discussed in Chapter Eight. For both question 13 and 15, ‘Emotive’ was the most popular thematic coding theme, which suggests that most of the people who took part in the survey think of Stonehenge in terms of feelings rather than other elements like archaeological attributes or political history. Again, this could be attributed to the beliefs of the participants as it is evident across the primary data that those in the Pagan community have a strong emotional bond with Stonehenge.

#### **4.C: Table of Usable Results for Question 13**

<b>Survey Response Number</b>	<b>Text</b>
1	Spiritual, Neolithic, Monument
2	Celebration, Social, Sensuous
4	Powerful, Beautiful, Historic
5	Mysterious, Interesting, Old
7	Wonder, Beautiful, Ancient
8	Peaceful, Timeless, Powerful
9	Awesome, Ancient, Focus
10	Mysterious, Impressive, Large
11	Iconic, Prehistoric, Intriguing

12	Monumental, Prehistoric, Community
15	History, Archaeology, Valuable
16	Contentious, Intriguing, Aggrandised
17	Mysterious, Historic, Significant
18	Mystery, Heritage, Preserved
20	Historic, Paganism, Tourists
21	Mysterious, Historic
22	Stones, Prehistoric, Beautiful
24	Ancient, Mystical, Emotive
25	Reconstructed, Enigmatic, Divisive
27	Impressive, Ancient, Meaningful
29	Overrated, Pinup, Archaeology
30	Prehistoric, Monolithic, Monument
31	Iconic, Dull, Tourists
34	Inspiring, Fascinating, Magical
35	Mysterious, Ancestral, Spiritual
36	Important, Beautiful, Essential
38	Ancient, Mystical, Interesting
41	Thought-provoking, Mystery
42	Iconic, Ancient, Enigmatic
43	Magnificent, Awe-inspiring, incredible
45	Neolithic, First farmers, Technology
46	Sacred, Ancestral, Temple
48	Intriguing, Atmospheric, Special
49	Ancient, Mysterious, Intention
50	Heritage, Solstices, Connection
51	Cliche, Underwhelming, Nationalistic
52	Future, Past, Present
53	Megalithic, Iconic, Global
55	Impressive, Over-inflated, Thought-provoking

57	Crucible, Ancestors, Healing
59	Powerful, Uncanny, Contested
61	Archaeology, Astronomy, Spiritual
62	Mystical, Landscape, Ancestors
63	Unimpressive, Manicured, Expensive
64	Magical, Spiritual, Healing
65	Magical, Sacred, Precious
66	Special, Significant, Spectacular
67	Unique, Awesome, Wonderful
69	Wonderful, Prehistoric, Temple
74	Significant, Stability, Mysterious
75	Atmospheric, Significant, Important
76	Ancestors, Magical, Priceless
78	Ancestors, Spiritual, Emotional
79	Mystical, Powerful, Ancient
80	Beautiful, Extracting, Sacred
81	Everlasting, Renaissance, Spiritual
82	Stately, Ancient, Magical
83	Significant, Iconic, Spiritual
84	Ancient, Sacred, Ancestors
86	Ancient, Legendary, Polarizing
87	Historical, Ancient, Mystical
88	Ancestors, Heritage, Sacred
90	Majestic, Otherworldly, Ancient
92	Impressive, Relaxing, Beautiful
94	Beautiful, Sacred, Historic
95	Powerful, Ancient, Primal
96	Boring and Over-hyped
97	Liminal, Pre-druid, Welsh
98	Ancestry, Inspiring, Ceremonial

101	Temple, Altar, Celebration
102	Sacred, Ancient, Historic
104	Magical, Heritage, Connection
105	Peaceful, Continuity, Truth
106	Significant, Peaceful, Historical
107	Magic, Nature, History
108	Numinous, Vortex, Knowledge
109	Peaceful, Mystery, Safe
111	Sacred, Legacy, Ancestors
112	Wonderful, Peaceful, Happy
113	Ancient, Connection, Spiritual
114	Ancient, Mysterious, Sacred
116	Sacred, Inspirational, Beautiful
117	Grounding, Mystical, Welcoming
118	Echo, Cathedral, Eyewashed
119	Interesting, Commercialised, Contentious
121	Old, Stone, Tourists
123	Sacred, Archaeology, Place
124	Historic, Spiritual, Sacred
127	Heritage, Temple, History
128	Sacred, Unique, Vulnerable
129	Ancestral, Temple, Death
130	Ancestors, Spirits, Temple
131	Compulsive
132	Conflicted, Claustrophobic, Ritualistic
133	Power, Magic, Earth
134	Symbolic, Unique, Awe-inspiring
135	Timeless, Inspirational, Important
137	Connection, Strength, Understanding

#### 4.D: Table of Unusable Results for Question 13

Survey Response Number	Text
3	Rocks that once had a significant meaning
6	Awe inspiring rocks
13	Landscape not (just) megaliths
14	Touristy concreted blocks
19	Archaeologically interesting
23	England's Iconic Monument
26	Large stone circle
28	Sadly inaccessible now
32	Nationally important monument
33	Very underwhelming experience
37	A theme park
39	Neolithic cultural hub
40	Disaster waiting happen
44	Iconic mystery stones
47	Overrated archaeological site
54	Gigantic celestial chronocrator
56	Too far away
58	Internationally important heritage
60	A strange arrangement of stones within a complex funerary landscape
68	Megalithic, too busy
70	Fucking big stones
71	Cultural meetings place
72	Truly spiritual place
73	Commercial tourist facility
77	Impressive prehistoric site
85	Ancient wisdom keeper
89	Sacred space

91	Central sacred site
93	Not a henge!
99	Prehistoric ritual site
100	A power place
103	British Metempsychosis description
110	Ancient energy portal
115	Second spiritual home
120	Ancient archaeological interest
122	Powerful, Human story
125	As a Pagan it is an important and powerful sacred place (albeit much profaned). As an archaeologist, it is a fascinating, unique, and tantalisingly mysterious Neolithic structure
126	Felt no connection
136	Far too busy

#### 4.E: Table of Word Frequency Results for Question 13

Word	Frequency
Ancient	17
Sacred	13
Spiritual	9
Beautiful	8
Mysterious	8
Ancestors	8
Historic	7
Magical	6
Mystical	6
Significant	6
Temple	6
Prehistoric	5
Heritage	5
Iconic	5

Peaceful	5
Powerful	5
Impressive	4
Archaeology	4
Connection	4
Ancestral	3
Mystery	3
Unique	3
Important	3
Wonderful	3
History	3
Intriguing	3
Interesting	3
Tourists	3
Atmospheric	2
Thought-provoking	2
Special	2
Magic	2
Historical	2
Old	2
Awesome	2
Contentious	2
Awe-inspiring	2
Inspiring	2
Enigmatic	2
Timeless	2
Neolithic	2
Celebration	2
Monument	2
Inspirational	2

First farmers	1
Technology	1
Monumental	1
Social	1
Sensuous	1
Focus	1
Large	1
Community	1
Valuable	1
Aggrandised	1
Death	1
Preserved	1
Understanding	1
Paganism	1
Stones	1
Emotive	1
Meaningful	1
Divisive	1
Reconstructed	1
Pinup	1
Overrated	1
Monolithic	1
Dull	1
Legacy	1
Power	1
Earth	1
Compulsive	1
Spirits	1
Vulnerable	1
Priceless	1

Emotional	1
Astronomy	1
Nationalistic	1
Underwhelming	1
Cliche	1
Solstices	1
Intention	1
Place	1
Nature	1
Numinous	1
Vortex	1
Knowledge	1
Safe	1
Echo	1
Cathedral	1
Eyewashed	1
Healing	1
Megalithic	1
Fascinating	1
Essential	1
Happy	1
Stone	1
Ritualistic	1
Claustrophobic	1
Conflicted	1
Symbolic	1
Strength	1
Liminal	1
Pre-Druid	1
Welsh	1

Ancestry	1
Ceremonial	1
Boring	1
Over-hyped	1
Primal	1
Altar	1
Over-inflated	1
Crucible	1
Contested	1
Uncanny	1
Global	1
Magnificent	1
Incredible	1
Future	1
Past	1
Present	1
Landscape	1
Unimpressive	1
Manicured	1
Expensive	1
Precious	1
Spectacular	1
Stability	1
Extracting	1
Renaissance	1
Everlasting	1
Stately	1
Polarizing	1
Majestic	1
Otherworldly	1

Relaxing	1
Continuity	1
Truth	1
Grounding	1
Welcoming	1
Commercialised	1
Wonder	1

#### 4.F: Table of Thematic coding results for Question 13

Archaeology and History	Religion and Beliefs	Culture	Emotive	Politics
Ancestors	Sacred	Community	Atmospheric	Aggrandised
Ancestral	Spiritual	Global	Awe-inspiring	Conflicted
Ancestry	Temple	Knowledge	Awesome	Commercialised
Ancient	Powerful	Precious	Beautiful	Contentious
Archaeology	Connection	Priceless	Boring	Contested
Astronomy	Celebration	Social	Claustrophobic	Crucible
Continuity	Sensuous	Symbolic	Cliché	Divisive
Death	Paganism	Tourists	Compulsive	Expensive
Earth	Power	Understanding	Dull	Nationalistic
First farmers	Spirits	Valuable	Echo	Polarizing
Future	Solstices		Emotional	
Heritage	Intention		Emotive	
Historic	Vortex		Enigmatic	
Historical	Cathedral		Essential	
History	Healing		Everlasting	
Iconic	Ritualistic		Extracting	
Important	Strength		Eyewashed	
Landscape	Pre-Druid		Fascinating	
Large	Welsh		Focus	
Legacy	Ceremonial		Grounding	

Liminal	Primal		Happy	
Megalithic	Altar		Incredible	
Monolithic			Inspirational	
Monument			Inspiring	
Monumental			Interesting	
Nature			Intriguing	
Neolithic			Impressive	
Old			Magic	
Past			Magical	
Place			Magnificent	
Present			Majestic	
Preserved			Manicured	
Prehistoric			Meaningful	
Reconstructed			Mystery	
Significant			Mysterious	
Stone			Mystical	
Stones			Otherworldly	
Technology			Over-hyped	
Timeless			Over-inflated	
			Overrated	
			Peaceful	
			Pinup	
			Relaxing	
			Renaissance	
			Safe	
			Special	
			Spectacular	
			Stability	
			Stately	
			Thought-provoking	

			Truth	
			Uncanny	
			Underwhelming	
			Unimpressive	
			Unique	
			Vulnerable	
			Welcoming	
			Wonder	
			Wonderful	

4.F: Thematic coding results for Question 13, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



#### 4.G: Table of Usable Results for Question 15

Survey Response Number	Text
2	Exaggerated, Accessible, Popular
4	Constant, Old, Magical
5	Heritage, Educational, Spiritual
7	Holy sight, Worshipped
8	Cultural, Ownership, Identify
9	Inspiring, Mysterious, Historic
10	Landmark, Connected heritage
11	Educational, Heritage, Archaeological
13	Symbolic, Tourist attraction
14	Inspires, Art, Archaeology
15	Inaccessible, Heated
16	Intriguing, Debatable, Tourism
17	History, Education, Inspiration
20	Iconic, Historic, Relevant
21	Contested, Misunderstood, Controversial
22	Monument, Tourism, History
30	Culture-defining, Masterpiece, Photogenic
31	Spooky, Curious, Interesting
32	Symbol, Idea, Conflict
33	Tangible, Heritage, Commercial
34	Spiritual, Cultural, Archaeological
38	Unifying, Symbolic, Shared
41	Public interest, High profile
42	Misunderstood, Tourist, Mysterious
43	Spinal Tap
44	Heritage, Paganism, Solstice
45	Privileged, Informative, Heritage
46	Archaeology, Discovery, Learning

47	Identity, Alternative, Political
48	Odd, Theories, Brexit
51	Politicized, Misappropriated, Context-dependent
53	Ancestors, Peace, Mystery
55	Recognisable, Mystery, Antiquity
57	Druids, Solstice, Archaeology
58	Beliefs, Environmental, Remembrance
59	Tourism, Controversial, Landmark
60	History, Sub-cultures, Ageless
62	Thought-provoking, Ancestral
64	Tourist attraction, Pseudoscience
65	Iconic, Tradition, Ancient
70	Significant, Stability, Mysterious
71	Meaningful, Ancestral, Inclusive
72	Old, Boring, What
74	Everlasting, Pilgrimage, Connection
75	Distant, Mischaracterized
76	Emboldening, Free, Unique
77	History, Paganism, Secrets
79	Culture, Heritage, History
80	Guide, Peace-maker, Teacher
81	Historical, Spiritual, Connection
82	Anthropological, Spiritual, Social
83	Nature, Society, Ingenuity
85	Historic, Picturesque, Spiritual
87	Knowledge, Understanding, Respect
88	Iconic, Historic, Spiritual
89	Historic, Sacred
90	History, Ancestors, Identity

93	Spiritual, Historic, Engineering
96	Heritage, Culture, History
97	Spiritual, Educational, Mysterious
99	Heritage, Worship, Healing
100	Ancient, History, Wonder
101	Historical, Ritual, Commerce
102	Past, Present, Future
103	Spiritual, Transformational, Educational
104	Legacy, Roots, Future
107	Educational, History, Path maker
108	Historic, Tourism, Money
111	Historical, Heritage, Spiritual
112	Symbolic, Historical, Old
113	Curiosity, Tourist, Checklist
116	History, Imagination, Interest
119	Confused, Lacking, Required
122	Heritage, Common, Indigeneity
123	Sacred, Unique, Vulnerable
124	Memory, Culture, Time
125	Ancestors, Spirits, Temple
127	Rave, Tension, Iconic
128	Majesty, Power, Earth
129	Symbolic, Attraction
132	History, Origins, Sacred

4.G: Usable results from Question 15, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

#### 4.H: Table of Unusable Results for Question 15

Survey Response Number	Text
1	Important historical site
3	More a tourist visitor spot than cultural
6	Historical party ground
12	Political appropriation (of cultural) heritage
18	Provides an area of focus for some. Archaeologically can understand the significance of this but equally can see from a lay person/ someone not archaeologically minded (uneducated?) how this may come across as just a big pile of stones.
19	Inspires modern culture
23	Important for learning
24	Must be respected
25	Publicity for history
26	link with past
27	Money, Flexible relevance
28	Used in comedy
29	Misunderstood by idiots
35	Link to ancients
36	What's the point
37	Famous British heritage
39	Very relevant
40	Popular tourist attraction
49	Cultural identity link
50	Comfortingly durable ancestral-messaging
52	Not very relevant
54	International tourist destination
56	It is of relevance to contemporary culture in that it enables us to look at ourselves. It is also useful window into the place of modern archaeology in contemporary culture.
61	Evocative of past
63	Our ancestors

66	Pivot of UK
67	Reawakening community spirit
68	Tangible spiritual reminder
69	Lost its relevance
73	Neo-pagan centre
78	Connection to ancestors
84	Living history
86	Spreading peace ethos
91	Irrelevant visit Avebury
92	Not important
94	Popular tourist attraction
95	A magical place
98	British origin symbol
105	Human growth development
106	History, Knowledge, Legacy
109	Link with ancestors
110	Place of peace
114	Significant tourist income
115	Window into past
117	Remembrance of ancestors
118	Tourist day-out destination
120	It is THE best known British prehistoric site. The centre of the spiritual counter-culture, of which Paganism is a part.
121	Research is key
126	Solstice/Equinox observations
130	Monument bridging generations
131	An interesting site

#### 4.I: Table of Word Frequency Results for Question 15

Word	Frequency
History	11
Heritage	10
Spiritual	10
Historic	7
Educational	5
Historical	4
Mysterious	4
Tourism	4
Symbolic	4
Iconic	4
Old	3
Culture	3
Sacred	3
Archaeology	3
Ancestors	3
Identity	2
Unique	2
Mystery	2
Tourist	2
Paganism	2
Solstice	2
Ancient	2
Future	2
Misunderstood	2
Controversial	2
Connection	2
Landmark	2
Archaeological	2

Tourist attraction	2
Cultural	2
Identify	1
Inspiring	1
Popular	1
Constant	1
Magical	1
Pseudoscience	1
Inspires	1
Art	1
Inaccessible	1
Heated	1
Inspiration	1
Education	1
Intriguing	1
Debatable	1
Monument	1
Druids	1
Symbol	1
Relevant	1
Anthropological	1
Spinal Tap	1
Origins	1
Tangible	1
Connected heritage	1
Ownership	1
Holy sight	1
Worshipped	1
Exaggerated	1
Accessible	1

Spooky	1
Conflict	1
Interesting	1
Idea	1
Contested	1
Culture-defining	1
Masterpiece	1
Photogenic	1
High profile	1
Public interest	1
Commercial	1
Shared	1
Unifying	1
Ancestral	1
Earth	1
Majesty	1
Peace-Maker	1
Guide	1
Power	1
Picturesque	1
Healing	1
Money	1
Path maker	1
Temple	1
Engineering	1
Past	1
Informative	1
Alternative	1
Odd	1
Theories	1

Brexit	1
Political	1
Politicized	1
Privileged	1
Learning	1
Discovery	1
Confused	1
Lacking	1
Vulnerable	1
Rave	1
Attraction	1
Boring	1
What	1
Roots	1
Legacy	1
Required	1
Interest	1
Checklist	1
Indigeneity	1
Common	1
Worship	1
Teacher	1
Significant	1
Context-dependent	1
Misappropriated	1
Peace	1
Recognisable	1
Antiquity	1
Remembrance	1
Environmental	1

Beliefs	1
Sub-cultures	1
Ageless	1
Thought-provoking	1
Ancestral	1
Tradition	1
Stability	1
Meaningful	1
Inclusive	1
Everlasting	1
Pilgrimage	1
Distant,	1
Mischaracterized	1
Emboldening	1
Free	1
Secrets	1
Social	1
Nature	1
Society	1
Ingenuity	1
Knowledge	1
Understanding	1
Respect	1
Wonder	1
Ritual	1
Commerce	1
Present	1
Transformational	1
Curiosity	1
Imagination	1

Memory	1
Time	1
Spirits	1
Tension	1

#### 4.J: Table of Thematic Coding Results for Question 15

Archaeology and History	Religion and Beliefs	Culture	Emotive	Politics
Ancestors	Beliefs	Ageless	Boring	Accessible
Ancient	Druids	Art	Confused	Brexit
Ancestral	Guide	Commerce	Connection	Conflict
Antiquity	Healing	Commercial	Curiosity	Contested
Archaeology	Holy sight	Culture	Distant	Context-dependent
Archaeological	Identify	Cultural	Emboldening	Controversial
Earth	Paganism	Culture-defining	Everlasting	Debatable
Engineering	Path maker	Education	Free	Exaggerated
Environmental	Peace	Educational	Idea	Heated
Future	Peace maker	Iconic	Imagination	High profile
Heritage	Pilgrimage	Identity	Interest	Inaccessible
Historic	Ritual	Knowledge	Interesting	Inclusive
Historical	Sacred	Popular	Intriguing	Misappropriated
History	Solstice	Recognisable	Inspiration	Mischaracterized
Ingeniety	Spirits	Relevant	Inspires	Misunderstood
Ingenuity	Spiritual	Social	Inspiring	Ownership
Landmark	Teacher	Society	Lacking	Political
Legacy	Temple	Spinal Tap	Magical	Politicized
Nature	Worship	Symbol	Majesty	Pseudoscience
Old	Worshipped	Symbolic	Masterpiece	Public interest
Past		Sub-cultures	Memory	Shared
Present		Tourism	Meaningful	Tension

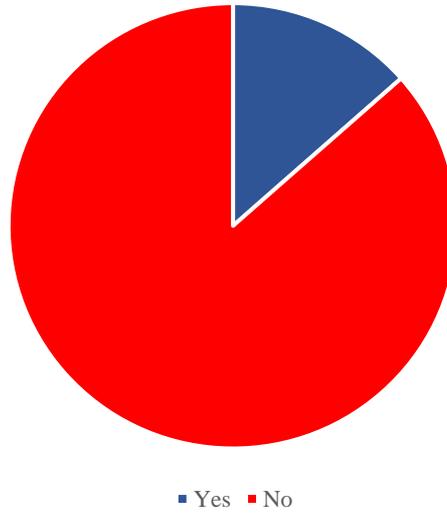
Theories		Tourist	Mysterious	Unifying
Time		Tourist attraction	Mystery	
Tradition			Odd	
Unique			Photogenic	
			Picturesque	
			Privileged	
			Remembrance	
			Respect	
			Required	
			Roots	
			Secrets	
			Significant	
			Spooky	
			Stability	
			Tangible	
			Thought-provoking	
			Transformational	
			Understanding	
			Vulnerable	
			What	
			Wonder	



4.43: An initial word cloud of Question 15: How would you describe Stonehenge’s relevance to contemporary culture in three words?, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

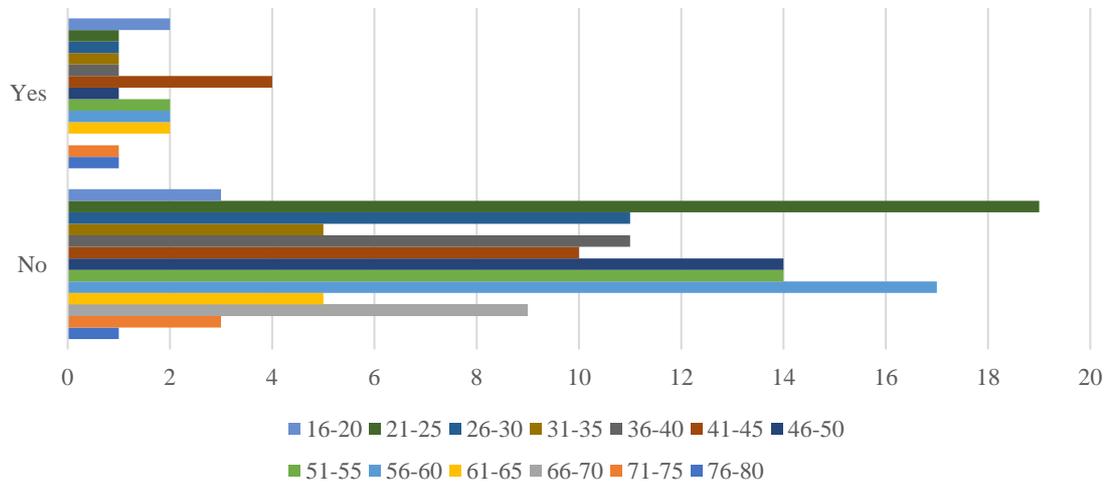


Question 16: Do you think that politicians should influence the access of Stonehenge?

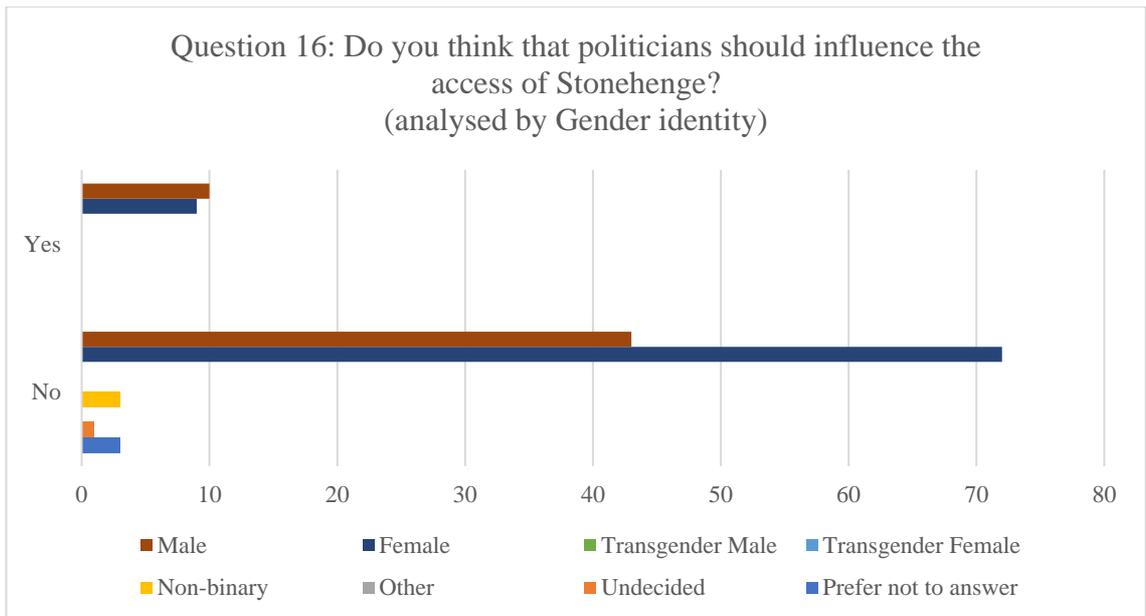


4.45: Politicians' influence on access to Stonehenge, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

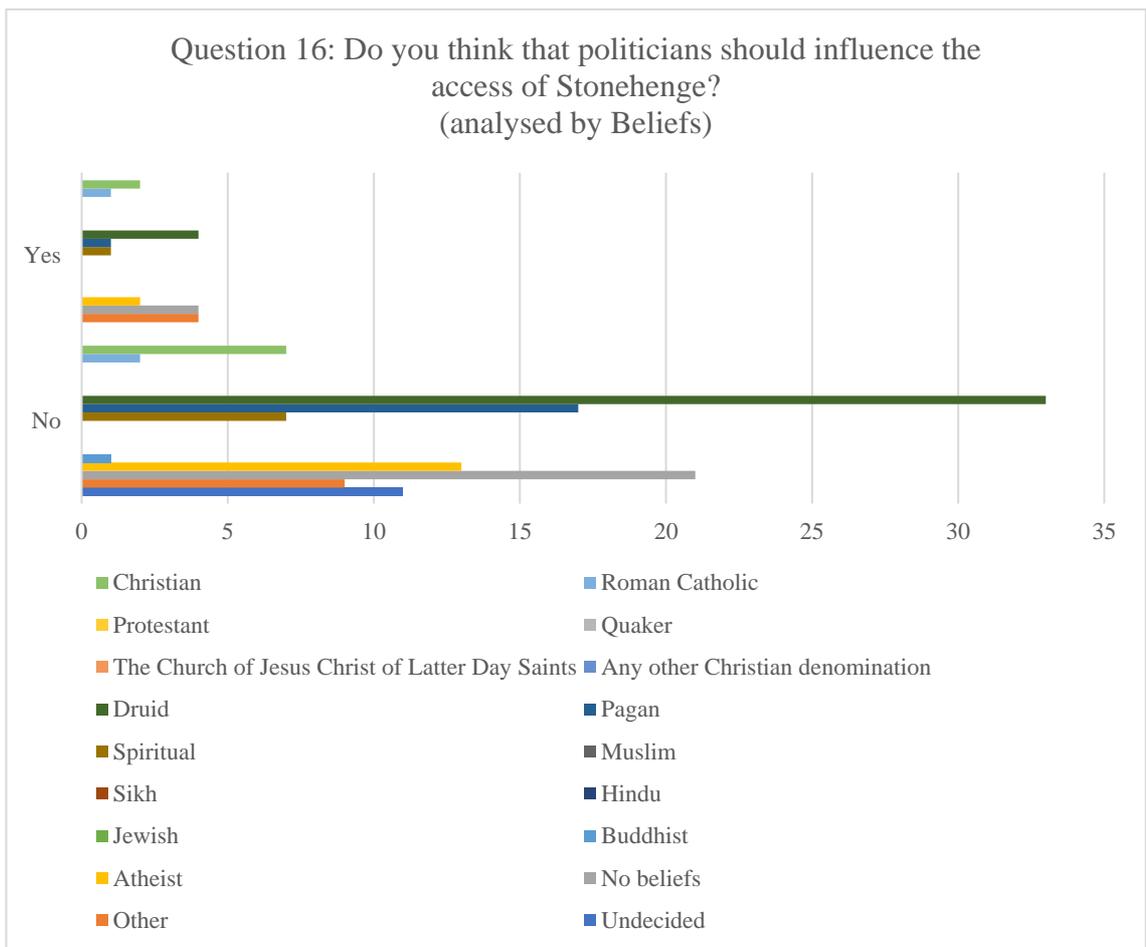
Question 16: Do you think that politicians should influence the access of Stonehenge?  
(analysed by Age)



4.46: Politicians' influence on access to Stonehenge, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.47: Politicians' influence on access to Stonehenge, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

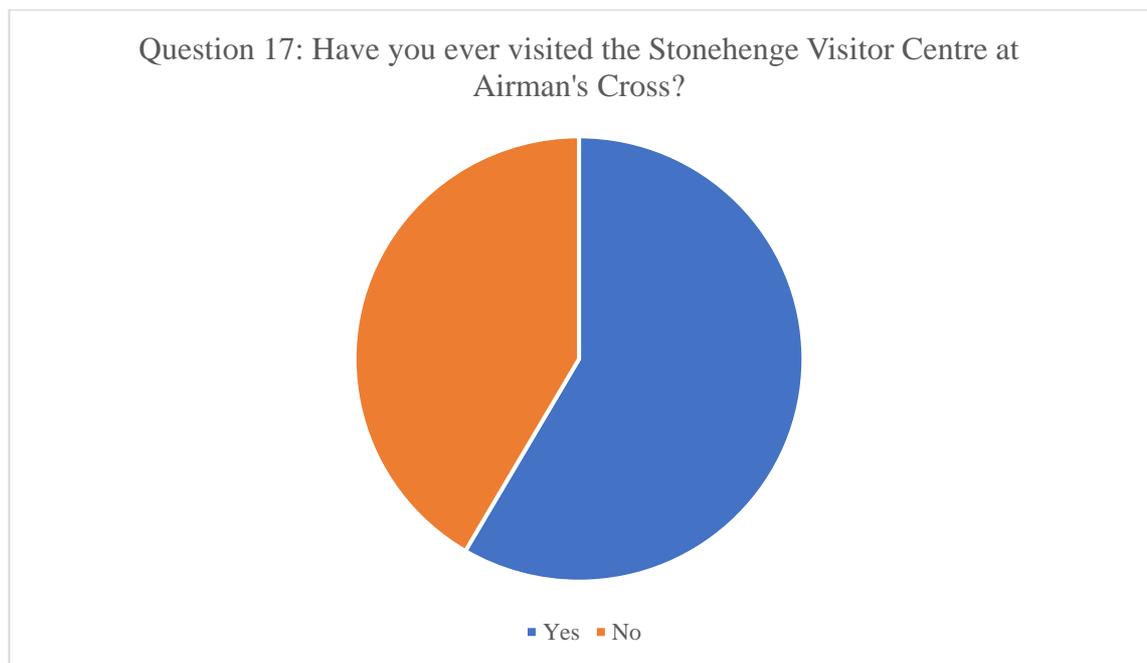


4.48: Politicians' influence on access to Stonehenge, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

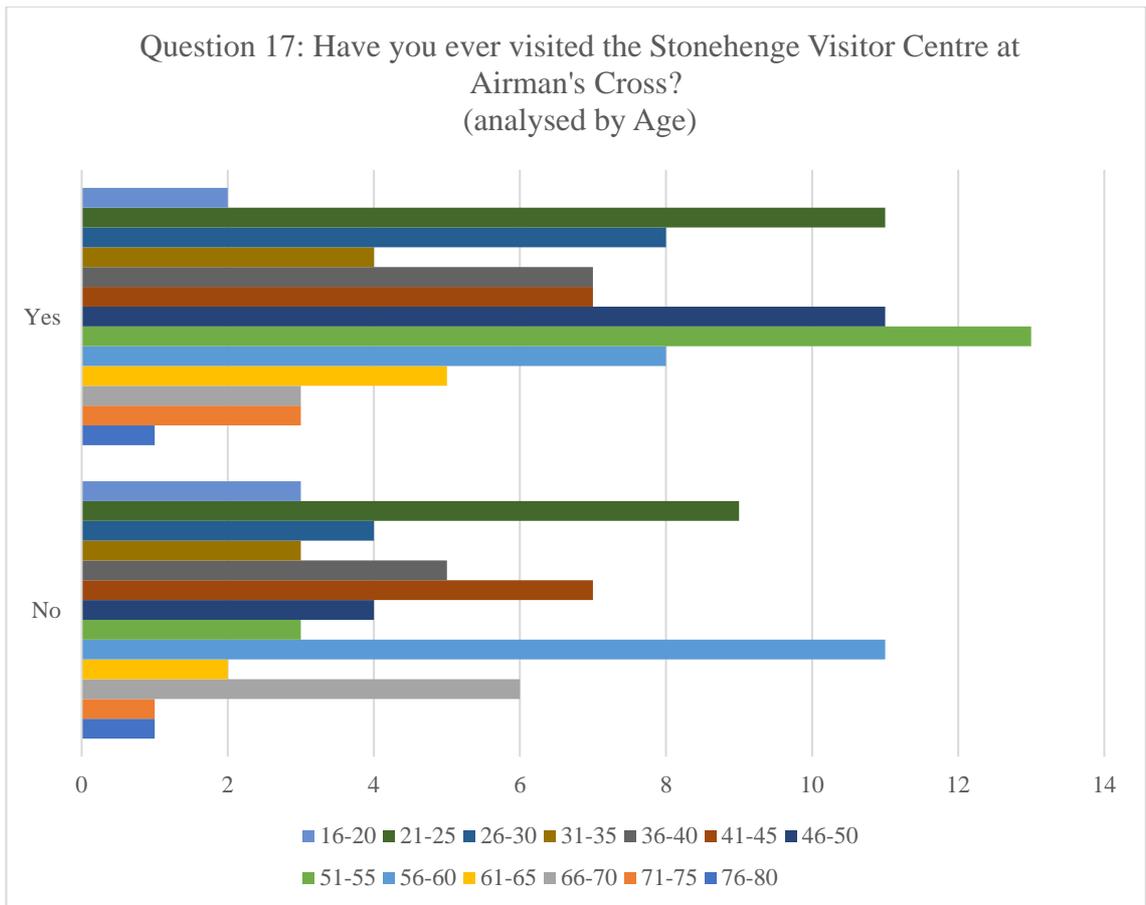
Participants were asked about whether politicians should influence Stonehenge access due to past events in Stonehenge’s modern social history, such as the English Heritage court injunction and the exclusion years. 87% of participants were against politician influence at Stonehenge but 13% agreed with it. When analysed by age, there were no obvious correlations, although more participants aged 41-45 agreed with politician influence than was expected. Similarly, gender identity did not show any obvious themes. It was interesting that some Druids and Pagans agree with political influence, as it was thought that they would all be against it, given Stonehenge’s history with British Pagans.

## Stonehenge and its Landscape

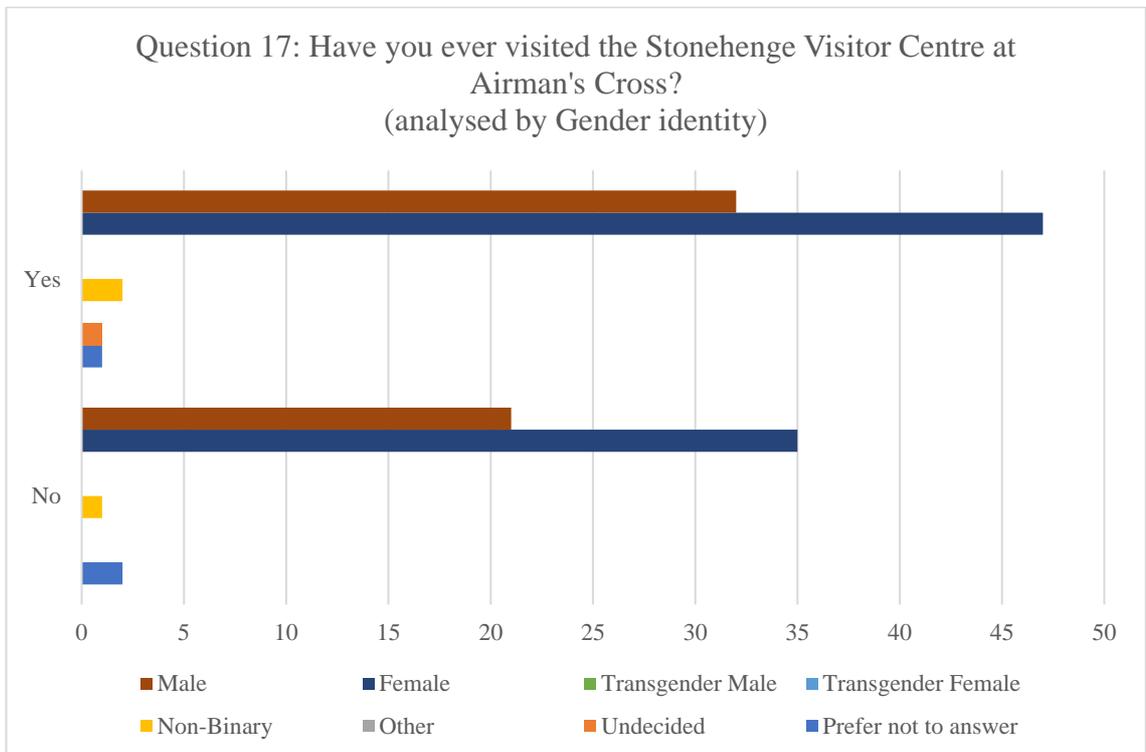
After guiding participants to think about their own relationship with Stonehenge, they were then encouraged to think about Stonehenge in relation to the landscape that surrounds it. Although Stonehenge is the main attraction for many visitors, the landscape it resides in is rich with archaeology and prehistoric monuments. The purpose of this set of questions was to gain an understanding of how participants interact with the landscape around Stonehenge and whether they would like it to be used differently. Participants were also asked about the A303 Tunnel and festivals to gauge their opinions of these in relation to the Stonehenge landscape.



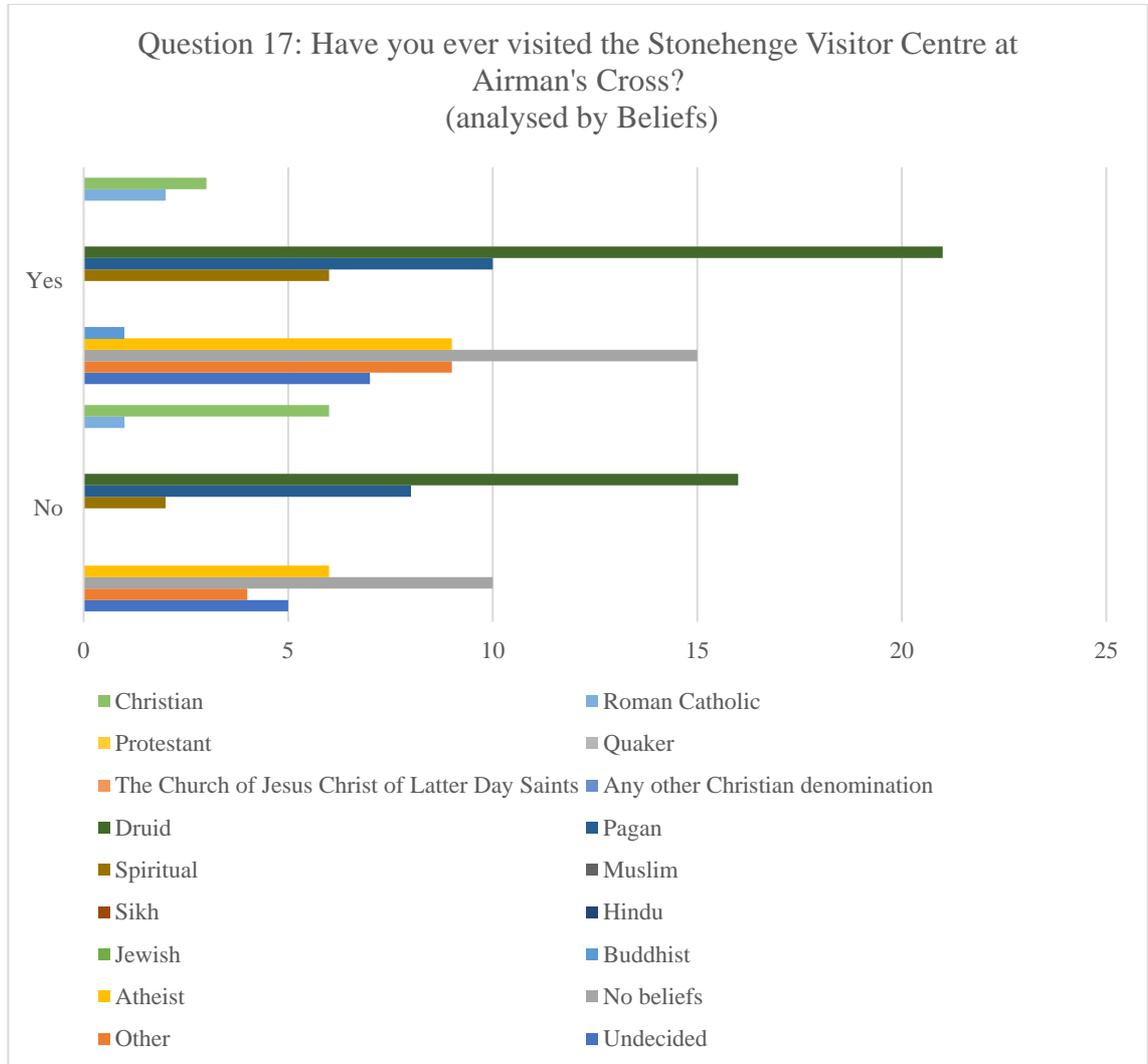
4.49: Visiting the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.50: Visiting the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.51: Visiting the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

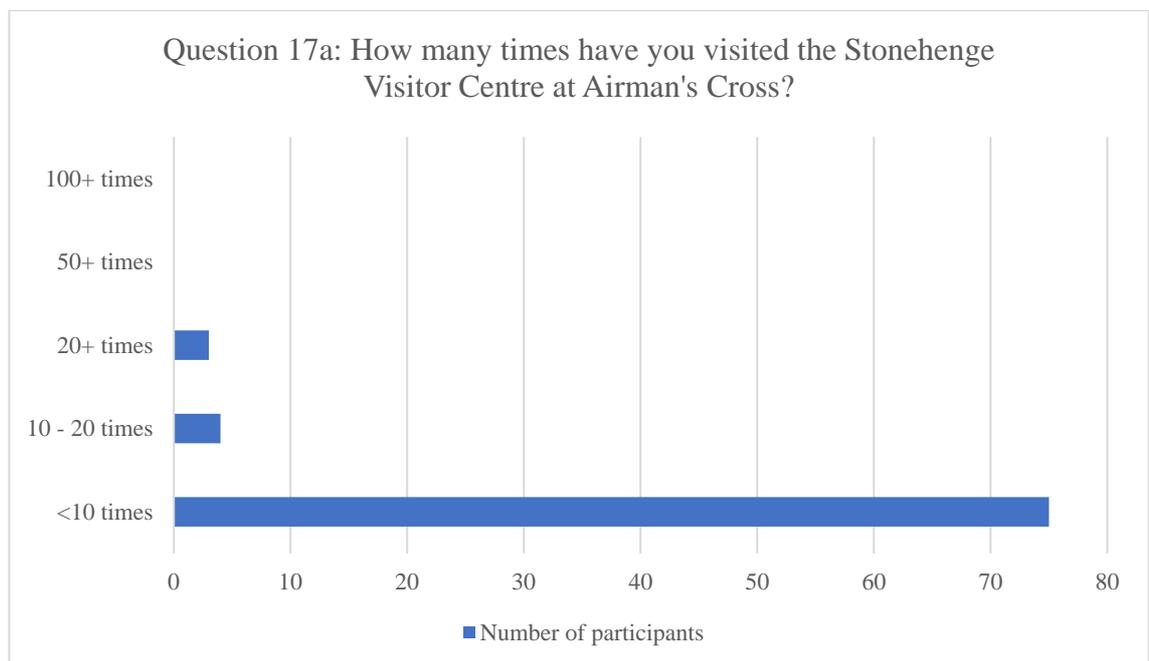


4.52: Visiting the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

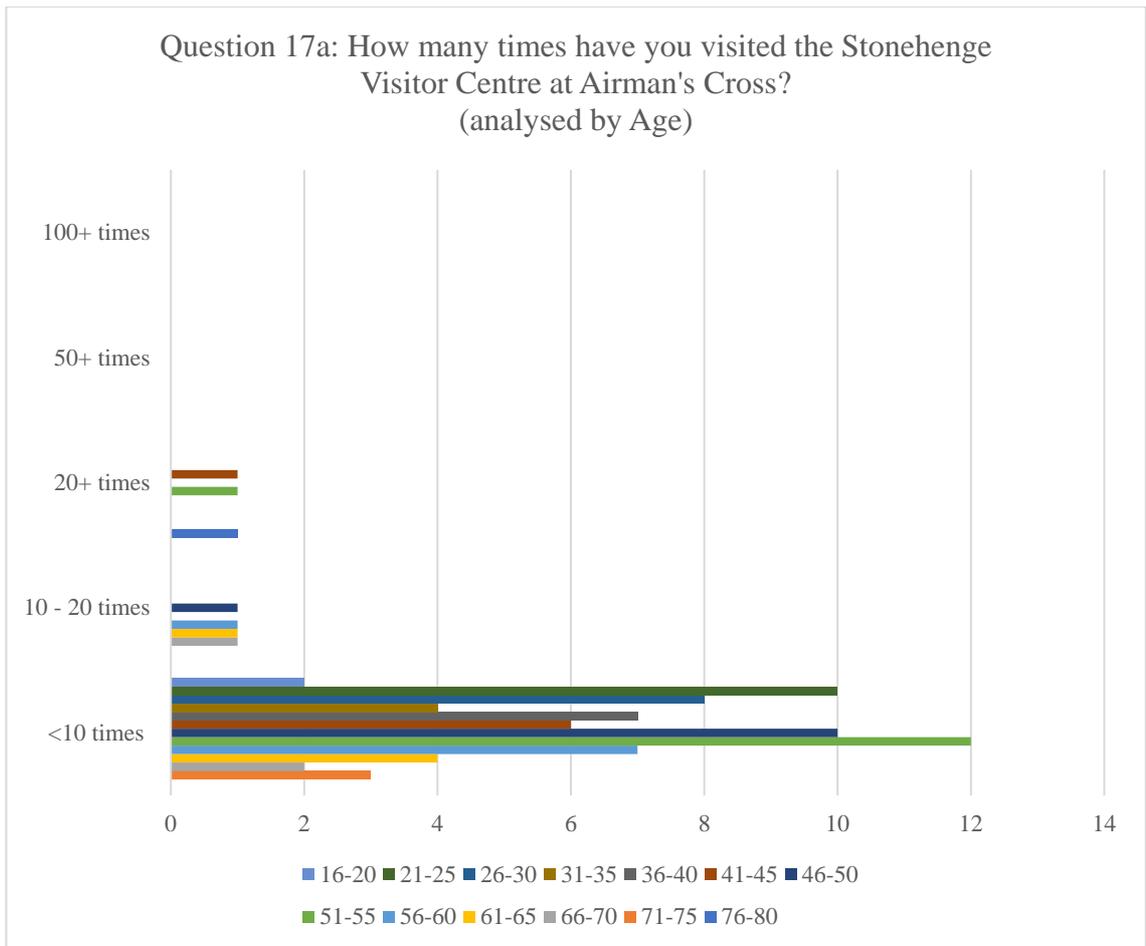
This section began with asking the respondents whether they had ever visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre. This question was specifically worded using ‘Airman’s Cross’ so participants were aware it was about the EH centre that was opened in 2013. The visitor centre is a large part of Stonehenge’s attraction as it allows visitors to learn about archaeology and Neolithic life as well as providing necessary rest facilities. Out of 142 participants, 58% had visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, although a surprisingly large number (42%) had never been. Stonehenge can of course, be viewed from NT land, or along the public bridleway near the site so it could be argued that a number of participants prefer to view it this way, rather than participating in the whole tourist experience available from EH.

When question 17 was analysed by age and gender, it was evident there was a spread of categories across both graphs. Beliefs was more interesting. The results indicated that a more Beliefs had visited the visitor centre than not and more Pagans and Druids had visited than not visited. This was interesting to the researcher as in other parts of the survey British Pagans have expressed opinions that Stonehenge is too ‘commercial’ and that they feel its more of a tourist destination than a sacred site. So it was thought that perhaps they would be less likely to visit the EH visitor centre due to this. When visits were analysed by number of times, the majority of survey participants had visited 10 times or under. This was not unusual, given that cost of entry and tickets, plus the fact that the visitor centre has only been open 8 years. 4 participants had visited 10-20 times and 3 20+. For someone to have visited 20+ so (21-49 times) in 8 years would have meant that they visited the EH visitor centre from 2 to 6 times each year depending on the total number of visits

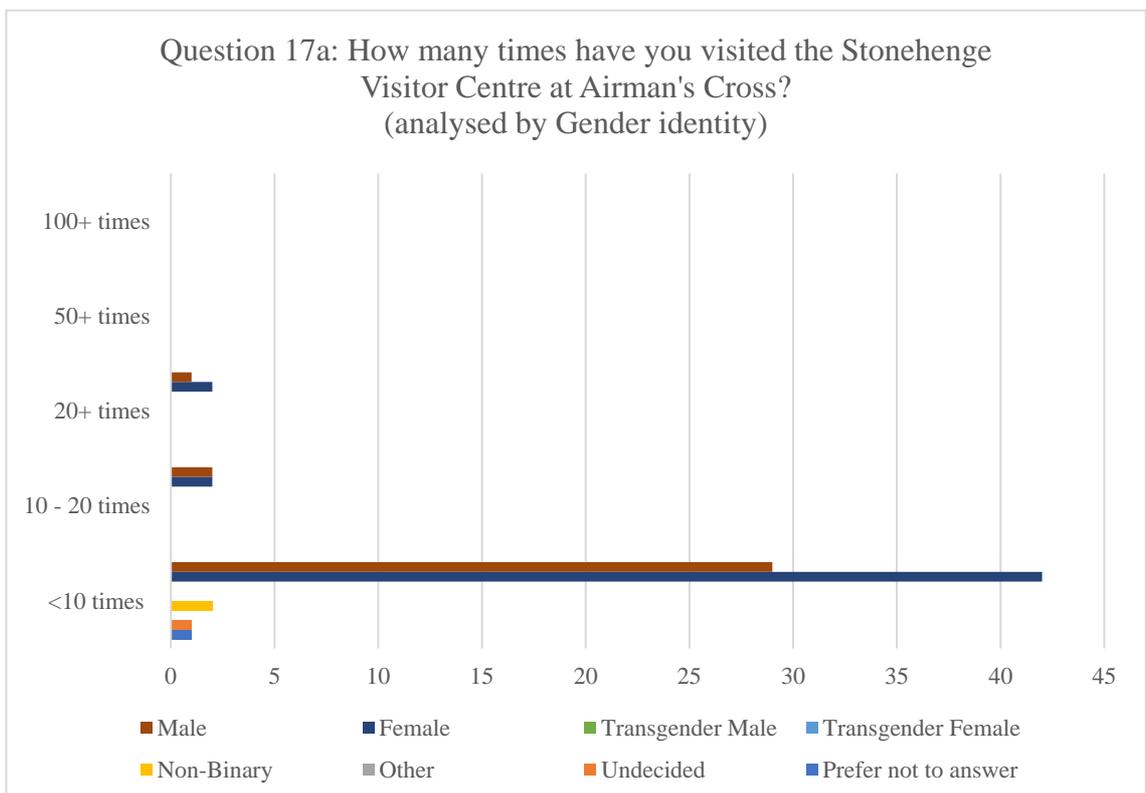
The researcher was not expecting as many participants to have visited more than 10 times but the responses were made clearer when analysed by age, gender identity and beliefs. Those who had visited 20+ times were aged 41-45, 51-55 and 76-80, so within the upper ages of the participants. And no one aged under 40 had been more than 10 times. The only gender identities who had been more than 10 times were male and female but there was not a wide range present in the dataset. The researcher had expected that those who had ranked their visits as 20+ times would have been either Pagan or Druid but this was not the case. 2 Druids had visited 10-20 times but most of them and all Pagans had visited 10 times or under. Those who had visited the most were Atheist, Other and Spiritual respectively.



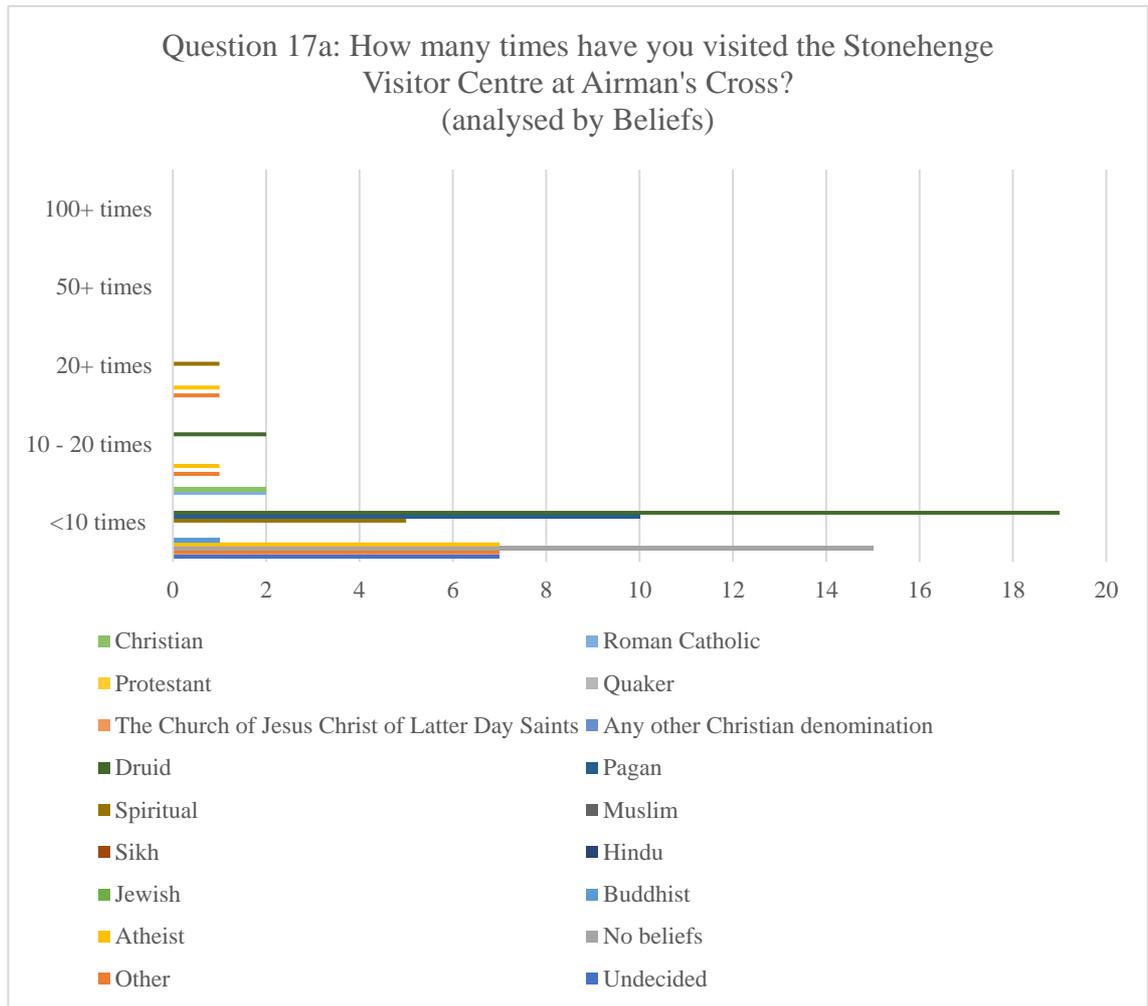
4.53: Number of Visits to the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



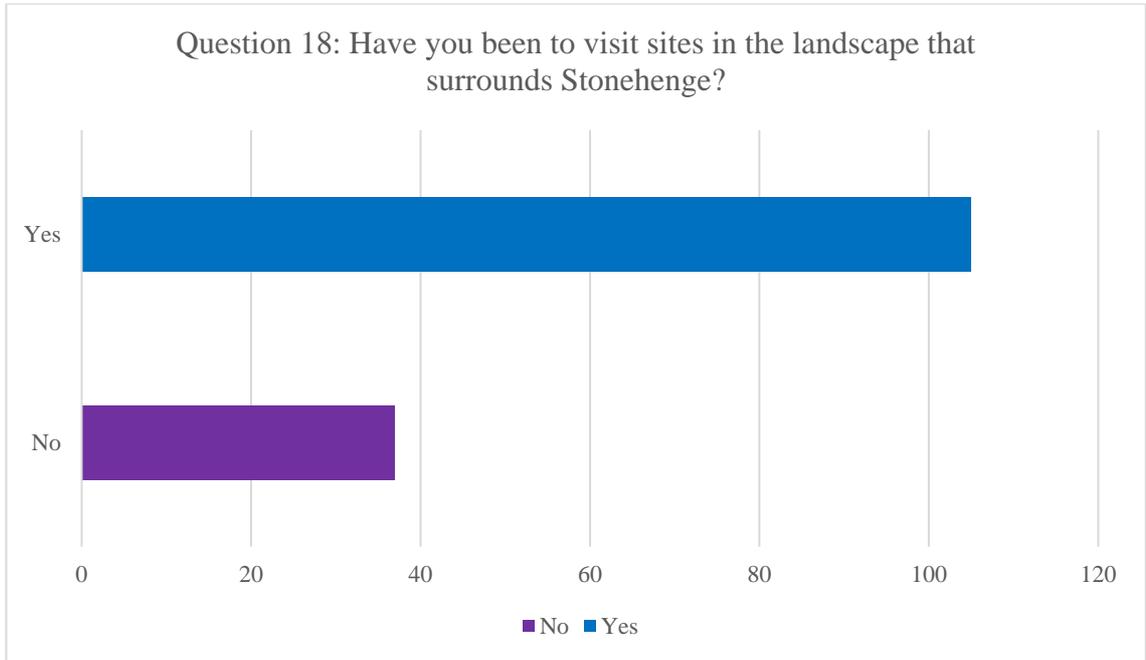
4.54: Number of Visits to the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



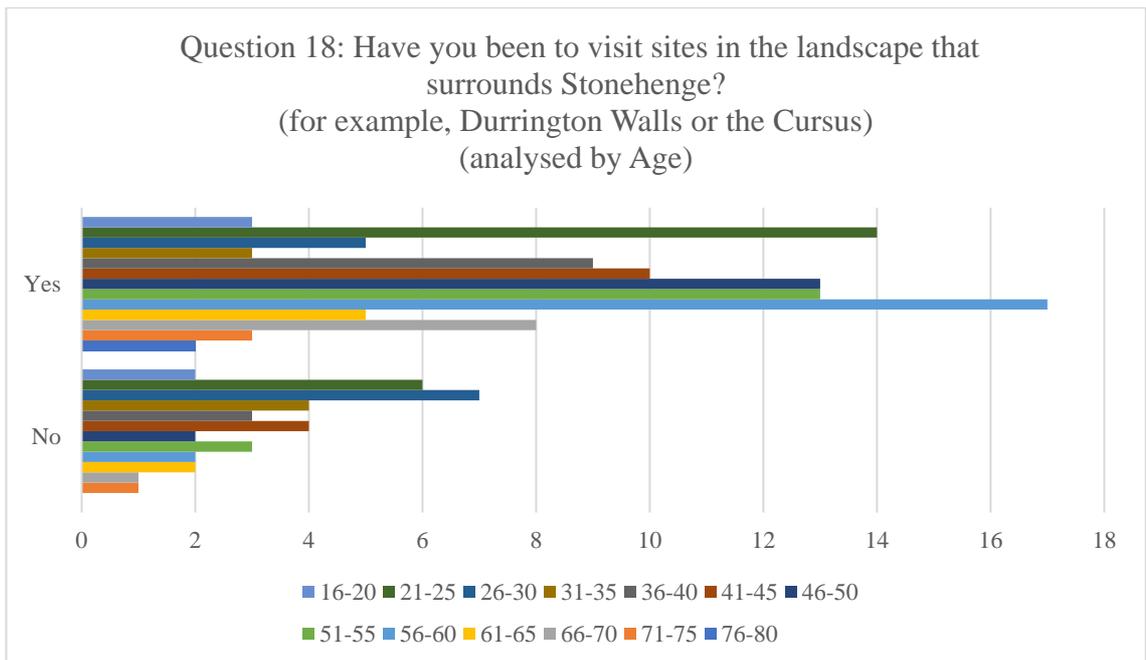
4.55: Number of Visits to the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



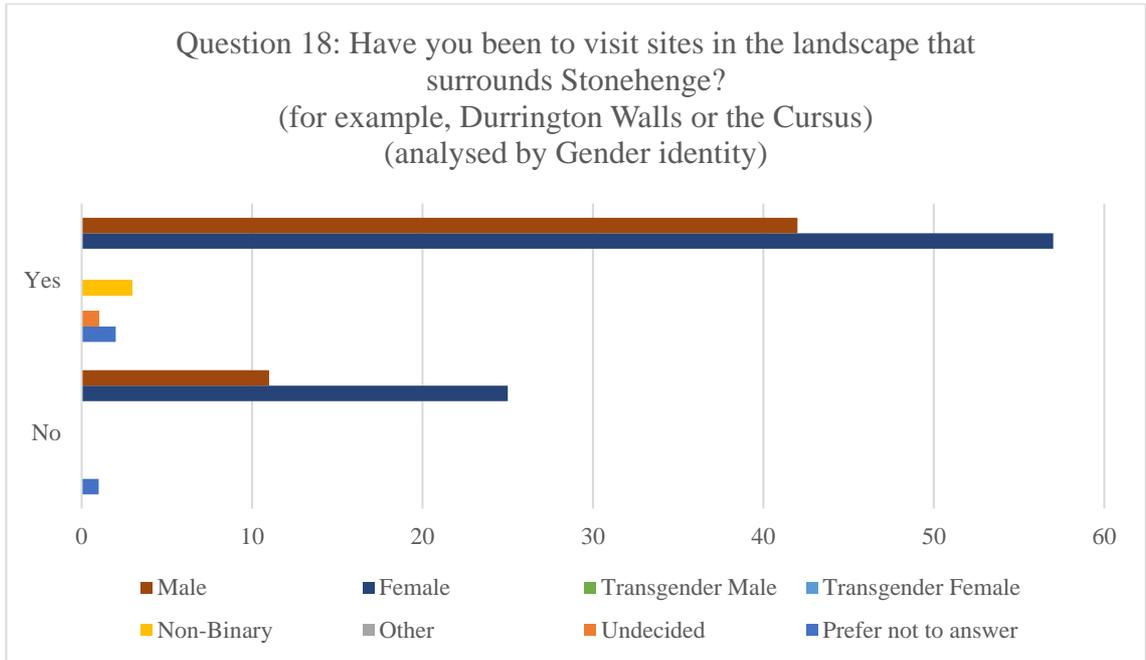
4.56: Number of Visits to the Stonehenge Visitor Centre, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



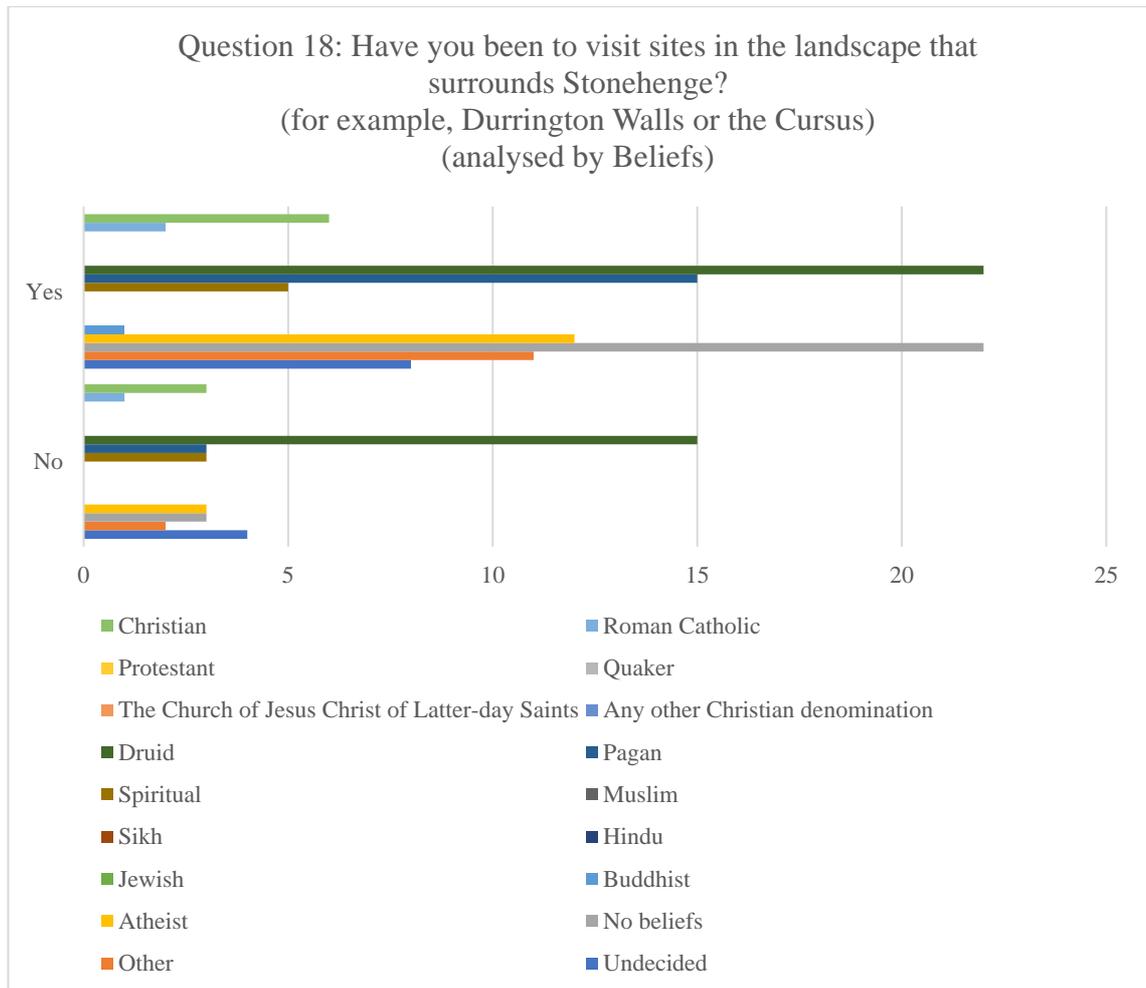
4.57: Visits to other sites in the Stonehenge landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.58: Visits to other sites in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



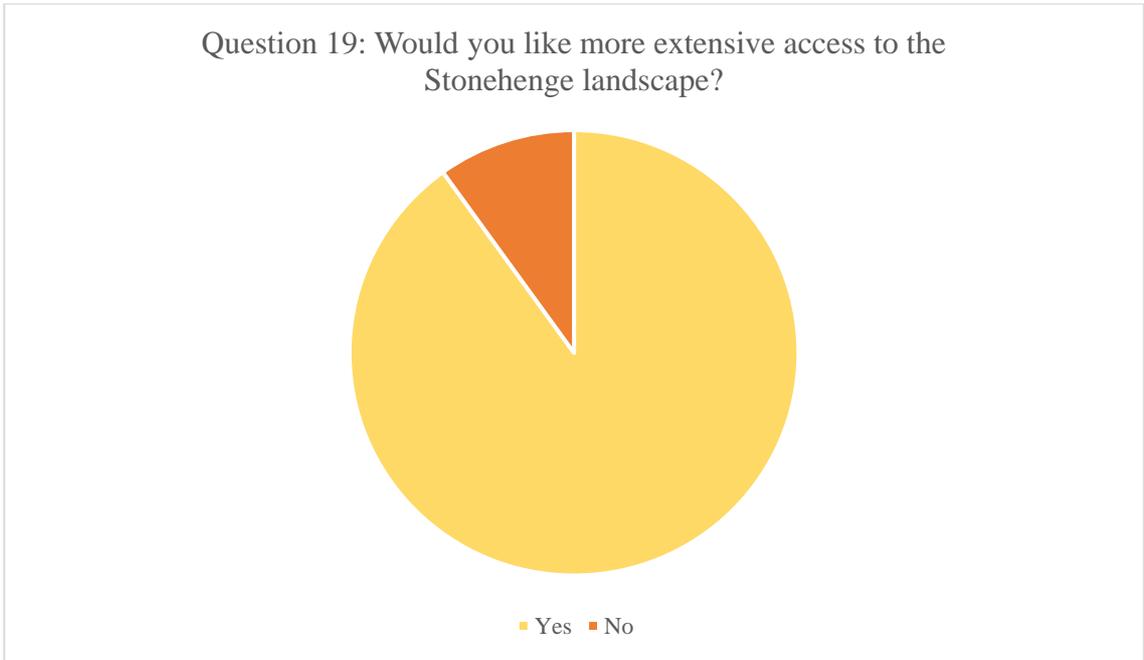
4.59: Visits to other sites in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



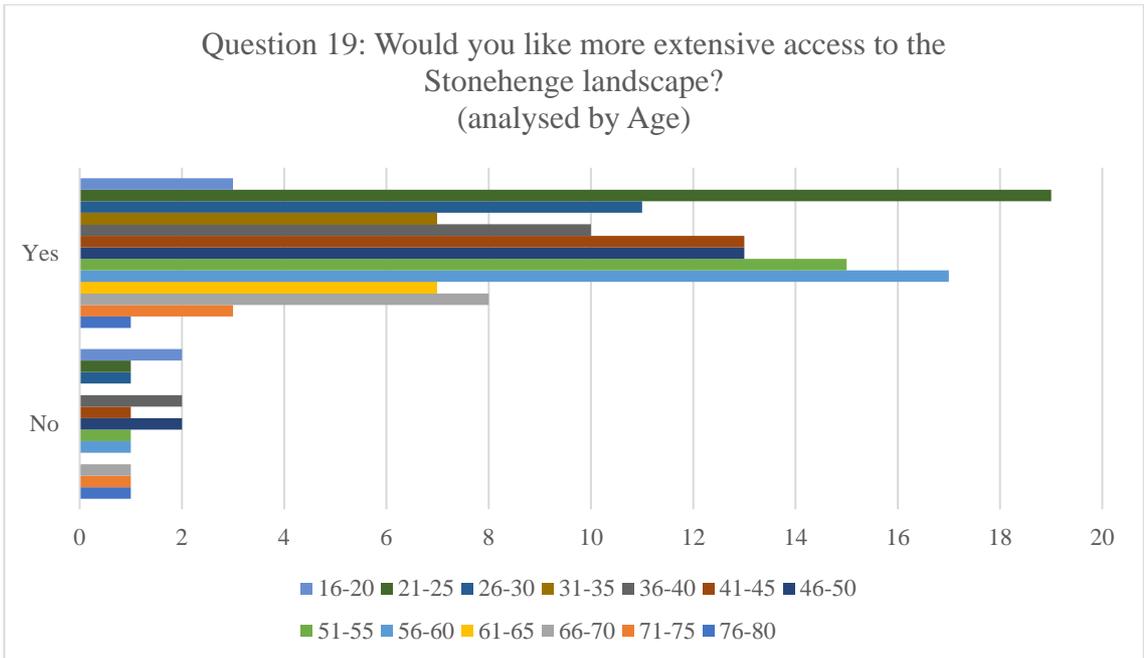
4.60: Visits to other sites in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

When asked about other archaeological sites in the Stonehenge landscape, most participants had visited them. 37 out of the 142 had not, but some people are not aware of the other monuments in the Stonehenge landscape or they are not seen as accessible or of interest as Stonehenge. Participants from all age ranges had visited other sites, although older participants were more likely to have done so. The anomaly in this statement was that a large number of 21-25 years olds had visited other sites in the landscape. This could be explained by the survey distribution as it was sent round the BU Archaeology and Anthropology department, one of key trips for students is to Stonehenge, Woodhenge and Durrington Walls so it could be assumed that there were several participants who were students of BU.

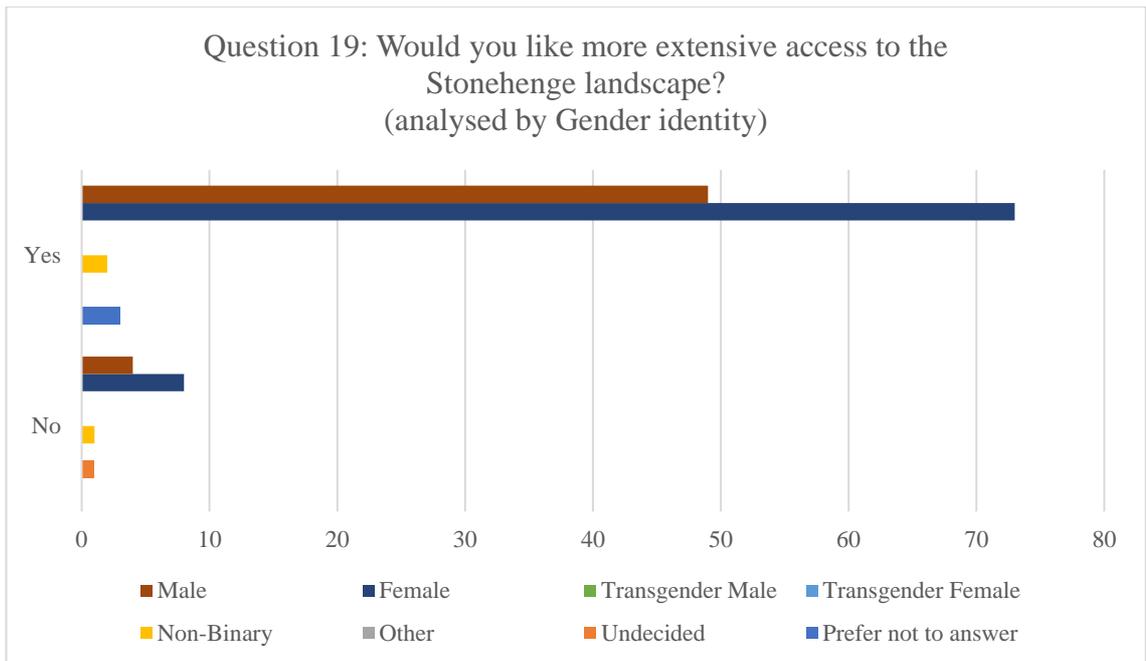
In terms of gender identity, participants from all genders present in the data set answered 'yes' to this question and there were no obvious anomalies. Interestingly, Druids and No Beliefs were the participants who had visited other sites the most, with over 20 participants from each. A larger amount of Pagans had too, though there was a not insignificant number of Pagans and Druids who had not. From this, it could be concluded that other sites in the Stonehenge landscape are just as important to British Pagans as Stonehenge.



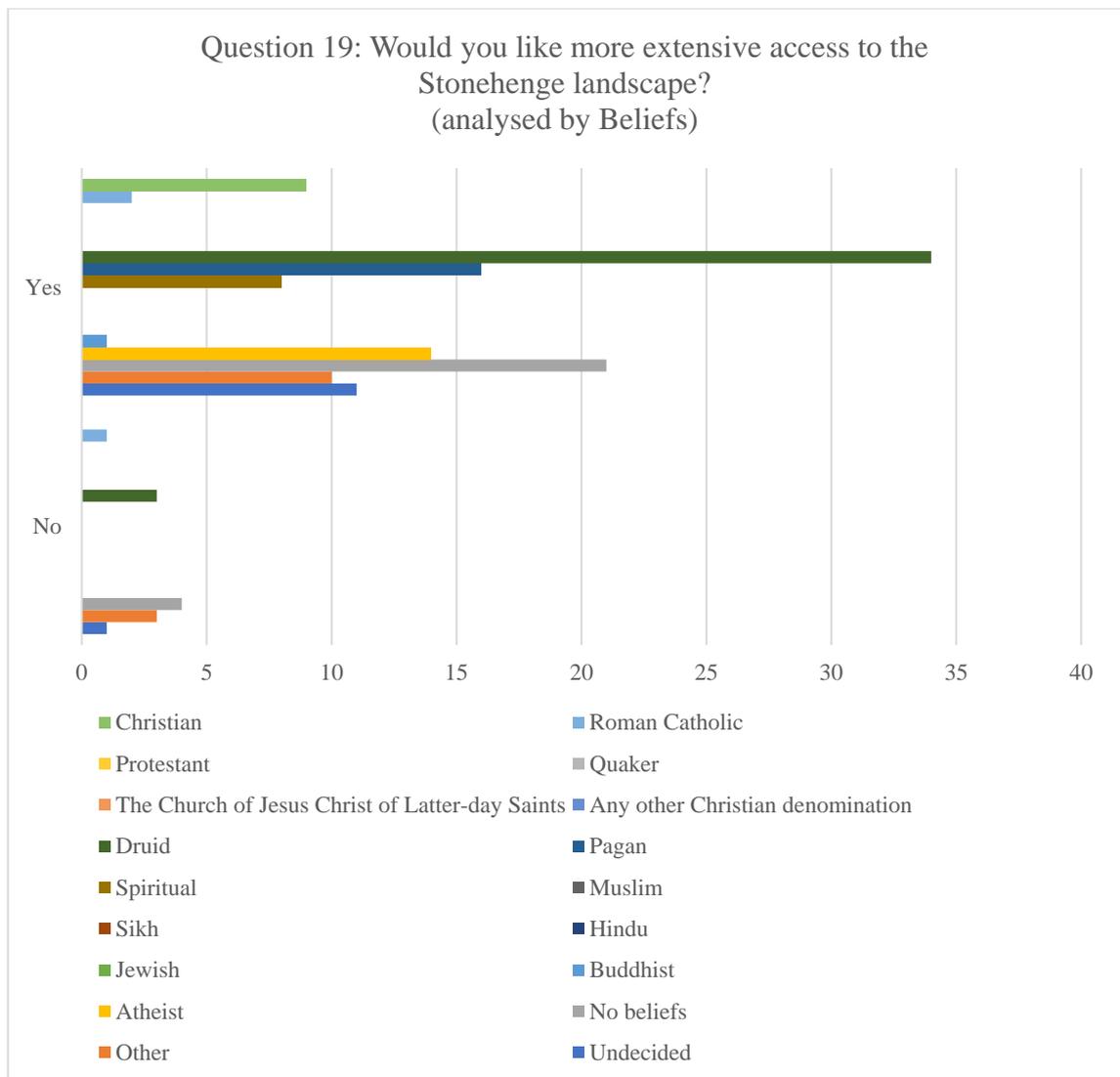
4.61: More access to the Stonehenge landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.62: More access to the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



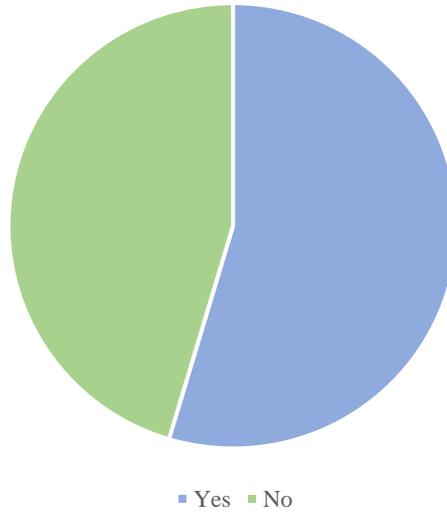
4.63: More access to the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.64: More access to the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

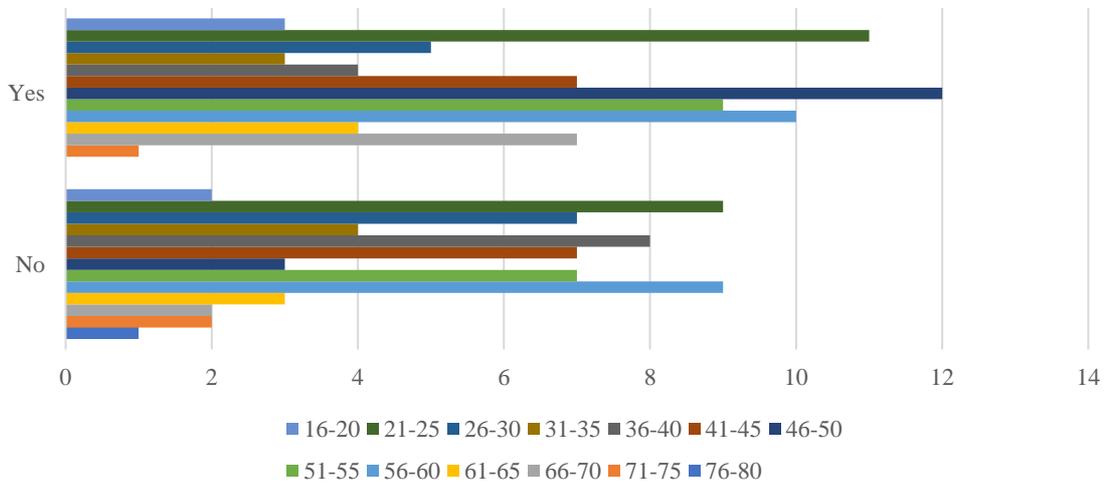
Most participants wanted more extensive access to the Stonehenge landscape, suggesting an interest in the countryside around the monument. Analysis age indicated that all ages were interested in this, with the majority of 21-25 years olds answering ‘yes’ to this question, followed by 56–60 year olds. Most participants who answered ‘yes’ were women and an overwhelming majority of Druids wanted more access to the Stonehenge landscape. All Pagan, Spiritual, Buddhist, Atheist and Christian participants agreed. This could potentially indicate that regardless of Belief, many participants are interested in further access, perhaps ‘freedom to roam’ the Stonehenge landscape.

Question 20: Would you like the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is used now?

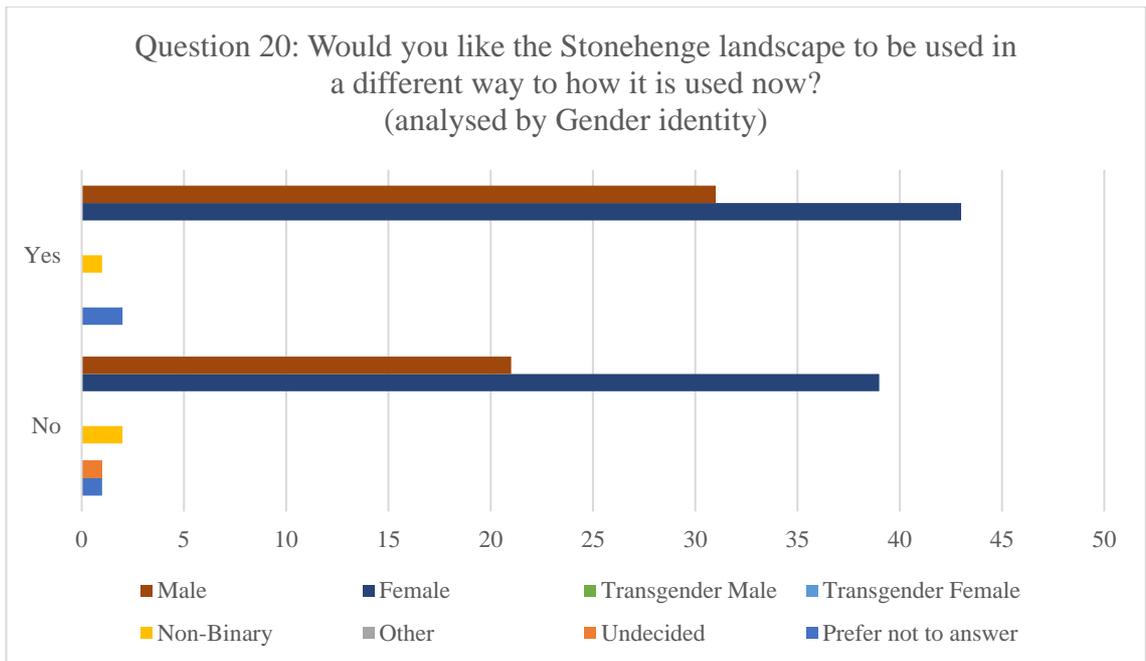


4.65: Different uses of the Stonehenge landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

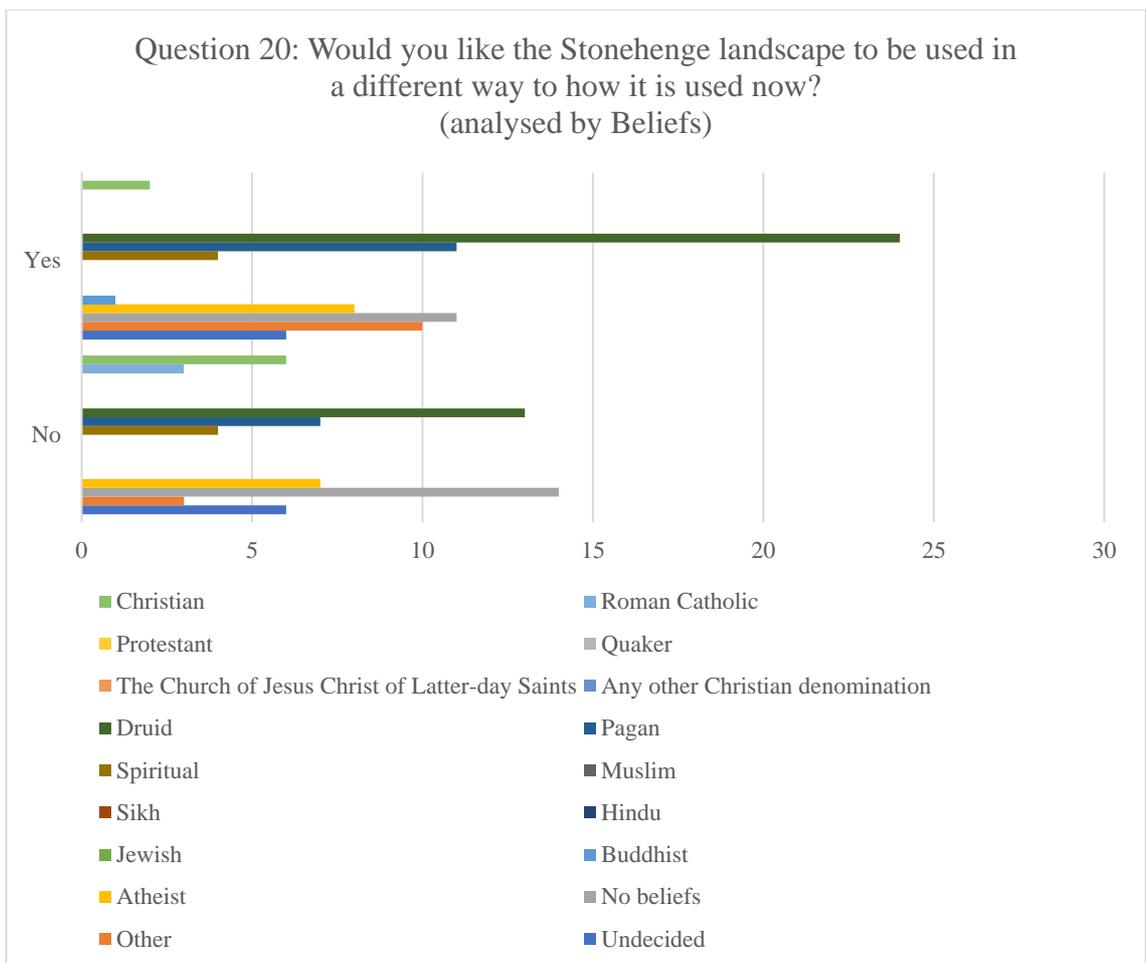
Question 20: Would you like the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is used now?  
(analysed by Age)



4.66: Different uses of the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

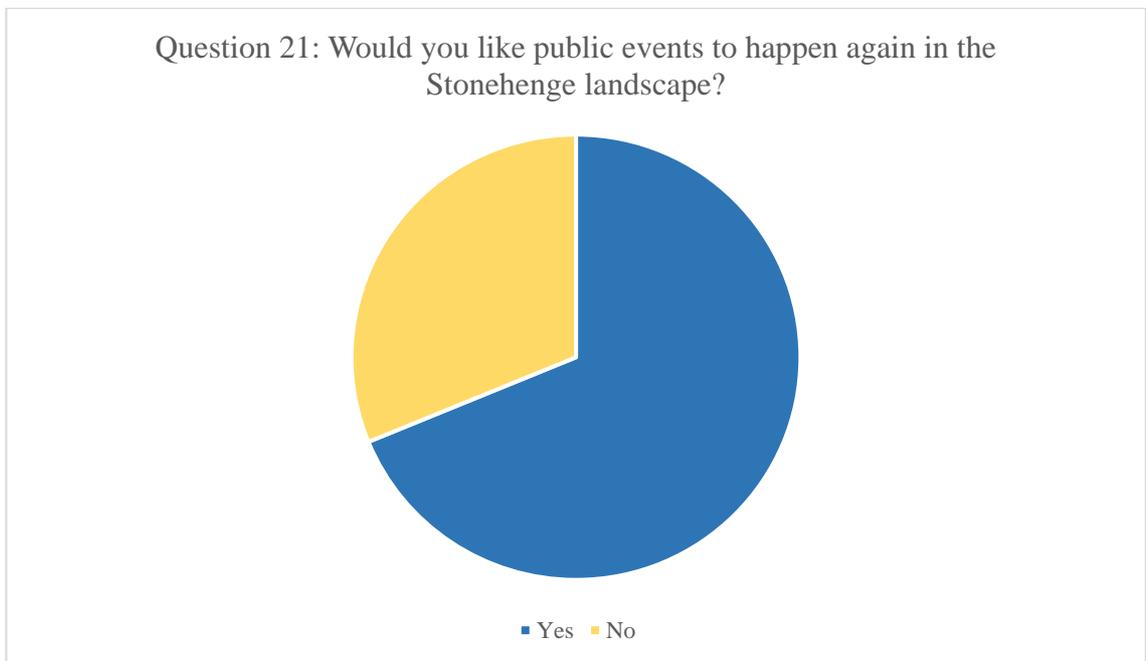


4.67: Different uses of the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

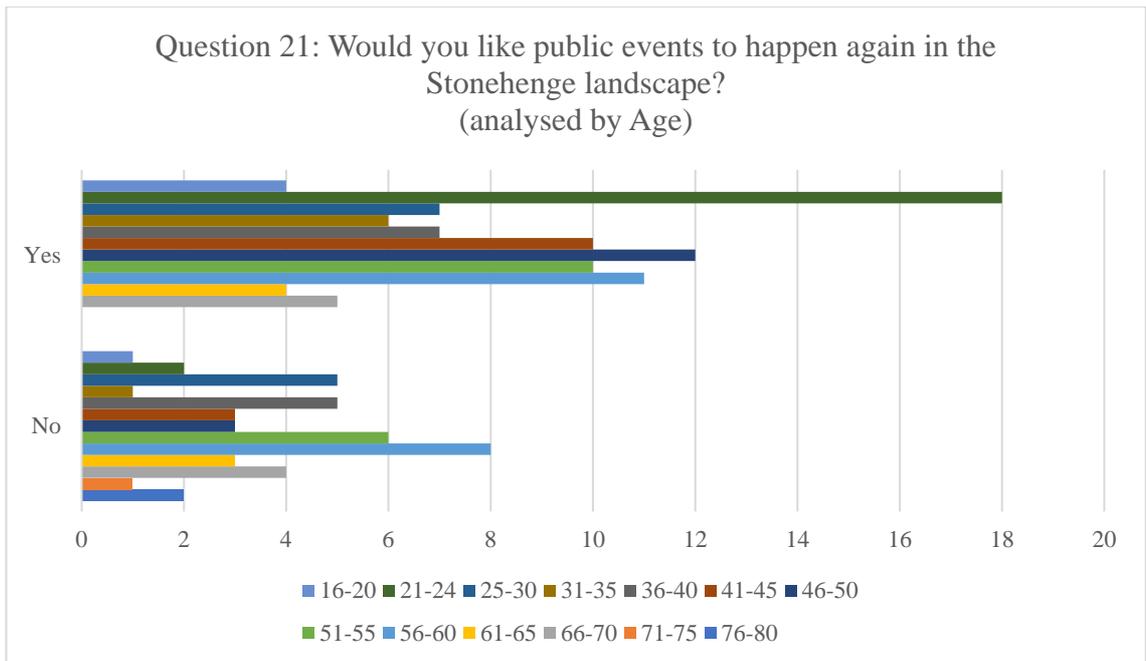


4.68: Different uses of the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

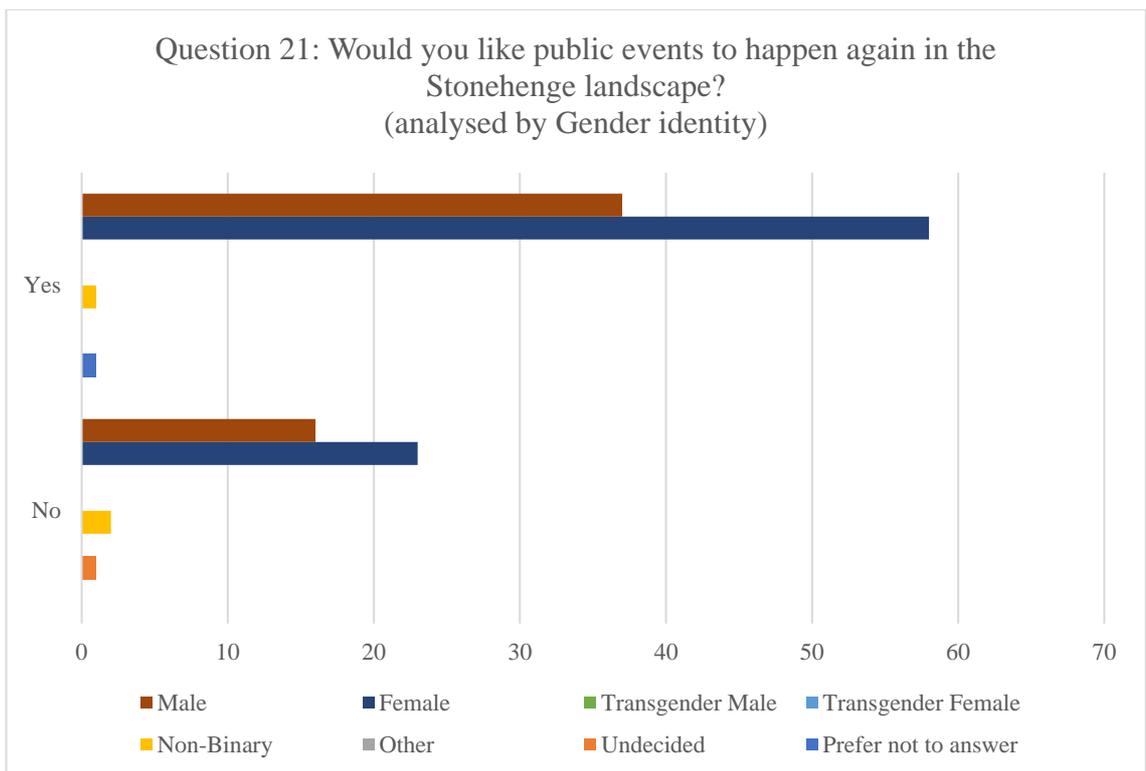
55% of participants wanted the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is currently, with 69% wanting public events to happen again. Age and gender identity did not necessarily shed light on this but when question 20 was analysed by Beliefs, it was obvious that British Pagans were the majority for wanting the landscape around Stonehenge used in a different way. Those who identified as No beliefs were the main Belief option who answered 'no' to this question. From this it could be argued that British Pagans want the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way due to their Beliefs so that they could have more freedom to conduct ceremonies and rituals, as indicated in other sections of the survey. For public events (question 21), the majority of the younger participants (aged under 40 at the time of the survey) were for having public events, with a considerable number of those aged 46-60, although all participants aged 71 to 80 were against it. When analysed by Beliefs, similarly to question 20, most Pagans and Druids wanted public events again but interestingly so did those who were No beliefs. It is evident from this that these No belief participants are interested in public events in the Stonehenge landscape but not necessarily having more access.



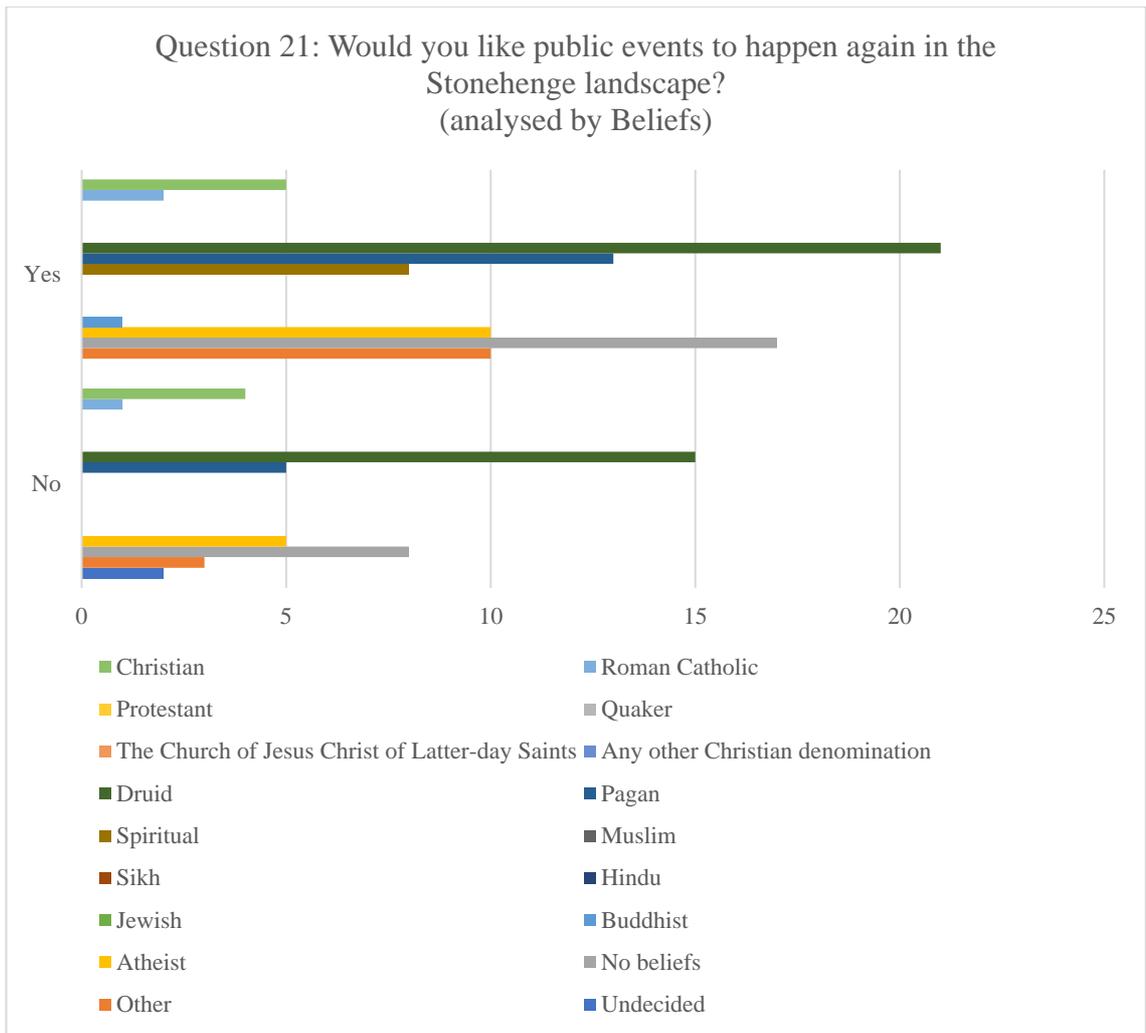
4.69: Public events in the Stonehenge landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



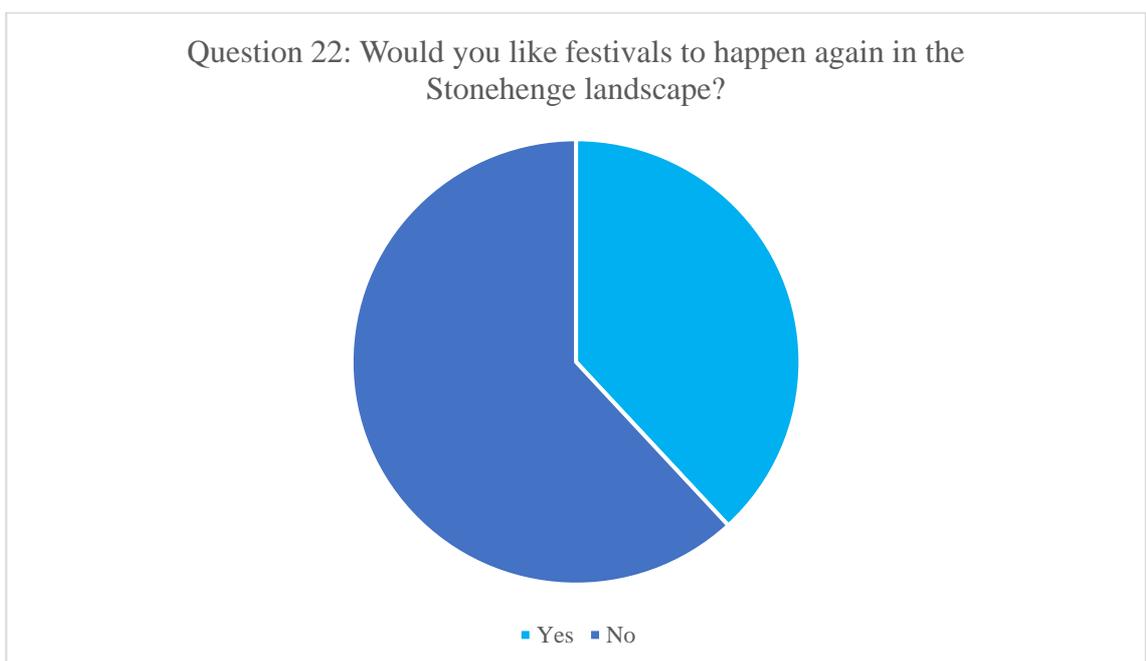
4.70: Public events in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



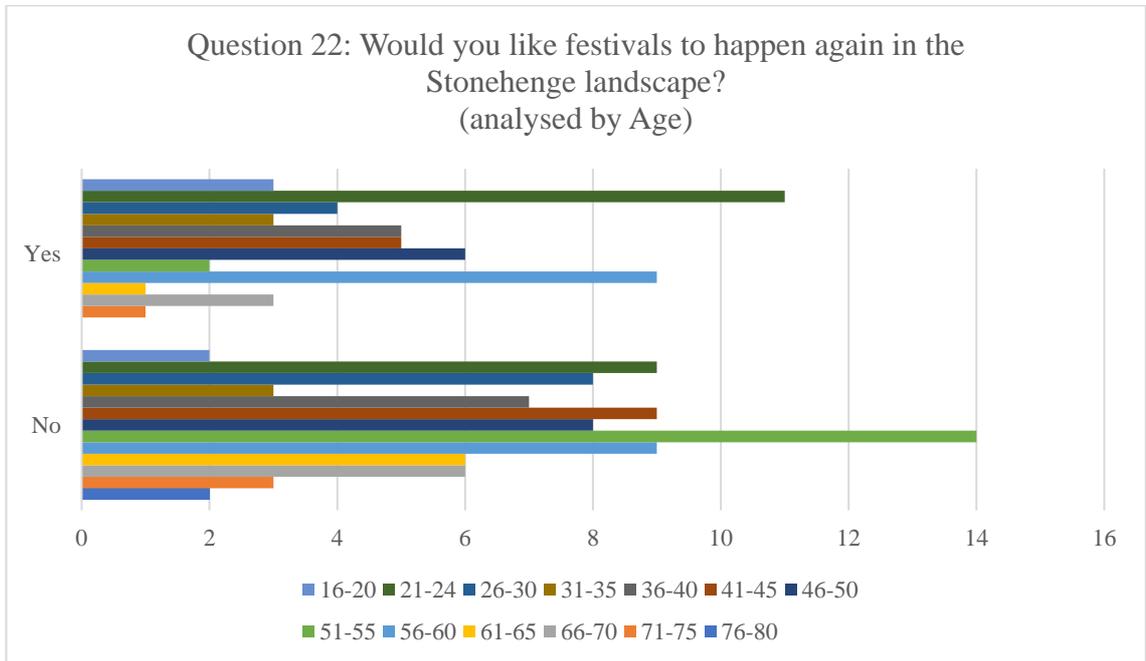
4.71: Public events in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



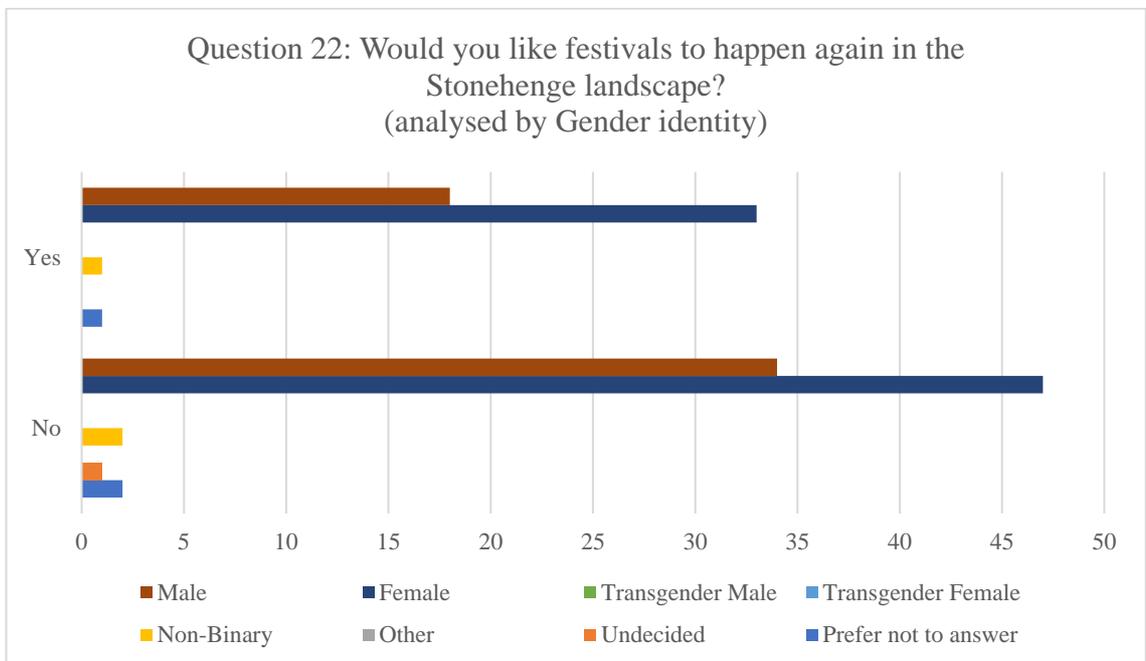
4.72: Public events in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



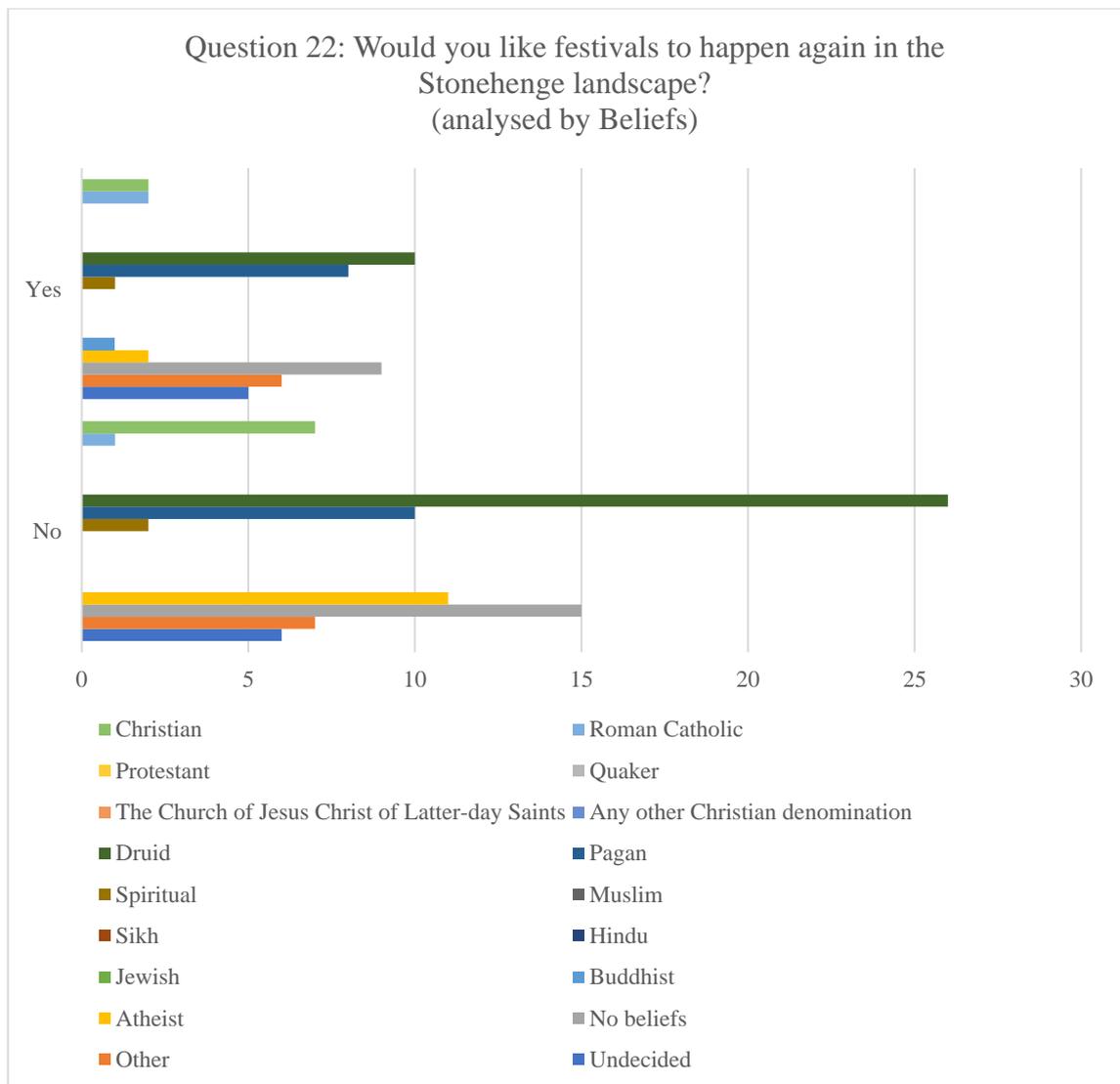
4.73: Festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.74: Festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.75: Festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.76: Festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Despite most participants wanting further access and public events in the Stonehenge landscapes it was evident that the majority were against festivals happening near Stonehenge. Only 38% of participants wanted festivals again compared to 62% who answered ‘no’. This data will be compared to the other primary data in Chapter 9 but had some interesting aspects. For example, when analysed by age, participants aged between 16 and 25 were for festivals whereas participants aged 36-70 were mostly against it. Interestingly a large number of 51-55 year olds were against festivals, despite several of this age range having gone to the Stonehenge Free Festivals.

It could be said that older participants are generally more aware of the damage caused by festivals and are less likely to go to them on the whole, not being the target audience. Gender identity did not necessarily have an impact but the researcher was surprised that so many Druid participants were against festivals in the landscape. This is discussed further in the analysis of question 23 and the results from these 2 questions indicate that several British Pagans who took part in the survey find festivals unsuitable for the Stonehenge landscape, due to its sacredness and the risk to the spiritual experience.

**4.K: Table of Thematic Coding Results for Question 23 (Do you have any comments on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape?)**

Archaeology and History
The free festivals were a phenomenon but the archaeology is too fragile and the landscape (physical and intangible) is too contested.
I think it is important to protect the whole Stonehenge landscape against the potential damage or organised mass gatherings
Depending on the scale, music festivals could be a nice idea. However, there are plenty of other locations that would be better suited. The placement of a festival of on any heritage site can have a negative impact on the landscapes, litter and trample being the most obvious. Despite this some small and well managed events would be interesting.
Risk of damage to archaeology
I think Stonehenge is a delicate site that needs protecting.
They should not damage the World Heritage Site
Too much archaeology here. Other places are more suitable
I don't think the infrastructure to support them can be built without damaging the environment
I think the area should be protected because there are maybe ancient artefacts or human settlements that could be damages by a large amount of people.
I'm not a fan. It's a great backdrop, and I appreciate it's probably always been a place for communal gatherings. I just worry about the impact on the landscape.
The land round Stonehenge is an important wildlife and plant area, this may get damaged/disrupted by festivals
I think festivals are ok as long as they are held responsibly and do not harm the land and structures.
The above have to be tempered with absolute reverence for the sites, landscapes and history. Crass advertising and corporate events would damage the archaeology.so events would be very small scale and relevant to the Stonehenge Landscape story. The access I would favour would be a protective walkway from Durrington Walls to the Bluestonhenge, adjacent to the Avenue, to the stones, then to the Cursus, the Cuckoo Stone and back via Woodhenge. Allow people to feel the journey of the Ancients.
Nothing that can potentially damage the landscape.
They should be done very carefully, to not destroy the place
Intimate festivals of managed numbers to protect the site.
Festivals are ok,but could modify negatively the landscape.
Its an ancient site and should be treated with respect. Festivals of any kind shouldn't be held there, in order to protect the stones and preserve it for future generations.
Too damaging to WHS

I'm all for people still continuing to have festivals in that area. However, I would board off the monument so people can't access it during these times. I wouldn't change the landscape in any way as this can upset a lot of people, especially locals.
I think access needs to be carefully monitored so that we don't erode the landscape yet we should allow people to physically connect to the landscape.
There's a risk of damage to the archaeology and the ecology of the area. Festivals do not respect the vulnerability of the monument and landscape.
Too destructive to the archaeology present.
Large festivals would be likely to cause damage.
The monument itself requires protection from festival goers, but the wider landscape could be used.
With the best will in the world festivals would always increase the potential of harm to the archaeological record
No as not everyone appreciates the importance of the landscape
I think there's potential for festivals in the landscape but they would have to be carefully managed to minimise damage.
As long as they're not damaging the site
Too much damage.
It would need to be very well organised and controlled to ensure no damage
I think the current land use is as relevant to Stonehenge as any contrivance or theory currently in vogue. But the extent of the prehistoric landscape is vast and that needs to be conveyed to the public especially school children.
As long as they don't cause significant damage to the site then festivals and events would be great
Any new music festival would need to be a not-for-profit event but would have to carefully guard against damage to the archaeological landscape.
The landscape needs to be respected and protected not used and abused
Was sympathetic when younger but now realise the level of damage they do to the landscape and archaeology.
People would sneak off and probably damage archaeology
So long as they do no damage
Not a problem if respectful and stones are protected
I think it would be really cool, not so sure those who see the stonehenge landscape as a landscape of ancestors would be quite so enthusiastic. Music festivals can have quite a large footprint, which would require appropriate mitigation
As long as the historical material is not disturbed, why not? At Glastonbury they also hold a festival
Provided they are respectful & relevant.

Archaeology suggests it was used as a festival area so providing no damage occurs it would seem ok to do so again.
As long as they treat the area respectfully I see no issue with having festivals near the stones or on the landscape.
What, exactly, is the Stonehenge landscape? What circumference? Keep it all at Worthy farm.
I think it is an incredible place but festivals run the chance of destruction, I think if there is a space within the landscape where destruction of archaeology could be kept to a minimum then it would be amazing to have music festivals again
I don't see that they would do any harm to the area in any way
I think it's important that the site be well cared for and treated respectfully, including being used as a festival site, so long as attendees are held responsible for clean up and care.
Too much risk of damage and loss of sanctity.
<b>Religion and Beliefs</b>
Music festivals now are not at all suitable for such a site. Too loud and too much infrastructure. This is a very sacred site and should be regarded as such, even if it's not what everyone comes to the site with in mind.
They would be a wonderful addition to our phenomenological experience of this unique site
They must be eco-forward, everyone should respect the land and it's Spiritually
My visit to Stonehenge actually converted me to druidry. I felt so different among the stones and listening to the winter solstice ceremony. I would like the religious nature and sanctity to be preserved as well as allowing respectful public access
Should be kept a peaceful place
Any festivals should honour the spiritual nature of the landscape, which is deserving of honour, care and respect.
I'm concerned that people who do not hold Stonehenge in as much regard as those who view it in a spiritual light might harm the stones if giving unfettered access to it.
This land is sacred and should be preserved
As long as the (spirit of) place is respected and protected
On sites as close as possible but not disturbing the ancient remains or sanctity of it.
Open publicly to pagan/Druid events and historical features not touchable by public
I think they should be closely monitored for preservation purposes.
It is a spiritual site and needs to be respected and safe guarded
Events must be pagan first, relevant and respectful. Not a free for all drug fest.
All pagan, Druid and Celtic religious festivals should be allowed to celebrate within the henge as the stones are always treated with respect. Music within the stones would sound fantastic because of the acoustics of the stones.

<p>Music festivals would attract many genuine pagans but also a lot of people who are just there for the 'craic'. Damage to the land would no doubt result, disrespect for the stones and I'd guess large amounts of litter.</p>
<p>Too many people looking for a party to make it in any way a spiritual experience.</p>
<p>I think an ancient sacred site is an inappropriate venue for a street party</p>
<p>Access to be able to hold rituals and ceremonies as well as festivals, although something like the Mercian festival would be perfect. Any wider use must be sensitive to the needs of the landscape and not make a mess of the ground or what lies beneath it.</p>
<p>Yes Durrington Walls was and is the place of celebrations and festivals.</p>
<p>On the one hand, I would really like to join druid celebrations in Stonehenge, but on the other hand I would like the place to stay as natural and unaffected by people as possible, considering its historic and cultural value.</p>
<p>For some, Stonehenge relates to their spiritual practice &amp; experience. To that end, accessibility is paramount within the understanding that events do not lead to the degradation of the site or its surroundings. There is surely a mutually conducive arrangement that can be made to allow greater access while maintaining &amp; preserving the integrity of the site.</p>
<p><b>Culture</b></p>
<p>Stonehenge was a community gathering place in history and if at all possible I'd love to see that continue, as that is what is meant for</p>
<p>I think festivals would be wonderful. Especially to our community to get together and be happy and share with each other</p>
<p>Festivals for the purpose of making money should not be allowed. But people should be allowed to access, and celebrate the site without causing harm to it.</p>
<p>As it is a place of significance for a variety of people and groups of scientists, people of faith, as well as people just interested in its history/cultural history, festivals could range from themed events to modern-day (e.g. music) festivals, if it is possible to connect the two in any way.</p>
<p>Not at the stones. But a heritage festival nearby could be fantastic</p>
<p>Not in the current form of commercial music festivals that just happen to be at Stonehenge, they should be done differently so that it is part of an overall stonehenge experience</p>
<p>From what I personally witnessed we were all respectful and using the site for part of what it was originally intended. I think that bit gets forgotten. It's a place to be celebrated and can be used to remind generations that peace is the key. I believe small gatherings still happen on the solstices</p>
<p><b>Emotive</b></p>
<p>Not necessary, other venues more appropriate</p>
<p>Largely irrelevant</p>
<p>We did nobody any harm</p>
<p>They brought the magic alive and people together.</p>
<p>The only things I do not like about the festivals is the mess they leave behind</p>
<p>I would prefer to preserve the landscape for quiet enjoyment</p>

Pointless. Utterly pointless.
Inappropriate
In adjacent fields I wouldn't have an issue.
The area gets quite a bit of traffic as is.
Intrusive, filthy, noisy.
<b>Politics</b>
No objection to festivals in the landscape per se, but concerns over how they would play out
Temporary autonomous zone...
Should be controlled
The Solstice festivals are a great idea but feel exclusionary - feels little is to done to encourage this change of demographic
I understand the desire to protect the monument and it's surroundings, but I also feel that narratives shouldn't be dominated entirely by academics or archaeologists who are intent on making the landscape around it a living museum. Access should be supervised of course and damage entirely prevented but we also need to have areas whereby interaction with the monument and it's landscape occurs.
<b>Unable to categorise</b>
I wish you could touch the stones on normal visitor days

As part of the section on Stonehenge and Landscape, question 23 asked participants whether they had any views on festivals. The survey questions for this section were designed so that they would build up to this final question. The researcher wanted to understand how participants felt about current uses of the landscape, whether they wanted more access and in what way they wanted to access the land around Stonehenge. For example, were they open to the idea of public events happening near Stonehenge but opposed to festivals?

Question 23 resulted in a lot of textual data, and it was clear that participants had contrasting views on the topic. Out of 95 responses, the three main Thematic Code categories were Archaeology and History (41 responses), Religion and Beliefs (22) and Emotive (11). Surprisingly, only 5 responses could be categorised as Political, with 7 as Cultural. 1 was unable to be categorised. The researcher had expected, considering Stonehenge's history with festivals, that participant answers would have been more political. But it seemed that participants were less concerned with the political aspect of festivals in the Stonehenge landscape and more worried about the environmental and archaeological damage that would results from festivals being held in the local area surrounding the monument.

When analysing the survey data that were classified as 'Archaeology and History', it was interesting that certain words kept appearing in participant responses. For example, common words were 'protect' or 'respect'. This indicated the survey populations' view

of festivals and Stonehenge, that they think festivals would not respect the landscape 'its an ancient site and should be treated with respect' or that it should be protected against the potential impact of festivals: 'Stonehenge is a delicate site that needs protecting'.

The key concern held by survey participants about festivals in the Stonehenge landscape was damage to the archaeology, land, nature and environment. Out of 40 total responses, 21 of these used 'damage' in their answer, it was a consistent word choice throughout the responses for question 23. Responses ranged from 'too much damage' to the more detailed: 'I think the area should be protected because there maybe [sic] ancient artefacts or human settlements that could be damaged by a large amount of people'. Despite the prevalence of 'damage' in participant responses, some participants were not completely against festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, provided they were 'held responsibly and do not harm the land and structures'. But the majority of responses were clearly against the idea and thought it was more important to 'protect the stones and preserve it for future generations' or recognise that festivals would not 'respect the vulnerability of the monument and the landscape'.

One participant explained succinctly, stating that 'the free festivals were a phenomenon' but that the archaeology of the Stonehenge landscape is too 'fragile' and that the landscape itself, both physically and intangibly is too contested for festivals to happen again. Given the scrutiny that large UK festivals such as Glastonbury face, it is very unlikely that festivals would be able to take place near Stonehenge again, and it is evident from the participant responses discussed that people are concerned about the potential damage to the archaeological record. It could be argued that participant views on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape are influenced by current mainstream media. In recent years, there has been an increased focus on the impact of festivals, whether that be festival sizing issues and noise complaints, drug-related deaths, or damage to the environment. Another potential influence on participant views could be the media coverage of the Stonehenge Free Festivals and the impact they had on the Stonehenge landscape. The extent to which there could be a connection between participant views and media representation will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

It was thought that there might be more responses that could be categorised as Political, due to Stonehenge's history with festivals in the past but this was not the case. The 'Politics' responses could be divided into those that focused on control and organisation and those that wanted Stonehenge to be more inclusive. One participant it was a 'temporary autonomous zone' which could be said of the Stonehenge Free Festivals of 1974-1984, but is unlikely to happen under the current government, others argued that if festivals were to take place they should be controlled and were concerned about how they would take place. It was interesting that one participant thought that the Solstice festivals were exclusionary and stated that they 'felt little is done to encourage this change of demographic'. It is difficult to understand what they mean by this statement but perhaps they feel that the previous Solstice festivals (the Stonehenge Free Festivals?) only catered to a certain type of person. Another response centred on Stonehenge 'domination' by academics and archaeologists, stating that they felt they were 'intent on making the landscape around it a living museum'. Although they agreed with supervised access, they thought that there should be more interaction with the monument and its landscape. Again, it was unclear whether this participant was for or against festivals in the Stonehenge landscape but it was evident that they wanted different interaction with it than what was currently available to them.

Emotive responses for this question did not particularly add anything to the discussion. These responses ranged from statements such as 'inappropriate' or 'pointless, utterly pointless' to personal opinions such as 'I would prefer to preserve the landscape for quiet enjoyment'. Most of the Emotive responses were against the idea of festivals, although 2 were for them, one regarded festivals as 'bringing the magic alive and people together' at Stonehenge. This view was shared by many of the participant responses in the 'Culture' theme, who argued that festivals in the Stonehenge landscape were a good idea as Stonehenge is a place 'to be celebrated' for 'our community to get together'. Others were also for Stonehenge festivals, and thought they could be used as part of an overall Stonehenge experience and that usage by different events, such as cultural history ones could attract a variety of people if they were done in a non-commercial way unlike 'current commercial music festivals'.

Regarding 'Religion and Beliefs' it was indicative from participant responses that people had strong views on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape. Common word choices among the 22 responses were 'sacred' and 'spiritual'. Although one stated that they would be 'a wonderful addition to our phenomenological experience of this unique site', many were concerned about damage to Stonehenge as a sacred site, festivals may lead to 'too many people looking for a party to make it in any way a spiritual experience'. Although there were some for and some against festivals, a few stated that they would like greater access to the site to be able to hold rituals and ceremonies. One participant argued that 'There is surely a mutually conducive arrangement that can be made to allow greater access while maintaining & preserving the integrity of the site'.

Within this theme, it could be said that there were elements of exclusionism. Some participants were against music festivals but wanted festivals that were relevant to Pagans or Druids, such as one who argued: 'All pagan, Druid and Celtic religious festivals should be allowed to celebrate within the henge'. Another supported this, stating that Stonehenge should be 'Open publicly to pagan/Druid events and historical features not touchable by public' with one saying that 'Events must be pagan first'. Although it is understandable that those who identify as British Pagans would be concerned about festivals in the Stonehenge landscape, it does seem slightly exclusionary that they would want British Pagan only festivals as surely cultural heritage is for everyone, regardless whether you believe Stonehenge is sacred or not. It is clear that there is no right or wrong way when it comes to festivals in the Stonehenge landscape as someone will always have something to say about it.

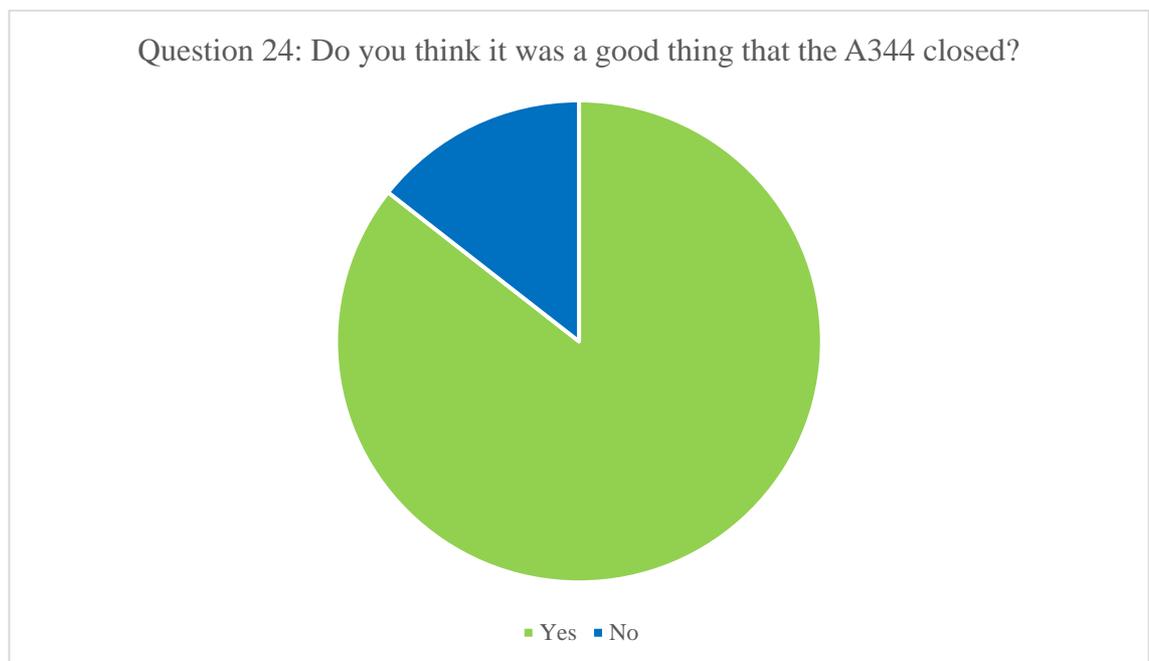
From the participant responses for question 23 it is evident that there were many contrasting views over festivals being held in the Stonehenge landscape. Some argued that the landscape around Stonehenge could be used for festivals, provided this was done in a respectful way, with awareness of the importance of the area. However the majority of participants had concerns and were against festivals using the Stonehenge landscape as a site as it is sacred to many and is of great archaeological value.

## **Stonehenge and transport**

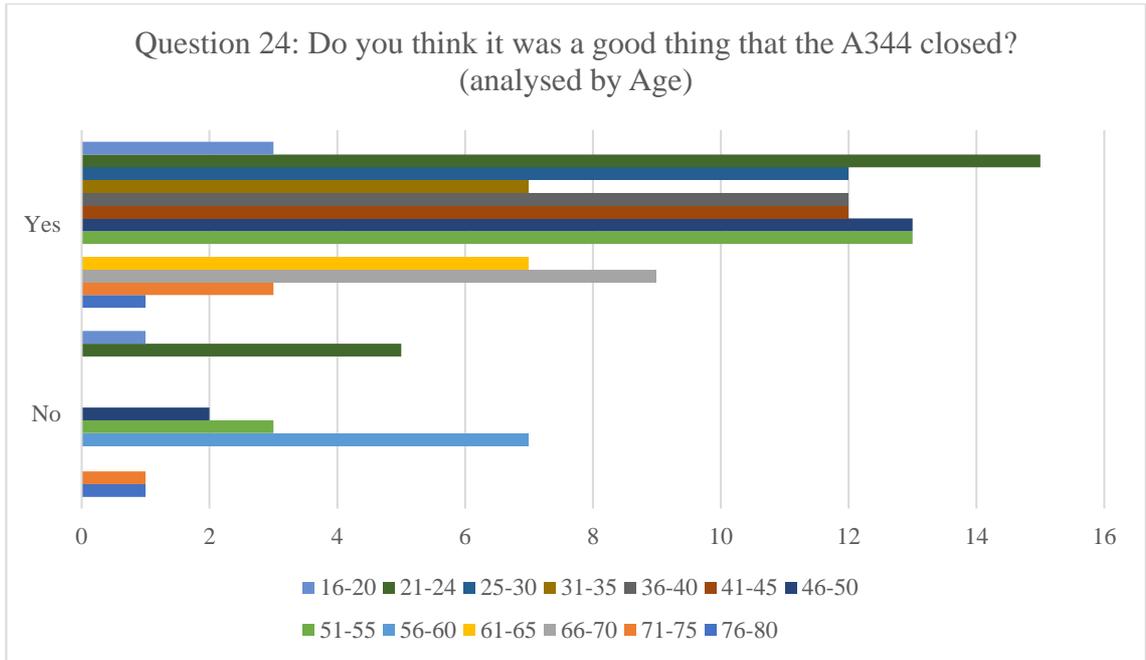
Stonehenge and transport was the last themed section of the survey before the final comments page. The questions for this section focused on participant opinions on road closures, the A303 Tunnel Scheme and participant knowledge of management of

Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape. To help participants with the first couple of questions, the researcher included sketch maps that they had drawn, showing the A344, the A303 and the proposed (correct at the time of the survey) A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme.

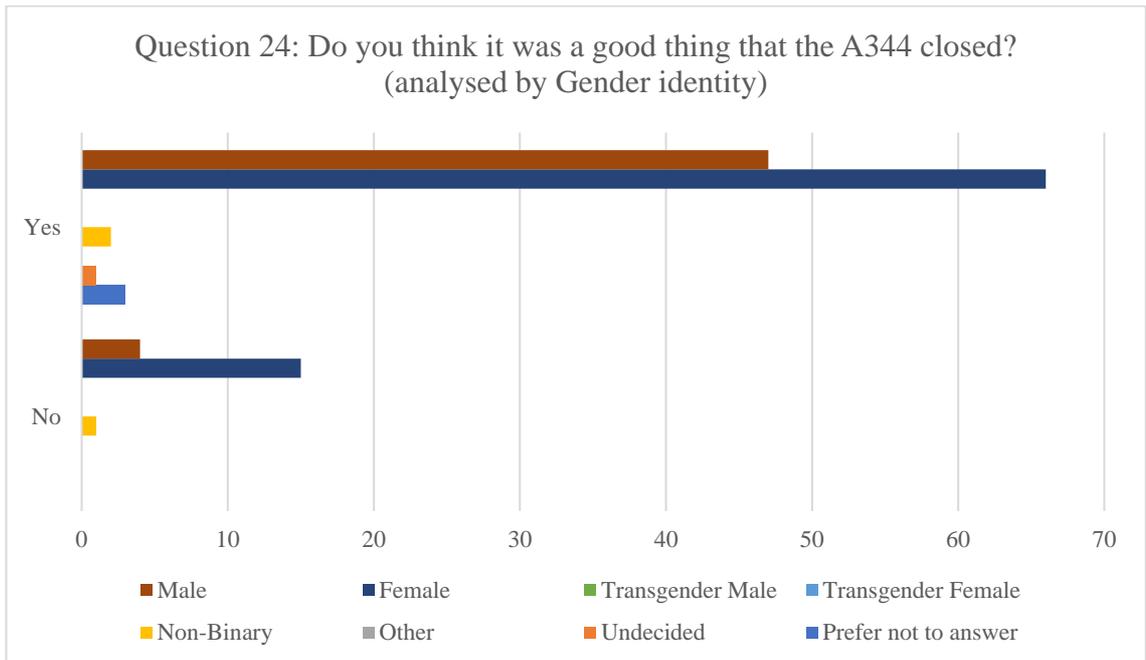
From 1900 to 2020, the roads near Stonehenge have changed variably, dependent on assessed needs of the time. The current debate concerning road schemes and Stonehenge is of course the A303 Tunnel, which has divided subgroups of society who are linked to Stonehenge. The researcher was interested to see what participants thought of the A303 Tunnel Scheme and whether they agreed with the closure of the A344 and how they would change the A303. The two final questions, which asked participants who managed Stonehenge and who managed the Stonehenge landscape weren't trick questions, but to understand participant perspectives. People often think that the NT or EH have sole trusteeship of Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape but this is not the case. The researcher wanted to gauge how many participants were correct about who managed Stonehenge and who managed most of the landscape around the monument.



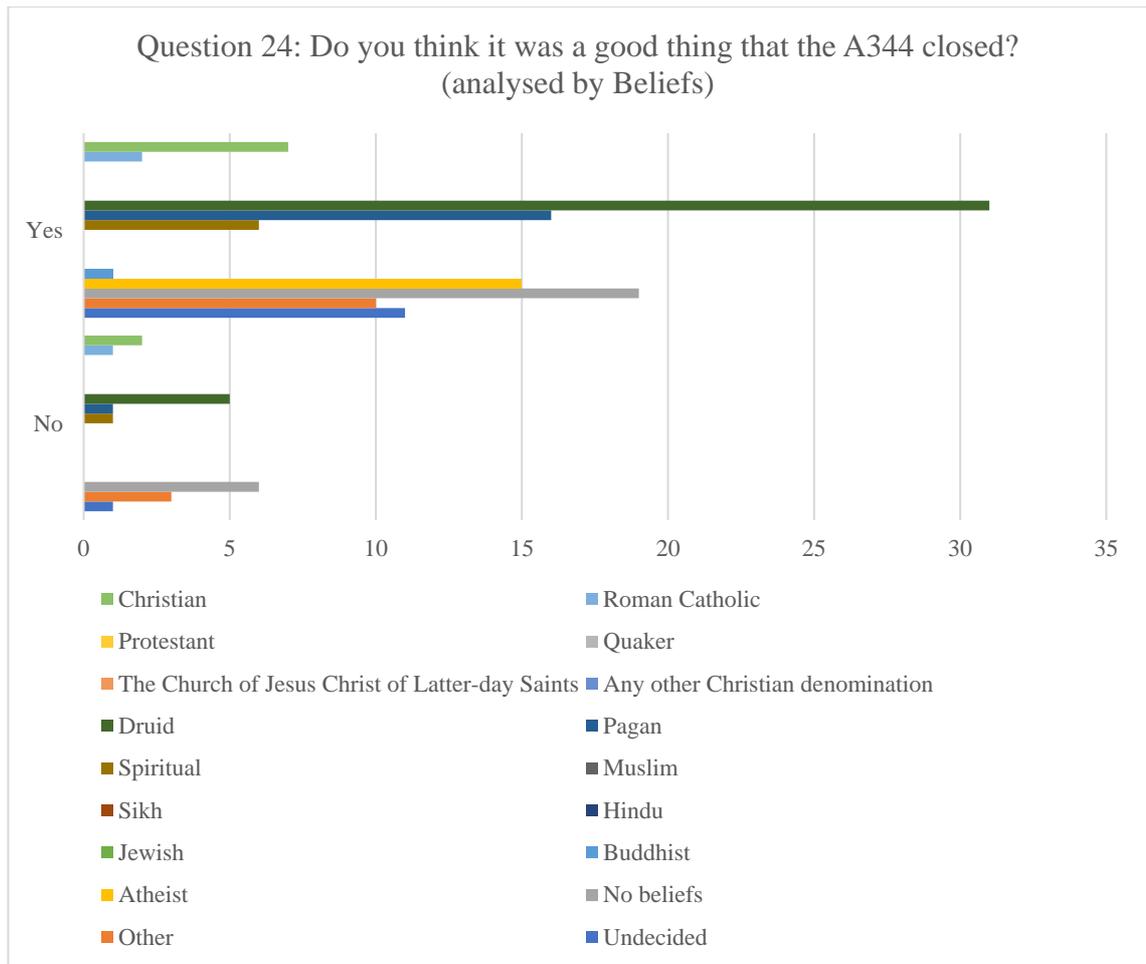
4.77: Closure of the A344, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.78: Closure of the A344, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.79: Closure of the A344, analysed by Gender identity, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



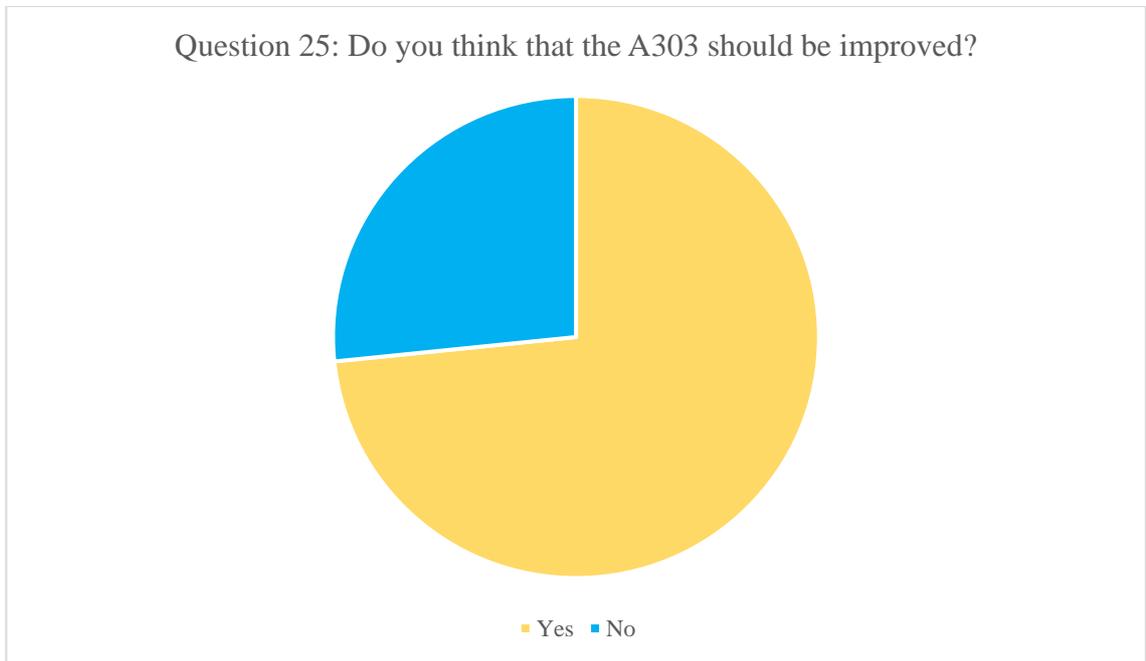
4.80: Closure of the A344, analysed by Beliefs, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

For question 24, most participants agreed that it was a good idea that the A344 closed, with a small proportion disagreeing with this statement. Analysed by age, all participants under 45 answered ‘yes’ to this question which was interesting as many of the younger participants (aged between 16-25) are unlikely to be aware of the impact the closure had. The Belief analysis indicated that the majority for most Beliefs present in the dataset believed it was a good thing, with over 30 of these participants identifying as Druid.

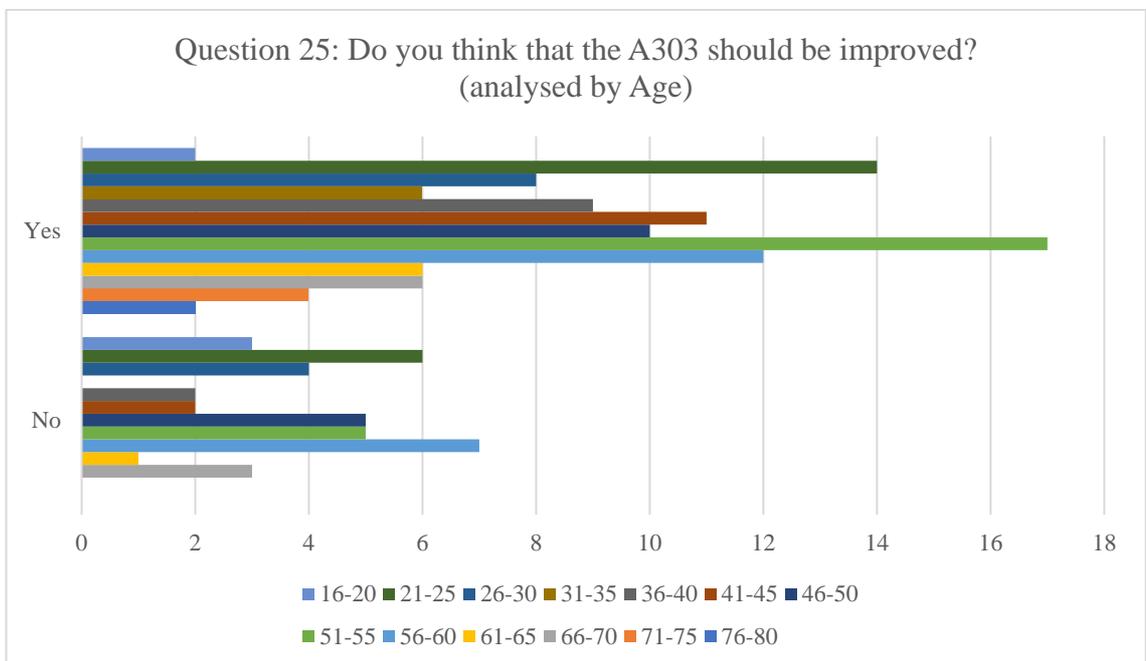
Similarly, almost three quarters of total participants agreed that the A303 should be improved, but it was more divisive when it came to the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel question. When analysed by age and beliefs, the data showed that participants of all ages and beliefs agreed with improvement of the A303 but were divided over the scheme. For example, the majority of Druids in the survey agree with the improvement of the A303 in question 25, but most were against the Tunnel Scheme. Overall, although most of the participants agreed that the A303 should be improved, the majority disagreed with the idea it should be improved with a tunnel.

However, it should be noted here that there was little leeway in these questions. Although 62% of participants disagreed with the idea of a tunnel, 70% were against the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme. So though these questions were yes or no and give basic detail, question 28 was included to show the range of participants responses. For example, some may have disagreed with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme because they

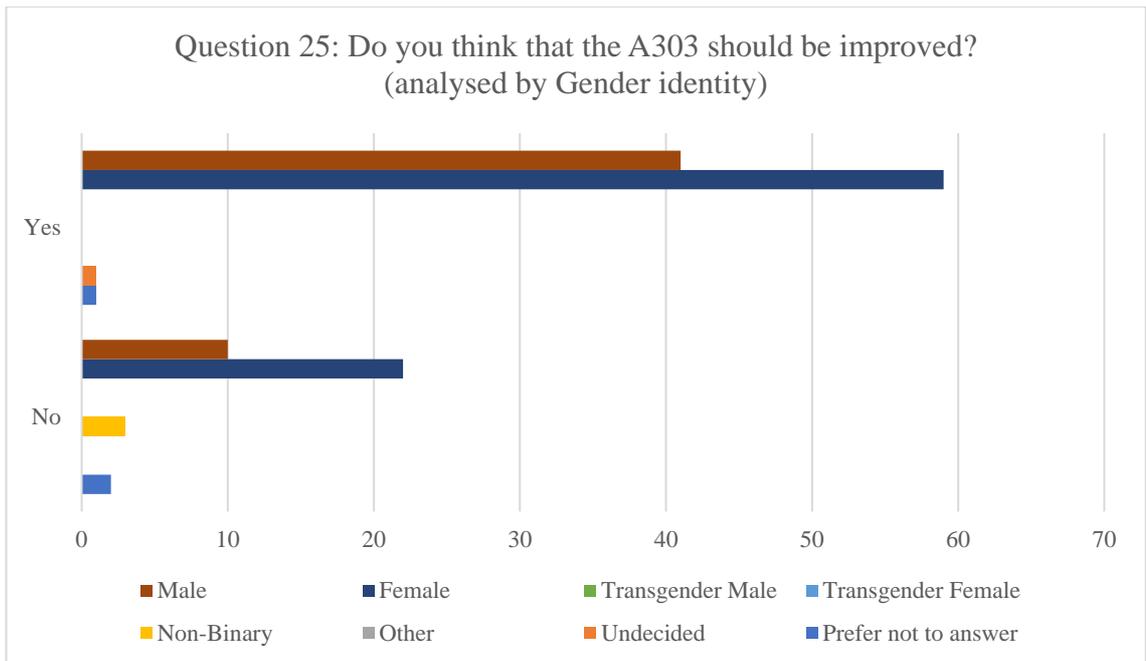
believed it was too short and would be for it if it was longer. The researcher had structured this section so there was a build up to the textual question, allowing the participant to think about how they felt about aspects of improving the A303 before they gave their opinions on the Stonehenge A3030 Tunnel Scheme itself.



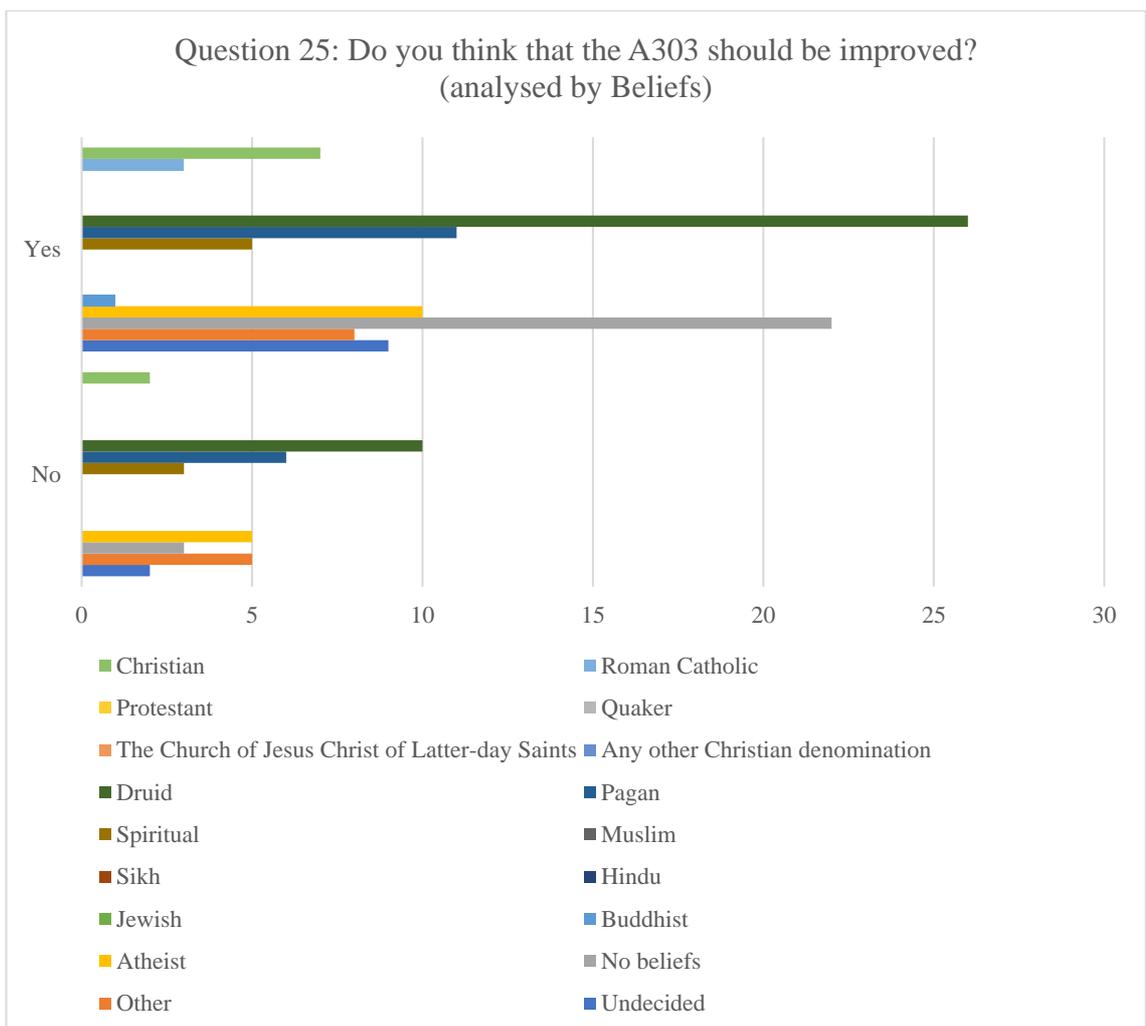
4.81: Improvement of the A303, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



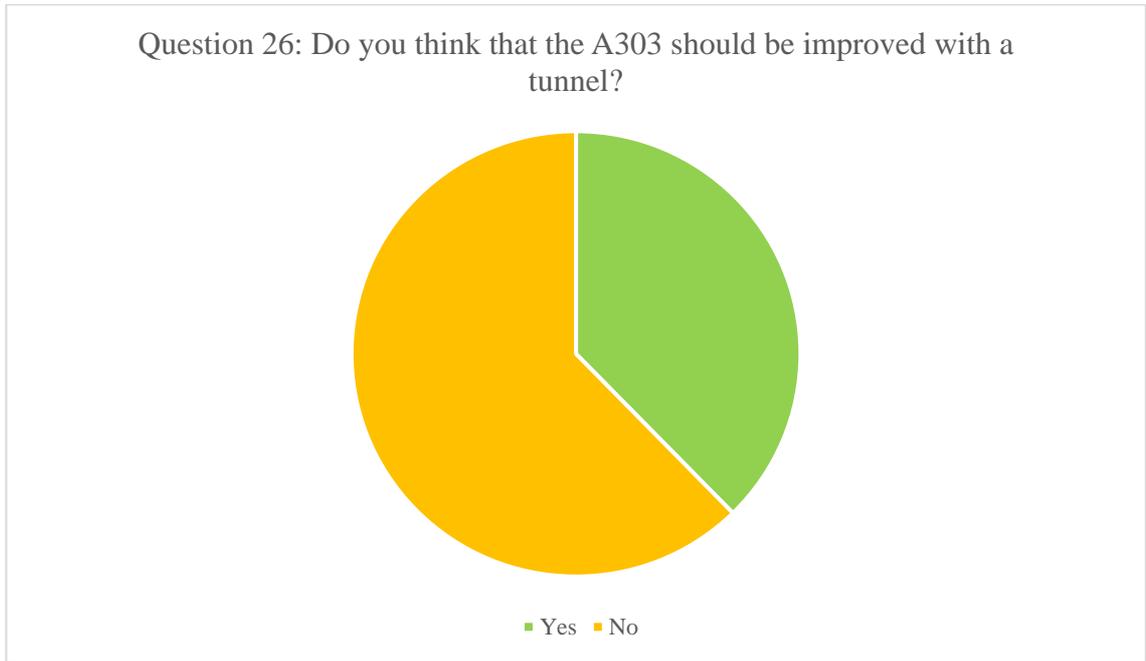
4.82: Improvement of the A303, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



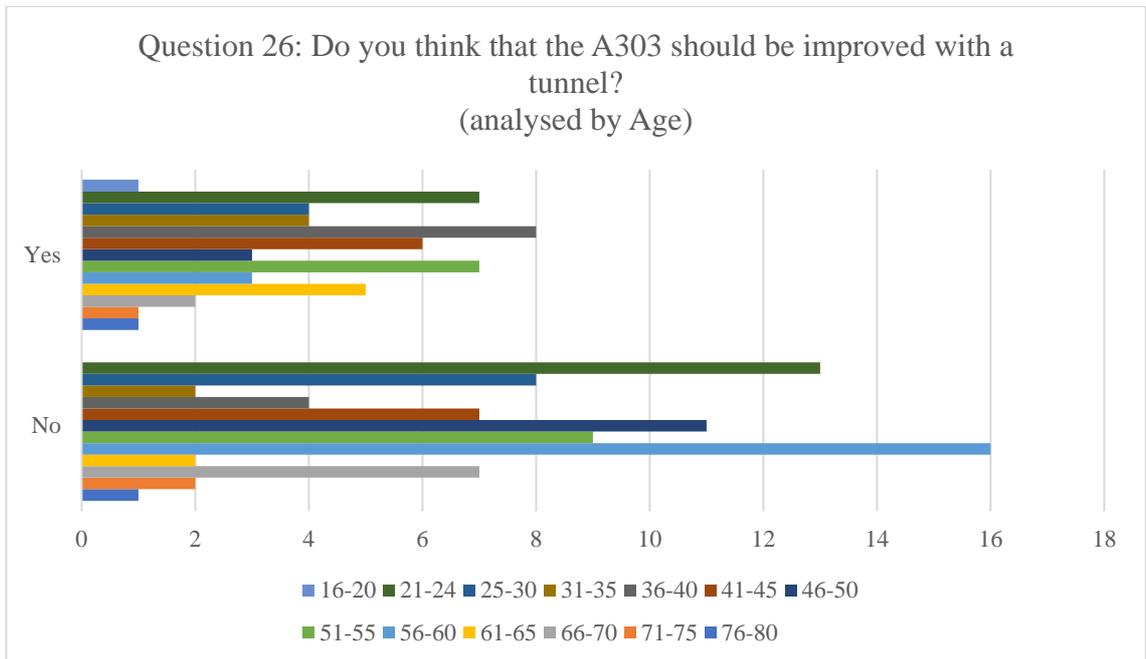
4.83: Improvement of the A303, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



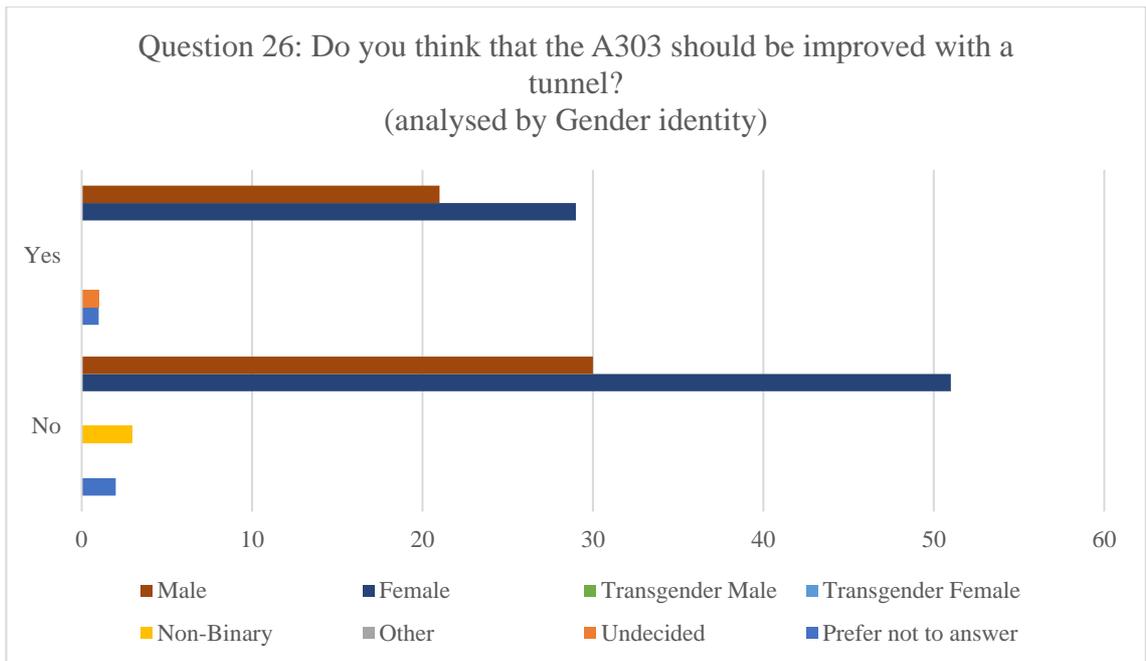
4.84: Improvement of the A303, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



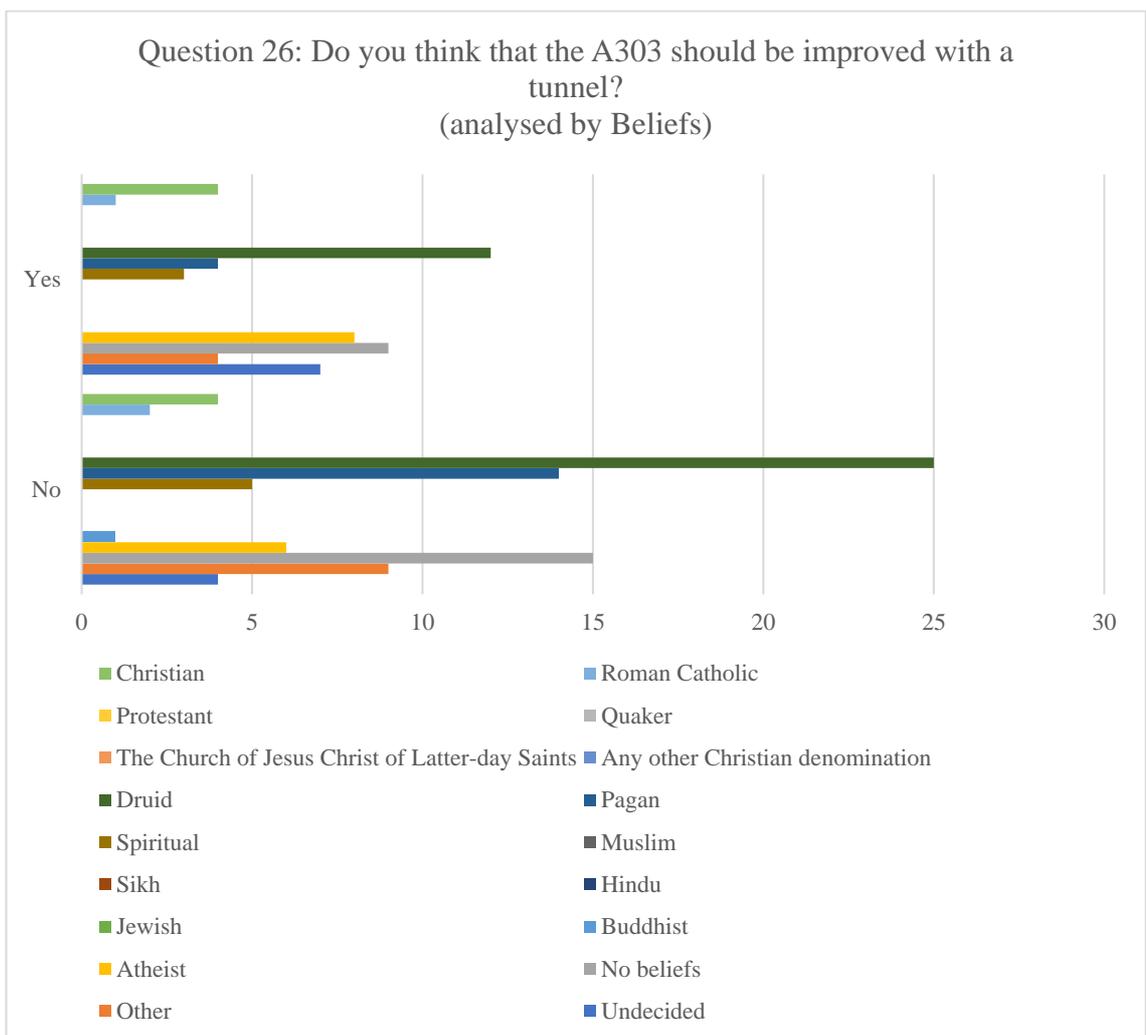
4.85: A303 Improvement and the Tunnel Scheme, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.86: A303 Improvement and the Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

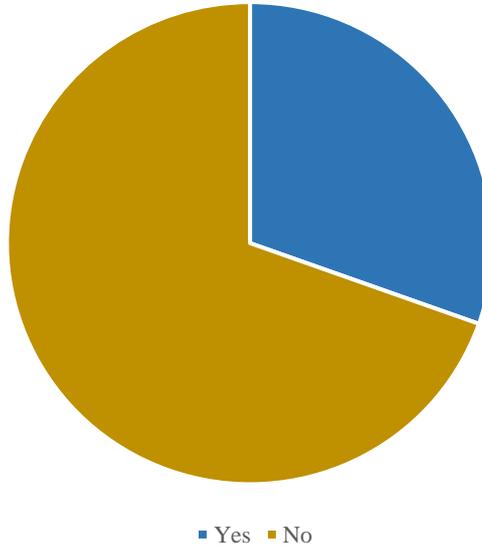


4.87: A303 Improvement and the Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Gender identity, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



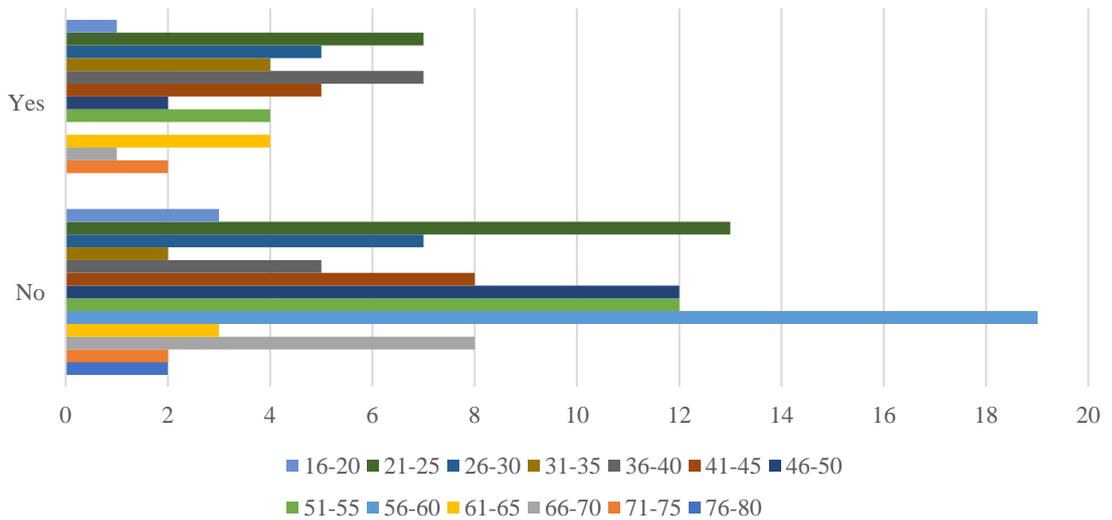
4.88: A303 Improvement and the Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Beliefs, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

Question 27: Do you agree with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?

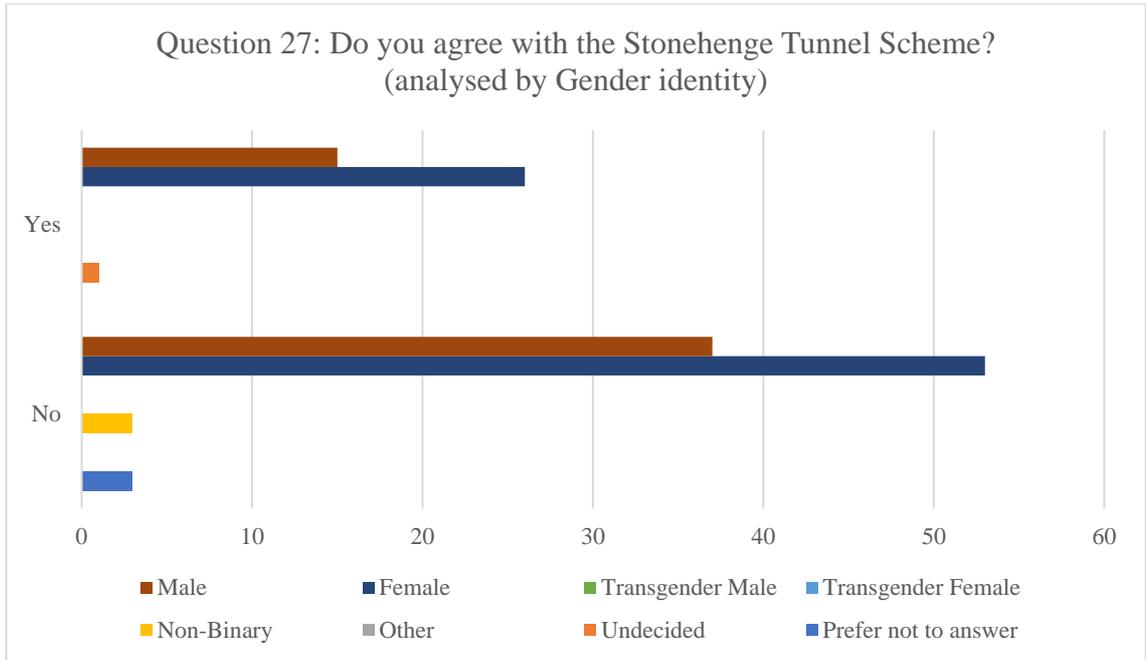


4.89: Agreement with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

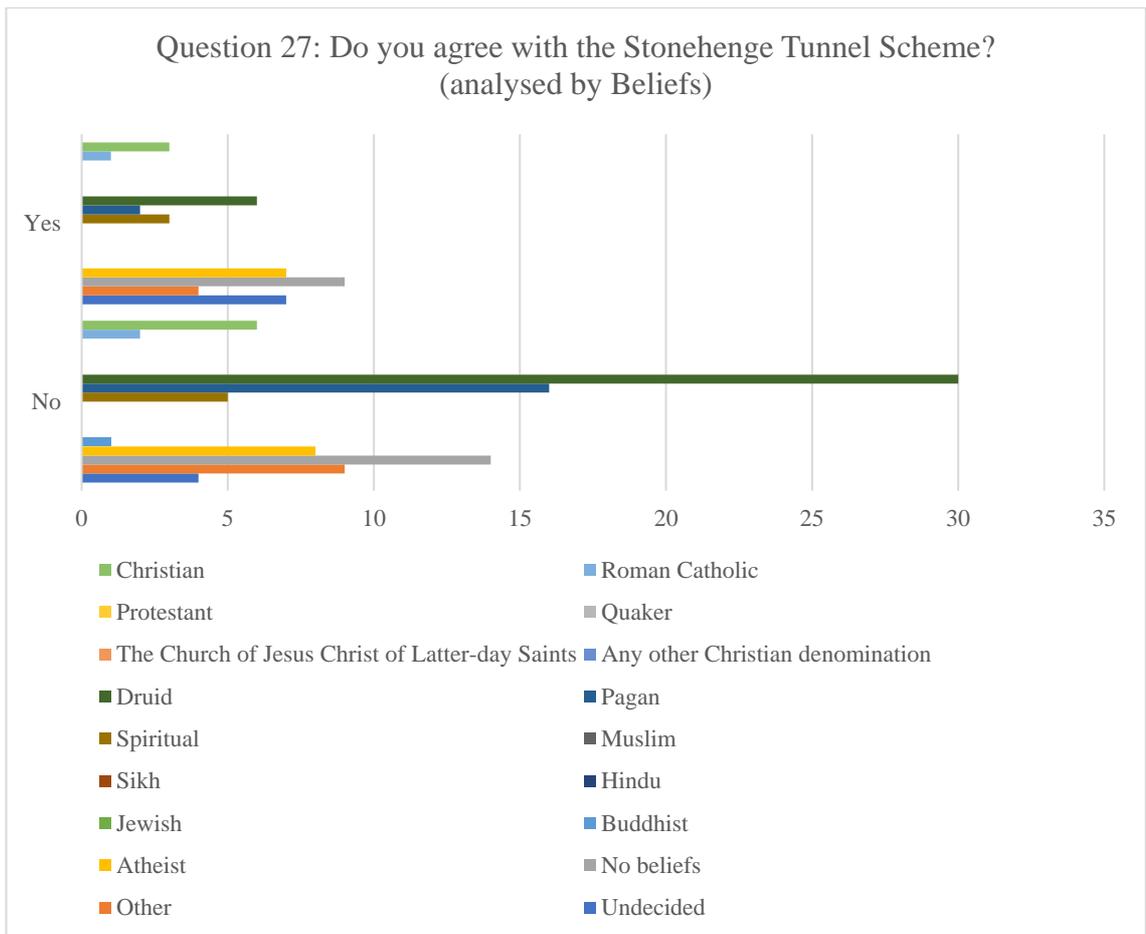
Question 27: Do you agree with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?  
(analysed by Age)



4.90: Agreement with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Age, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)



4.91: Agreement with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.92: Agreement with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

#### 4.L: Table of Thematic Coding for Question 28 (Do you have any comments on the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?)

Archaeology and History
Should be kept as it is; no tunnel. If they make a tunnel they are potentially destroying archaeological evidence tied to the site
It will destroy archaeology which could be of great importance.
It's much too short. A longer tunnel would probably avoid disturbing the archaeological heritage
It is not respecting the historical importance of the Stonehenge site. It is a political move, not an ecological or conservation motivation.
This is defiling our heritage
I am against the tunnel construction as it is located too close to the ancient site and, considering the fact that the Stonehenge landscape isn't completely researched yet, the tunnel construction may cause horrific harm to possible artifacts under ground.
I think create a tunnel un a place where could be more archeological area is invasive. Also, why a tunnel could be placed in a locacation where isn't a hill or mountain?
I think it's outrageous! Destroying ancient, beautiful and essential wild land.
Ill conceived, inappropriate and damaging.
There is too much important archaeology that will be destroyed by the tunnel, and in general we should be discouraging car travel in general not increasing road schemes
Too detrimental to the landscape
Seems like the best way to improve the road whilst minimising potential damage to archaeology. It also provides a good opportunity for the discovery of new evidence at the tunnel entrances
It will tear right through the heritage landscape and may put deeper archaeological deposits in danger. Why not just move the A303 out of the Stonehenge landscape altogether and create a bypass.
Will cause too much irreparable damage to the World Heritage Site both in archaeological and ecological terms. The supposed 'benefits' are not worth the cost.
Ill-thought out, destructive of archaeology - a disaster!
Although I agree in principle that the road is too close to the stones I am totally against destroying more of the potential archaeology to remove it from view. I am aware that extensive pre development archaeology investigation is being undertaken but the nature of the potential archaeology could mean that important discoveries could be missed.
Don't disturb the landscape
The tunnel should start and finish outside the Stonehenge landscape.
I think we have to compromise between modern conveniences and important heritage, a tunnel can preserve the landscape while improving roads
The 'debate' that was started by certain academics was derogatory towards the commercial sector and came off as elitist; this doesn't help progress the scheme or improve impressions around aforementioned academics

As an archaeologist who had worked on the tunnel scheme I can confidently say that it is, has and will be excavated to a very high standard by commercial archaeologists.
Salisbury southern ring road is the answer
A feel a re-routing might be better than a tunnel, but a tunnel is better than no change
Some argue that the road is now part of the historic landscape but I think removing the road and traffic is a good thing.
Good for Commercial Archaeologists, as it keeps them employed, but its bad for heritage in the UK as a whole.
I think it should be longer - both entrances well outside the World Heritage Area.
The tunnel needs to be longer but will be beneficial for the landscape and transport links
As long as it protects and preserves the site with advise from experts, then I see no problem
It has been a long term scheme. Is entirely required for future use as well as current use issues and whilst we could debate all day about which elements of a scheme are least/ most damaging, it's not going to improve living/commuting conditions for the current inhabitants. Whilst covid will have seen reduction in traffic, that isn't likely to continue and I feel that this scheme, alongside other major infrastructure schemes should be viewed as investment for future communities and if we can do the excavations sensitively and appropriately, then we also gain increased knowledge of the monument too...which originally was excavated with rudimentary (for now) techniques. Things move on and we should sympathetically engage to try to enhance our knowledge, without entirely destroying monuments.
I believe the tunnel should be longer and less invasive at the exits
I think the road should be rerouted
Should be the long tunnel that was agreed but never implemented.
Ideally it could be longer. But the present situation desperately needs improving. Provided the remains are recorded effectively, which they will be, then this may be the best chance we have to improve it.
I would rather they divert the A303 away from Stonehenge and make it a dual-carriageway. The tunnel is a poor solution in every way.
Proposed tunnel is too short
It will cause irreversible damage
As long as they dig deep and do not disturb the upper areas of the landscape, then a tunnel will enable the landscape to return to a more normal setting. Animals will be able to roam without hindrance from road traffic.
The original charter gifting Stonehenge to the public said the ground should not be disturbed
Too short, too intrusive, too close
Much as I will miss seeing SH as I drive past, I like the idea of hiding the road. I would though extend the entrance and exit to the tunnel beyond the current plan. Take them outside the immediate landscape.
As long as preserved the natural beauty of the land and not encroach further on Stonehenge
Not 100% convinced it won't damage the stones or the landscape, but fingers crossed
Too invasive.

The A303 should be straightened, taking it below Amesbury, away from the unique area.
The planned tunnel is too short and I'm worried about light pollution from the portals at the monument and in the wider landscape.
It's disgusting and ruins the entire landscape as well as push our understanding of Stonehenge back, due to rushing this tunnel through which will destroy archaeological artifacts that may or may not be there
It may have caused more damage and problems than it solves
too short, or too tunnelled... proposed to be too quickly excavated...
It would be less intrusive
There is plenty of room to build a new road away from ancient monuments round about - so build one away from the henge!
Traffic should be re-routed above ground to the south, outside the World Heritage Site. A much cheaper option causing less disruption during building and doing less environmental and archaeological damage by largely following existing roads.
<b>Religion and Beliefs</b>
Desecration of a sacred site.
I think if they want to "improve" the roads around the Stonehenge site, they need to listen to the people who view and use it as a sacred site. Let the pagans & the Druids set the expectations, not modern convenience.
The area is a ritual landscape and it is sacrosanct and should not be disturbed.
A desecration
Although it has been great for archaeological finds it has disturbed many of the ancestor's who have been at peace for thousands of years.
I have concerns about the alignments of the entrances, as solar movements are critical to the site and light emissions are a major problem.
It would impair the midwinter sun set
It would disturb the non-physical energies of this sacred site. This site was gifted by our ancestors and is to be valued as a sacred place.
<b>Culture</b>
Important landmark, marking halfway to London, will be invisible.
It would stop congestion caused by people slowing down to take pictures of it from their cars
I drive past there specifically to see Stonehenge. I don't feel it should be hidden.
Taking the road out will improve connection with the landscape and make it easier to travel without so many accidents. Huge benefits on both sides
<b>Emotive</b>
Not really fussed
Deeply worrying in its implications

Too short really
I am not British, but I find it deeply offensive & disrespectful. Would they burrow through the Vatican crypts?
Shouldn't happen
It is the best solution to a difficult issue. But a shame.
It may be expensive, but it's necessary.
I don't know enough about it to have a strong opinion
I think it is a necessary evil. I look forward to the road being out of sight.
It's far from perfect, but a reasonable compromise. I grew up near the Devils Punchbowl (Hindhead A3) the difference the tunnel has made there is astounding. Of course the tunnel is only ever a short term fix to our current traffic issues but there does not seem to be any driver to change our current modes of transport.
There is no ideal solution – I guess tunnel scheme is an adequate compromise. I like the idea of the experience of visiting the stones being devoid of intrusive traffic, but equally I'll miss the A303 glimpse as you drive past - always adds interest to the journey!
It's a good idea
It's the wrong scheme for today. It may have been ok 20years ago as a deep long bore tunnel
Tunnels are typically, in my experience fairly stable. If the land above the tunnel could be reclaimed as grassland/nature, a tunnel would be wonderful.
Just shut the damn road and get people to walk.
Expensive
Risky
I don't know the project
Just leave it the way it is.
Very risky in the long term
<b>Politics</b>
The people who can defend it have all signed NDA's
Corrupt by inception, design and execution. It is desecration. Redirection of public money to private corporations. Unnecessary. Damaging.
It is a waste of money. The theories about the stones will continue to develop and change. The current setting of the stones as viewed from the current road is as important to people today as any theory about its' past
It's a stupid idea
There is a lot of conflicting information on the internet. Lots of sources saying valid points that it's a good thing, lots of sources saying valid points that it's a bad thing. It is often hard to tell what is misinformation as well. It's very hard to decide!
It will take away the only free view most will have.

We should be moving away from road transport in order to meet our co2 budget, not facilitating more traffic on our roads
It would be preferable to something worse. I am suspicious of all schemes that assume road 'improvement' (ie widening) to be a means of improving traffic flow, pollution or anything else - these problems often stem from overuse of the existing infrastructure and will ultimately be addressed only by reducing the amount of traffic, not pandering to it.
A longer deep bore tunnel should have been agreed.
It is a tremendous amount of money to spend when the country is already in more than enough trouble as it is

Question 28 was useful as it provided answers to the previous questions. It was evident that there was a wide variety of opinions held by participants. Some were completely against the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, others for it and some on the fence, dependent on the circumstances of the tunnel. At the time of the survey, it looked like the tunnel scheme was going to go ahead so it is worth baring this in mind when regarding the results.

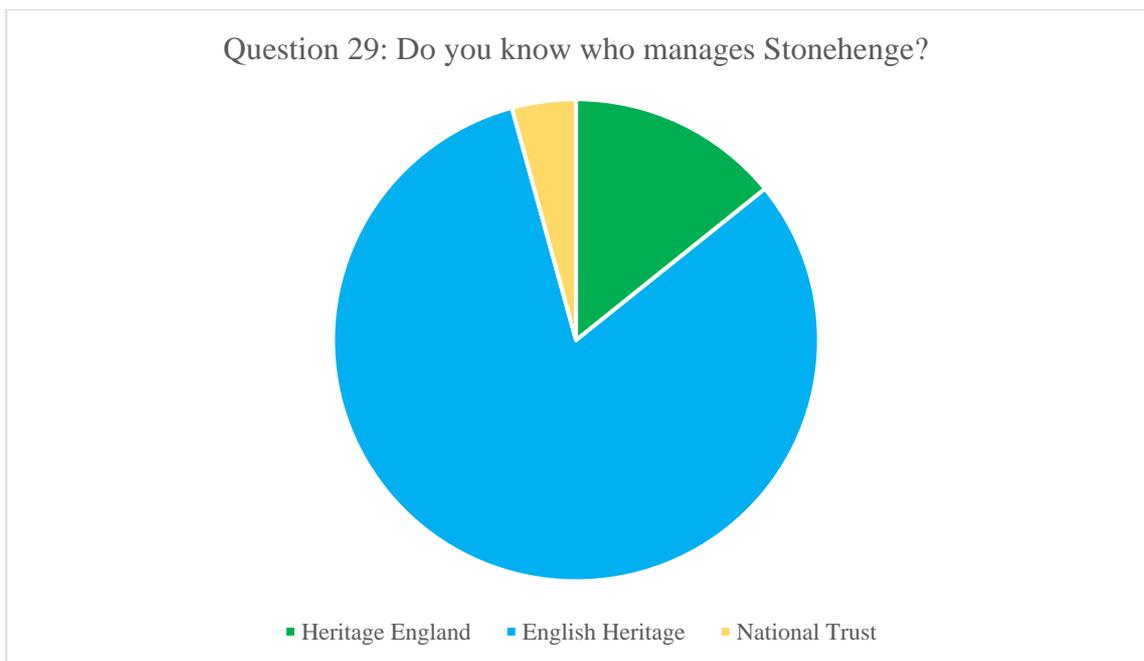
As expected, many responses were categorized as Archaeology and History. It was clear that there were several concerns over the A303 Tunnel's length and the destruction of potential archaeological remains. For tunnel length, responses seemed to be in agreement that the tunnel should be longer, so that it would avoid potential destruction of archaeology and keep the entrances outside the WHS area. Although some responses were positive about the tunnel, stating it could 'preserve the landscape while improving roads' or that it was the best way to improve the A303 whilst minimizing damage to archaeology. One participant stated that: 'as an archaeologist who had worked on the tunnel scheme I can confidently say that it is, has and will be excavated to a very high standard by commercial archaeologists'. Despite this many were vehemently against it, arguing that the tunnel would destroy archaeology and cause 'horrific harm to possible artifacts under ground', even putting 'deeper archaeological deposits in danger' These responses could be linked to a certain published letter that came out around the time of the survey that warned the tunnel would destroy half a million artefacts. Again, it is clearly evident that media had an effect on participant answers.

There were some strong opinions of the tunnel that were coded as Religion and Beliefs. These responses centred around the 'sacredness' of Stonehenge and the 'ritual landscape', to disturb it would be a 'desecration'. One participant stated that if roads around Stonehenge were to be improved, they [the government?] should 'let the Pagans and the Druids set the expectations, not modern convenience'. Although this is somewhat relevant, Stonehenge (as much as some may wish to be) does not solely belong to any subculture in society, although Stonehenge is sacred to British Pagans this does not mean that it is irrelevant to everyone else. There was also concern over the disruption to the midwinter sunset and solar movements which are 'critical' to Stonehenge, due to tunnel entrance alignments and light emissions. Although this concern is not unfounded, the tunnel would remove light emissions from the road and if longer, so the entrances were outside of the WHS, would not be visible at all within the Stonehenge landscape.

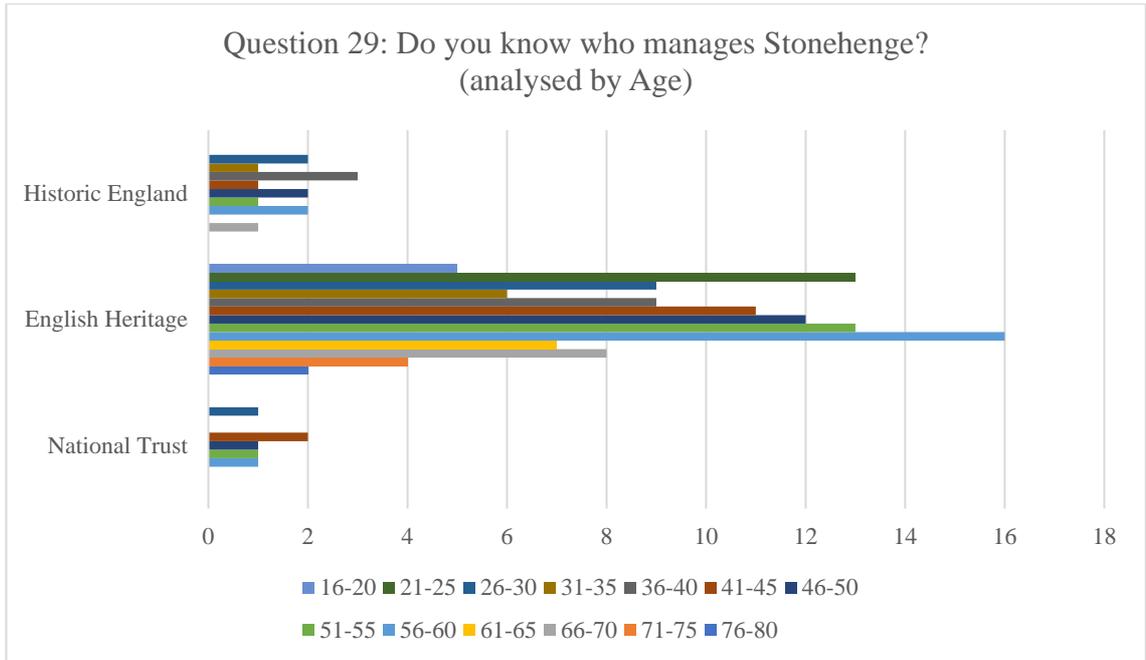
For Political responses, it was evident that participants were frustrated by the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme, particularly money-wise. It was described as 'corrupt by

inception, design and execution’ and a ‘waste of money’ that was too much to spend when ‘the country is already in more than enough trouble as it is’. There was also crossover between Political and Cultural responses as some participants mentioned that the view from the A303 is the only ‘free view most will have’ and that Stonehenge an ‘important landmark, marking halfway to London’. Although some Culture responses were positive about the scheme as they thought it would stop traffic congestion and accidents and ‘improve connection with the landscape’, which from responses to previous questions is what many of the survey population would like.

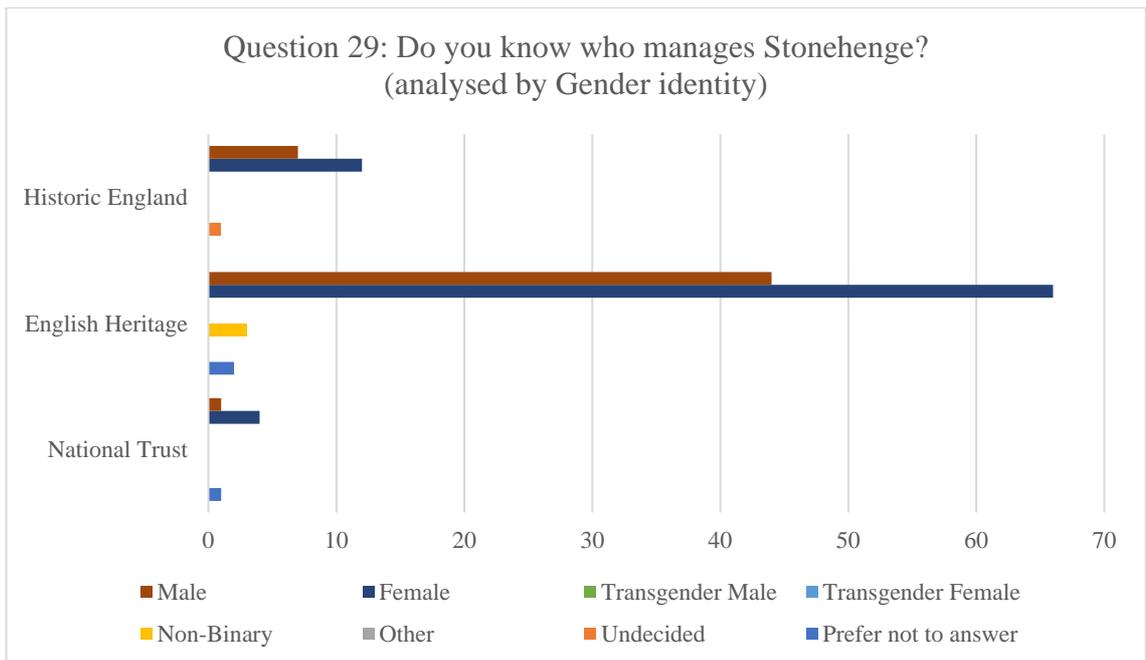
Unsurprisingly, participants had strong emotions about the tunnel scheme, with one stating that they found it ‘deeply offensive and disrespectful’, although others were more ambivalent stating that they were not ‘really fussed’ or did not know enough about it to have a strong opinion. It seemed that there was a contrast between those who thought that it was ‘risky’ or ‘deeply worrying’ and those who thought it was upsetting but the ‘best solution to a difficult issue’ and that the tunnel was a ‘necessary evil’ or an ‘adequate compromise’ to a problem with no ideal solution. Overall, it was evident from these responses that many feel the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme is a difficult topic and the cause of much debate around Stonehenge. From these responses, most seem to be against the scheme on the whole, but some participants believe it could work provided that it is executed properly and that it is the best solution for a problem which has caused difficulties for much of Stonehenge’s modern social history.



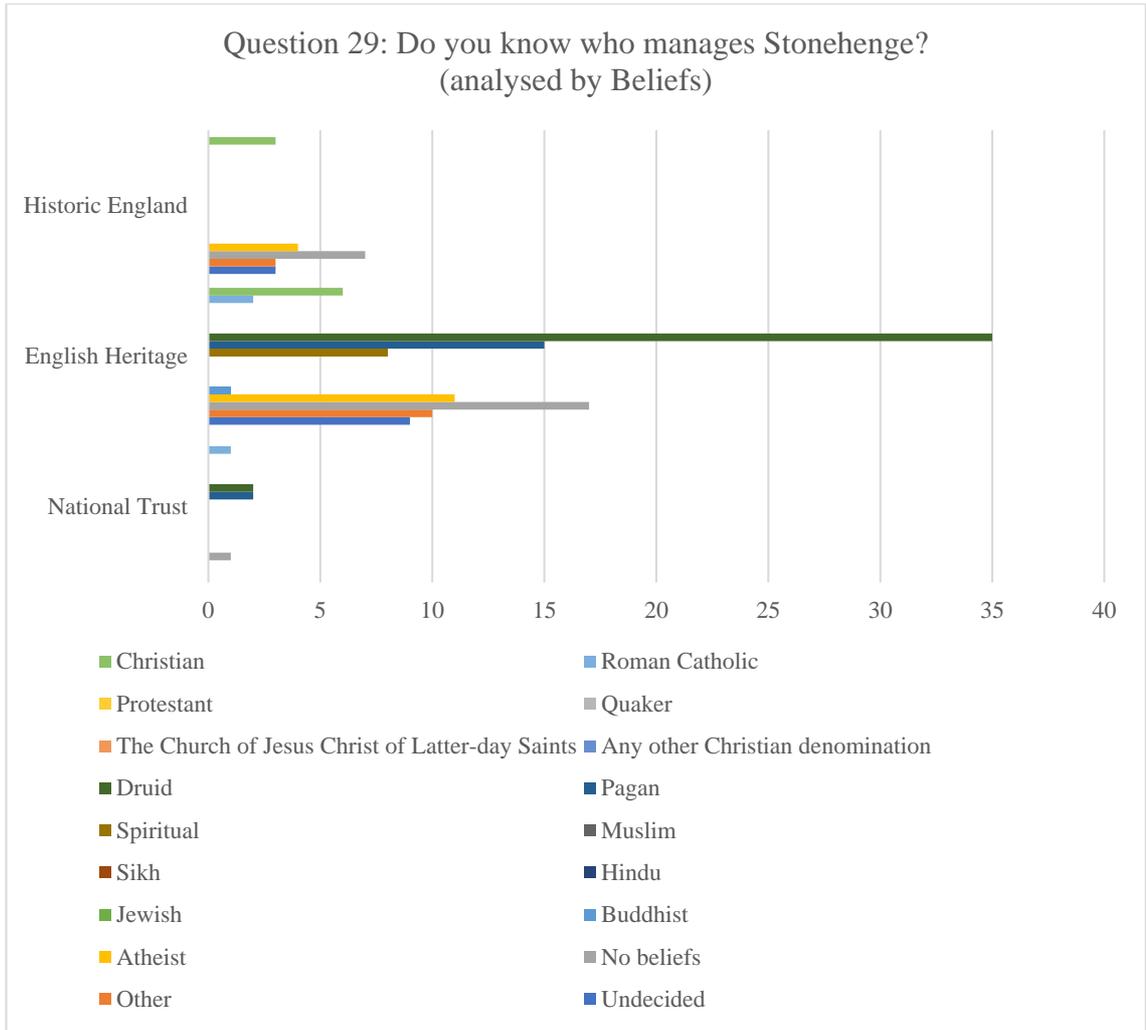
4.93: Management of Stonehenge, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



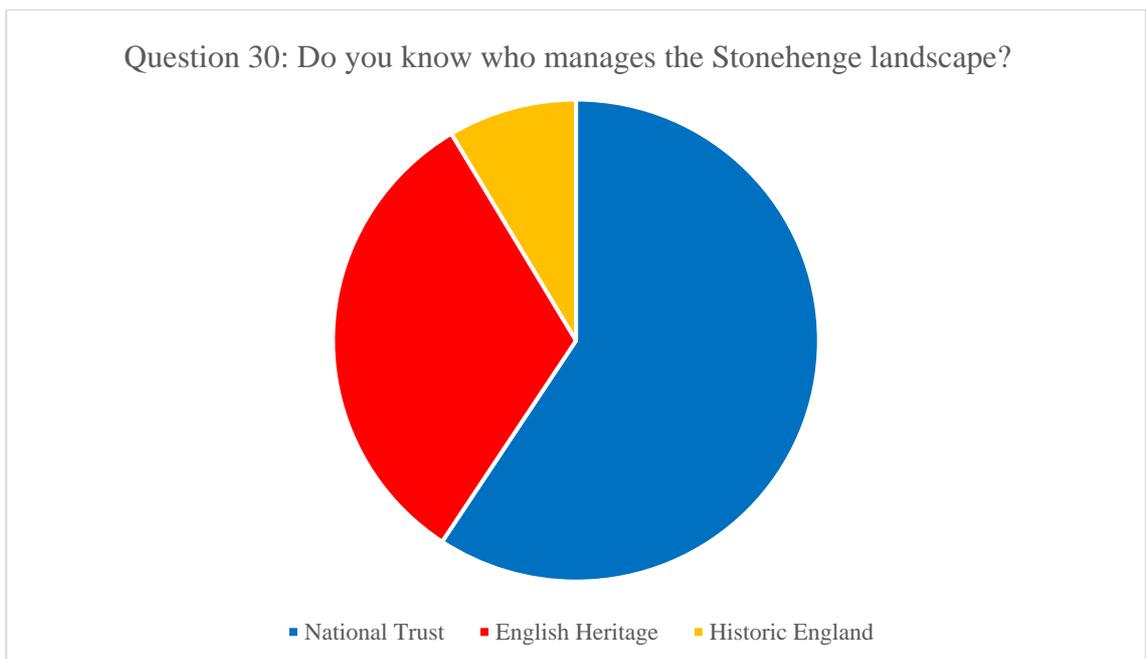
4.94: Management of Stonehenge, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



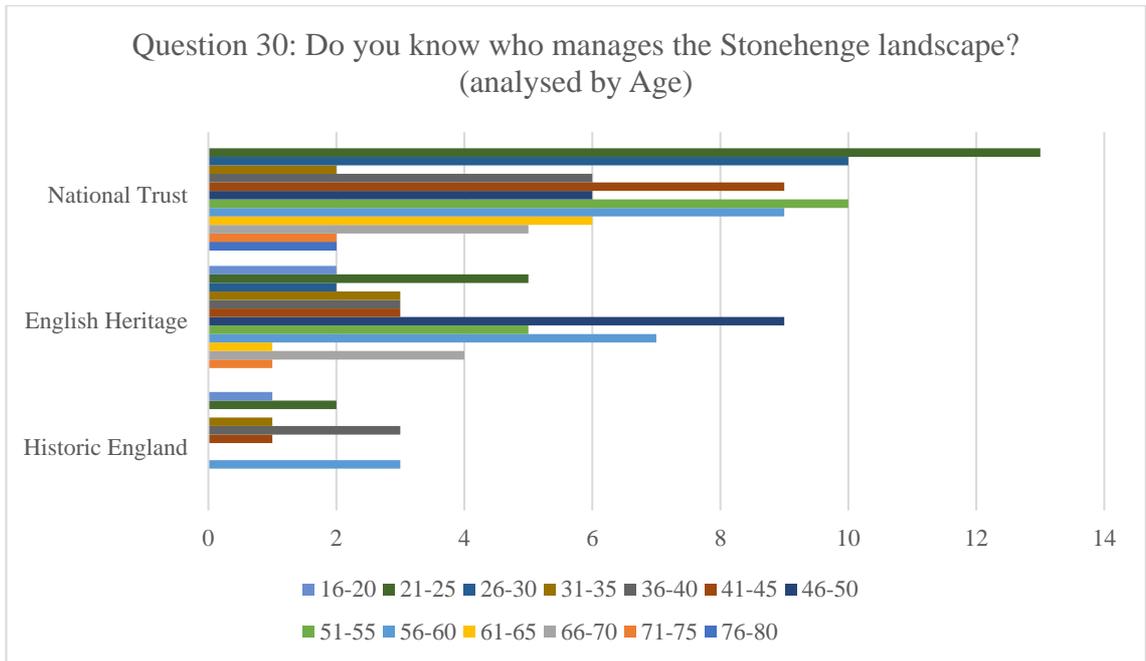
4.95: Management of Stonehenge, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



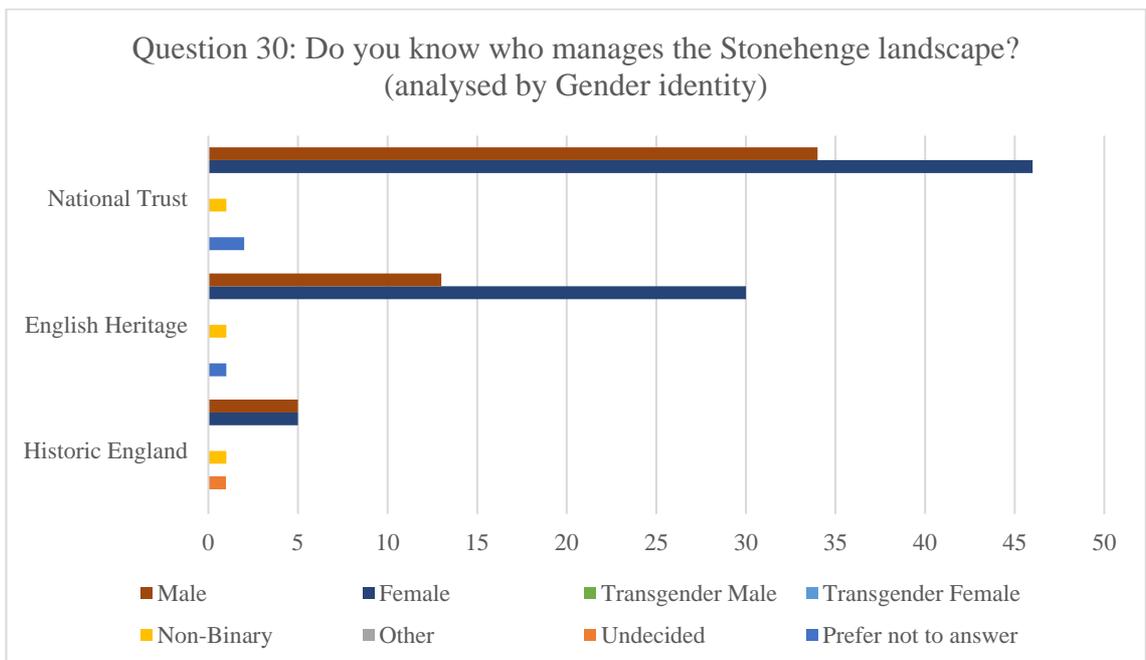
4.96: Management of Stonehenge, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



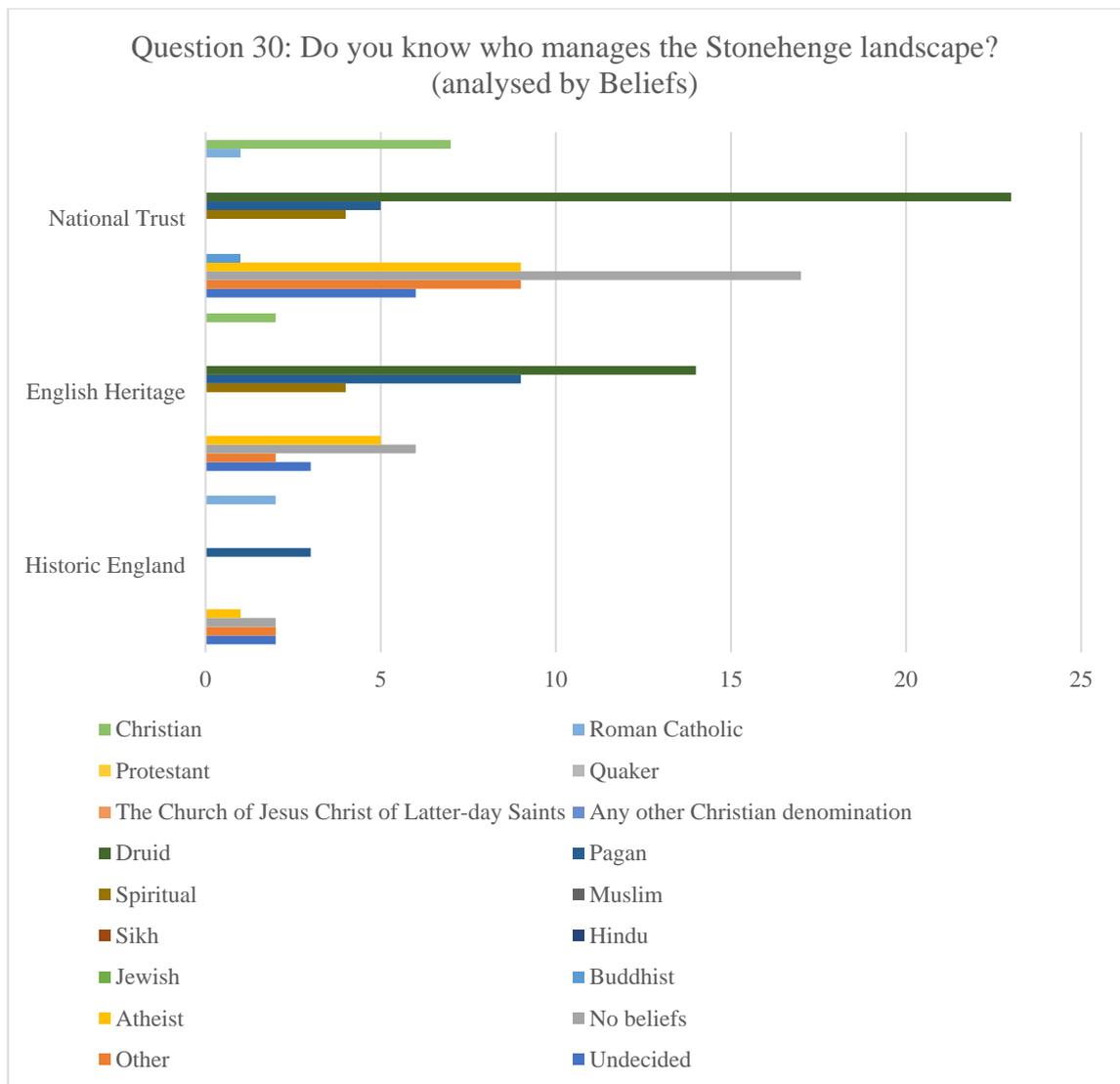
4.97: Management of the Stonehenge Landscape, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.98: Management of the Stonehenge Landscape, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.99: Management of the Stonehenge Landscape, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.100: Management of the Stonehenge Landscape, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Question 29 and 30 finished off the Stonehenge and Transport section of the survey and were really to see how many participants were aware of which national bodies look after and manage Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape for the public. It partly came about due to the researcher’s experiences of volunteering at Stonehenge as visitors were often confused as to why certain areas were out of bounds. Such as the fence around Stonehenge which marks the boundary between NT land and EH land.

Historic England was included as an option in both questions just out of interest and there was of course, a right and a wrong answer but it was purely to see how much the survey participants knew about the management of Stonehenge. For question 29, 82% of participants knew that EH manages Stonehenge but surprisingly 14% thought it was Historic England. When analysed by age, it was interesting that every participant aged between 16 and 25 got this question right, as did 71-80 year olds. Beliefs analysis did not indicate any anomalies and showed that the vast majority of Druids and Pagans that took part were aware EH managed Stonehenge.

For question 30 most participants knew it was the NT but 32% thought it was EH and 9% thought it the right answer was Heritage England. There was a range of ages who believed the answer to be English Heritage, rather than younger ages as the researcher had thought. Gender identity analysis revealed that at least one participant from each identity present in the dataset were wrong and Beliefs indicated that a surprisingly large number of Druids and Pagans were under the wrong impression. Although these questions were purely out of interest it is evident from the data that a not insignificant number of participants are not aware of which national bodies manage different aspects of the Stonehenge landscape, which is slightly concerning.

### Final Comments

This was the preliminary page before the end of the survey and provided the means for participants to contribute any further comments that they had not yet had the opportunity to do so. Participants were also asked whether they would like to be interviewed further and this served as a recruitment pool for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Interviews.

### 4.M: Table of Thematic Coding for Question 31 (Is there anything else you would like to contribute?)

Archaeology and History
Stonehenge is a unique place with ancient history and cultural value. It still remains a mystery, yet its importance can hardly be underrated. I vote against any constructions that may harm the landscape and change it forever. Living in the time when ecological catastrophe is near at hand, we should first of all appreciate our ancestors' heritage, recognize and protect it. It would have been a great miracle if anyone these days had constructed something like Stonehenge. There is still so much to observe and discover, and we cannot allow another great archaeological site be harmed. Constructions like Stonehenge are, though ancient, are extremely fragile, and one irresponsible action can wipe them off the Earth's surface, like it happened with the two enormous Buddha statues in Afganistan. Government must protect, not undermine the heritage of its country.
I like the new visitor route to the stones as you get to appreciate more of the landscape then previously when you arrived near to the stones.
Very pleased it is now a World Heritage Site, let's keep it that way. Thank you for doing this research.
The Stonehenge Landscape needs to be presented as a whole, and the Stonehenge site as just part of that whole. This will enable the general population to understand the objections to the work proposed in the area.
The removal of the road will ensure future generations will be able to experience the stones and barrows as the architects intended without modern influences being so close and detracting from the experience for those seeking to imagine the fundamental historic atmosphere. This ancient place will finally have the future it deserves!
Stonehenge and the landscape around is too fragile and too important to be heavily used or built on. It is a unique and important monument that should be open to all but treated with respect.
Stonehenge is a unique sacred space. The archaeology of the site is of global importance and is extremely vulnerable.
It puzzles and frustrates me why modern planning does not protect ancient monuments. Planning should not be permitted within a certain distance of any ancient monument - including major roadworks.
Religion and Beliefs

Stonehenge should be protected at all cost and groups who see it as sacred land should be respected and let their voice be heard. Any development that is not centred around the conservation of the land should be stopped immediately.
This land has been a sacred spot for longer than the country that manages it has existed it should be protected
Stonehenge should be accessible & unrestricted as a place of pilgrimage.
For ceremonial occasions members of official druid organisations only, it's a bucket list circus at the moment and a fashion rather than faith
Stonehenge isnt the be all and end all. There are lots of other sites with better access and dragon energy ley lines
I believe that access should be free at appropriate times to those attending for spiritual purposes, outside of the horror of the solstices, which are detrimental to those who truly view the site as spiritually significant.
Stonehenge should be accessible to those in the faith up close but only seen to visitors from distance and kept clean and safe
I consider being able to visit Stonehenge a gift to mankind. It is a sacred site and should be treated as such.
Stonehenge has qualities unseen by the human eyes, yet they are palpable to anyone who takes the time to be still. It is not a place for traffic and busyness. My partner and I celebrated a hand-fasting there in 2017 and it would be wonderful if ancient rituals such as this were promoted. I'm from New Zealand and would greatly appreciate greater access. This is a sacred site as much as any cathedral or church and should be respected as such.
Worldwide, Stonehenge is a place on people's lists, a curiosity without real personal meaning. For pagans it has meaning, but what that meaning is, is individual and muddled, and will likely have little to do with what the original users felt.
Pagan usage is treated as undesirable and is squeezed out, barely tolerated. Our narrative is excluded. Tourists rule. Lost opportunity for spiritual diplomacy and community celebration. Ie Amesbury Mayday.
Stonehenge wants to be left alone, to pilgrims and isolated rituals, not a new mega venue.
Stonehenge needs to be a sacred and special site to honour ancestors.
I am fortunate enough to go for private ceremony, but we also go for open access, I have been enthralled with it since a boy, met my wife there and were hand fasted there.
I think that the stones should be more open for peaceful spiritual observations and visitors and pilgrims
Yes, do you think the stones should be returned to the Preseli Hills given the proof an original stone circle existed? I question why they were taken? This may be why I have felt more of a connection with Avebury than Stonehenge. Now I know why. It was not their original place. The site should be managed to encourage use as a contemporary temple connecting people with the environment today not just as a museum piece
I visited the stones as a child when it was possible to have full access. Although memorable, the site does need protecting, sadly.
<b>Culture</b>
If we forget our culture, history and origins we cease to exist as a people. The further we move from an agrarian lifestyle the more damage we do to the world, ourselves and nature.

Regularly driving past S. with foreign students of heritage they were always unimpressed. Much smaller and less imposing than they expected. Often thought it was a model beside the road.
Festivals are too limited a view of the potential for the landscape. It's also an important habitat for plants, birds and other wildlife.
Shutting it away in a visitors centre diminishes the importance of the freedom behind this wonderful place
I would very much like routine public access to the monument to be restored, rather than having to book tickets to be allowed to enter it
There should be access to the stones themselves
I think that we should concentrate more on the of the wildlife rich area around Stonehenge rather than looking to increase access o the area. I think the living breathing landscape is being forgotten about when really this is more important than the actual stones (important historical artefact that these are)
Did you come across a band called CRASS? I remember one of their albums had a booklet which talked of Wally Hope and the festival.
Stonehenge is a beautiful place but is far too commercialized and taken over by tourists for it to be appreciated for what it is.
Although I haven't visited the site, I would love to be able to have better access from all regions of England and the UK, but preserve the site as well. I haven't been able to visit due to only transport that I know of to get there being by car. I would love to visit and get up close to stone henge :)
I have visited pre and post the new visitor center and I feel a lot has been taken away from this amazing site. The last time I visited it was upsetting as it was so obviously aimed at and all about commerciality, restriction of free movement and tourist foot fall. I can remember parking in the dark on the drove and being able to visit on the Winter solstice with many others, all of whom showed love and respect to the stones and its site.
<b>Emotive</b>
I visited Stonehenge during a sunrise in March 2007 and it was one of the most memorable things I did as a tourist. I was fortunate enough to purchase a tour that allowed me to go inside the stones and touch the stones, accomplishing a lifelong dream. I was in my early 20s then and still carry that feeling forward when recalling the magic of that trip today, approaching my 40s.
Ancient historical sites have been abused far more than they should. Preservation takes a backseat to modern convenience. To better understand our past and how people lived and survived on the land we now inhabit, we need the sites that to remain to continue to remain. It is hard to preserve them when things like highways and airports are built close to them. Look at the restoration and preservation steps the team at Pueblo Grande in Phoenix, Arizona had to figure out and implement to keep this vital ruin at the heart of the city. Daily air travel slowly wears away at the mound. Past improper handling of the site also made it difficult for more recent researchers to be sure of their findings. Learn from the mistakes of others - listen to those who would preserve your history – your ancient history.
I realise this is part of your work, however there are many more important and exciting places than Stonehenge. I think you may be reading far too much into it. Mind you, if Stonehenge focuses the attention, the other sites are left to get on with it, with their local pagans, wiccans, druids (and you left Wiccan off your list of religions btw). SS at Stonehenge is about as spiritual as a tea party with the local vicar. It's just an excuse for a party.
When I first visited Stonehenge at the age of 11, there was no charge that I remember, and you could wander right up to the stones. Coming from a Midland town where foreigners were people from the next village, this was the first time I encountered real live Americans, and it was quite a shock to discover they really talked like that, and didn't just put the accent on for films. It was a retired American couple, the wife seemed more

<p>amazed that she had just seen daisies for the first time in her life! As a result, for many years I held the erroneous belief that there are no daisies in North America. The last time I went back to Stonehenge was with my Polish lodger in 2004. It was a disappointing visit, as we would have to pay extra to get up to the stones, which we didn't. Overall I much prefer Avebury as a place to visit.</p>
<p>I often come across as jaded (there are multiple contributing factors to the sour taste I'm left with) when talking about Stonehenge which is a shame because I do think the site has its merits and is interesting.</p>
<p>I'd love to walk amongst the stones but appreciate people are stupid and don't understand how important the whole area is. The road scheme should be stopped.</p>
<p>Too much emphasis is placed on the stone circle itself, to the detriment of grander monuments such as Avebury.</p>
<p>I only ever went once, but it was intoxicating and enchanting.</p>
<p><b>Politics</b></p>
<p>Access to Stonehenge should be made far more accessible in terms of price of admission. It should be far more reasonable. Far more money should be spent on outreach in order to expand the range of activities offered and to make access, especially to school children, easier.</p>
<p>I have been at various times in my life, as a child when we could go right up to the stones, in a private ceremony at dawn, and at the summer solstice, and a final visit with the more recent access of the distance perimeter. This last time was awful, devoid of a sense of place, I felt like we were being herded. It was really not good. I appreciate there are a vast amount of visitors, but the sense of meaning is so deeply significant for many and should be encouraged. I recognise too that many have socio-political meaning of freedoms and sense of identity all mixed up with access to the stones. It is indeed a very powerful symbol of sovereignty. (If you haven't yet, I suggest reading Nick Hayes' 'the book of trespass'. I hope you find it illuminating about land access and social structures connected to the land in the UK.</p>
<p>Closing the A342 was a pain for us locals but it has made for an enhanced experience of the Stonehenge landscape seen from the north. Having better access and experience of space from the south would be amazing.</p>
<p>Disinterested bureaucrats should not hold the keys to what little remains of our ancient holy sites. They should also not be allowed to defile them in the name of progress.</p>
<p>For some years in the late 1990s I attended the Stonehenge access meetings chaired by English Heritage. It was clear that with so many competing voices requiring such different engagements with the same site, it is likely to remain contentious for the foreseeable future. The anger of some in the Druid and Pagan communities expressed towards archaeologists and visitors at the henge have also served to drive a significant wedge between the Druid and Pagan communities and the archaeological communities to the detriment of both, but primarily of the former, since the latter have official recognition.</p>
<p>I sat on the stones as a child and it saddens me my own children have not been able to have the same experience. It makes me angry to think that this is largely a result of the Thatcher Govt's hatred of travellers, which while shocking in itself has had an impact on all of us who have any connection to the Stonehenge landscape.</p>
<p>Too much focus on the stones that undermines the importance of the landscape. This site is too political as being archetypal of English cultural history. I grew up in the area and the appropriation of the site by varying political and social groups worries me as the site, especially in the 80s became toxic. It was used to divide communities. We couldn't leave the village at the end of June as the A36 was closed with snow gates and a heavy police presence... this site was used, alongside the travelling community to represent everything the Tories hated and little England despised. It was like the scene in chocolate with "travellers (not the word that was used) not welcome" in shops and pubs. The landscape fascinates me and I am myself now an archaeologist, but the stones are a turn off.. I have little interest in them due to my childhood experiences.</p>

Access to the stones should be returned English Heritage use Stonehenge as a purely money making cash cow. This is wrong. Stonehenge was given to the people and the people should be able to access the sacred stones.
It's ours, not for development or monetising
Taking away the view of Stonehenge from passing cars is a mistake. People like to see it, even if they would never dream of going there specifically. Public money is used to maintain it - revenue from everyone, not just those interested in archaeology. What happens if the wider public stop caring about it?
Stonehenge is a truly special site, not the only site of prehistoric significance in the area. It should be maintained, and access should be free to everyone. History is something that should be free for all to learn, charging a premium for an open area is almost laughable.
<b>Unable to categorise</b>
Interesting survey
A large part of my PhD thesis explores Pagan contestation. It's available from BAR under the title of Contested Heritage
Great survey, very mildly similar to my master's degree dissertation survey. Good luck!
I have carried out a lot of volunteering at Stonehenge and leading school groups around the landscape. I have included these sessions in my visitor figures.

Question 31 was the final textual question in the survey and was an opportunity for participants to leave any comments they may have. The responses were evenly distributed across all themes, though a few were unable to be categorised. For responses that were categorised under Archaeology and History, several participants expressed concerns about planning and development, with comments like 'we cannot allow another great archaeological site to be harmed' or 'Planning should not be permitted within a certain distance of any ancient monument - including major roadworks' which clearly alludes to the A303 Tunnel Scheme.

Others were more positive; one liked the new route visitors take to the stones due to COVID-19 as they get to 'appreciate more of the landscape'. There was also reflection on what Stonehenge as an archaeological site is, several responses mentioned 'unique' and 'important' when describing Stonehenge, with one participant stating that Stonehenge is a 'unique place with ancient history and cultural value'. The Archaeology and History theme contained the only negative response from the survey, with the participant stating that 'I realise this is part of your work, however there are many more important and exciting places than Stonehenge. I think you may be reading far too much into it', which is a point, but the whole basis of this research project is Stonehenge, something they were aware of at the very beginning of the survey. Though the reminder from this participant that the researcher had left Wiccan off the list of beliefs was useful, this would have been added in hindsight.

The Emotive responses were mixed and it was evident that this question was an opportunity for participants to reflect on their feelings about Stonehenge. Although some described the monument in positive ways: a 'lifelong dream', 'intoxicating', 'enchanted'. Others were less enthusiastic, one was 'jaded' and two participants mentioned that they preferred Avebury to visit. Many of the responses that were

categorized as Culture focused on accessibility to Stonehenge, participants wanted more access to the monument, 'routine public access' to be re-established, access to the stones themselves and that free movement was restricted. Others mentioned wildlife and the countryside around Stonehenge that the 'living breathing landscape' was being laid aside in favour of the stones. Another angle participant responses took were to do with issues of over-commercialization of the monument. For example, that the site was 'all about commerciality and tourist foot fall' that it has been so 'taken over' by tourists it cannot be properly enjoyed.

This was also a theme within the Political responses, with a focus on development, monetization of Stonehenge and tourism. Statements ranged from 'charging a premium for an open area is almost laughable', to 'English Heritage uses Stonehenge as a money-making cash cow'. One participant argued that Stonehenge should be more accessible by charging reasonable admission prices and expanding the outreach. Another was concerned about the free view that is currently given by the A303, taking this away with the implementation of a tunnel would be a mistake they argued as 'public money is used to maintain it [the monument]'

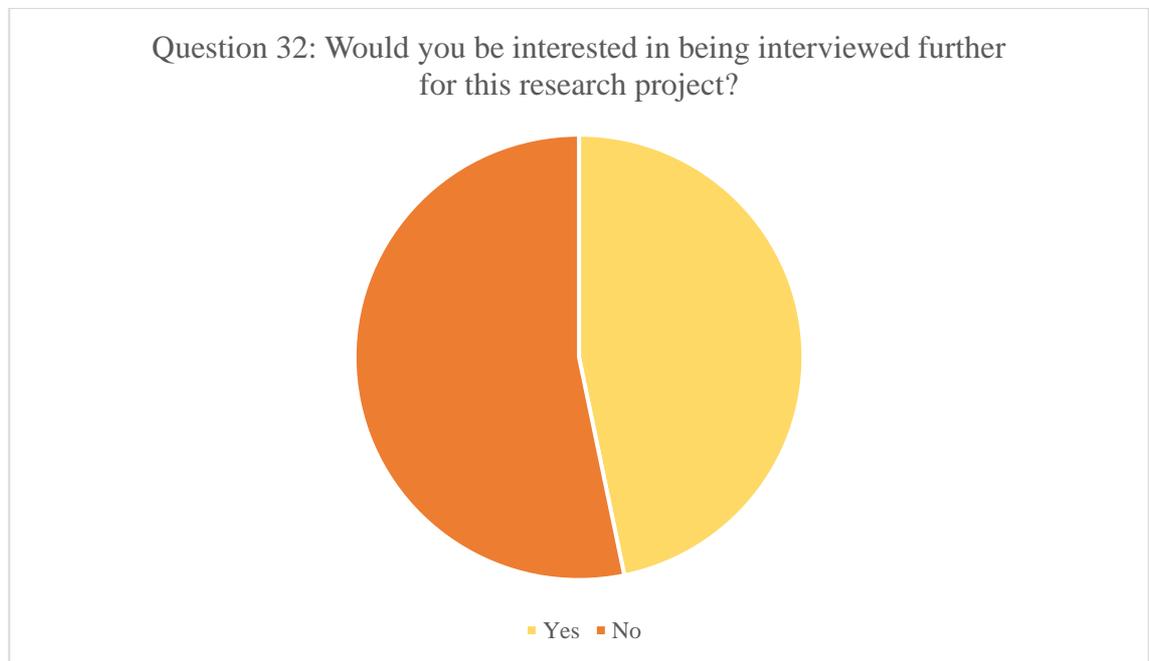
A few participants reflected on the divisions between different social subgroups that are invested in Stonehenge and its future. With 'so many competing voices' that enquire different engagement with the site, one participant thought that it would remain 'contentious for the foreseeable'. They thought that the anger expressed by some British Pagans has 'driven a significant wedge' between them and archaeologists, which had caused damage to the reputation of British Pagans. Two participants linked political and social appropriation of Stonehenge to accessibility to the site today, with one stating that this was the result of the 'Thatcher Government's hatred of Travellers', echoed by the other; Stonehenge was used to 'represent everything the Tories hated and Little England despised'. This emphasis on political appropriation of Stonehenge has been a reoccurring theme throughout the primary data and will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Within the responses categorized under Religion and Beliefs, there was some indication of frustration with Stonehenge tourism and perceived lack of respect to British Paganism. One participant stated that 'Pagan usage is treated as undesirable and is squeezed out, barely tolerated' and 'tourists rule'. One response was clearly influenced by the *Stonehenge: Lost Circle Revealed* tv programme, which aired before the survey. This person stated that they felt 'more of a connection with Avebury than Stonehenge' because Stonehenge is not 'their original place'. This indicates the impact that media has on peoples' views and the extent to which they will believe the 'proof' of the existence of an 'original stone circle'; even though Stonehenge has been in its current site for thousands of years.

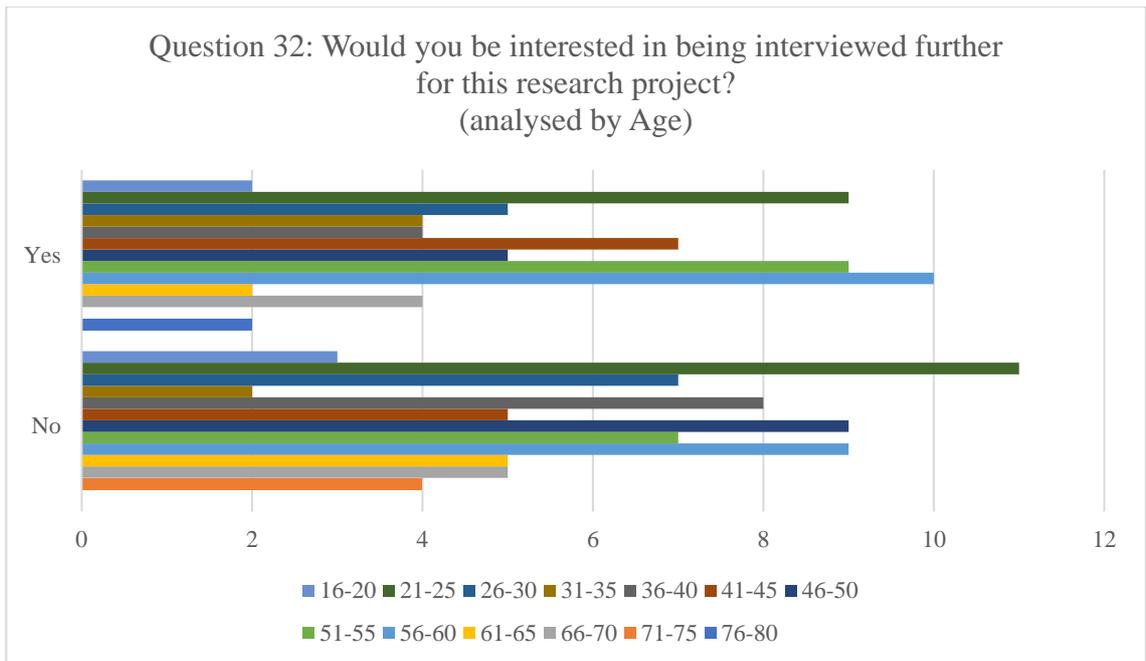
Others were of the opinion that the managed access events were no longer an appropriate celebration for British Pagans, that the 'horror of the solstices' had become 'a bucket list circus'. Some participants argued that Stonehenge should be accessible for those who use it as a temple as part of their beliefs: 'Stonehenge should be accessible & unrestricted as a place of pilgrimage' or 'free at appropriate times to those attending for spiritual purposes'. Others wanted events to be for 'members of official druid organisations only'. Stonehenge (they seem to refer to the inner circle) should only be accessible to 'those in the faith' with visitors being kept at a distance. Another said that the monument should be 'left alone to pilgrims and isolated rituals', which was

supported by another comment that ‘Stonehenge needs to be a sacred and special site to honour ancestors’.

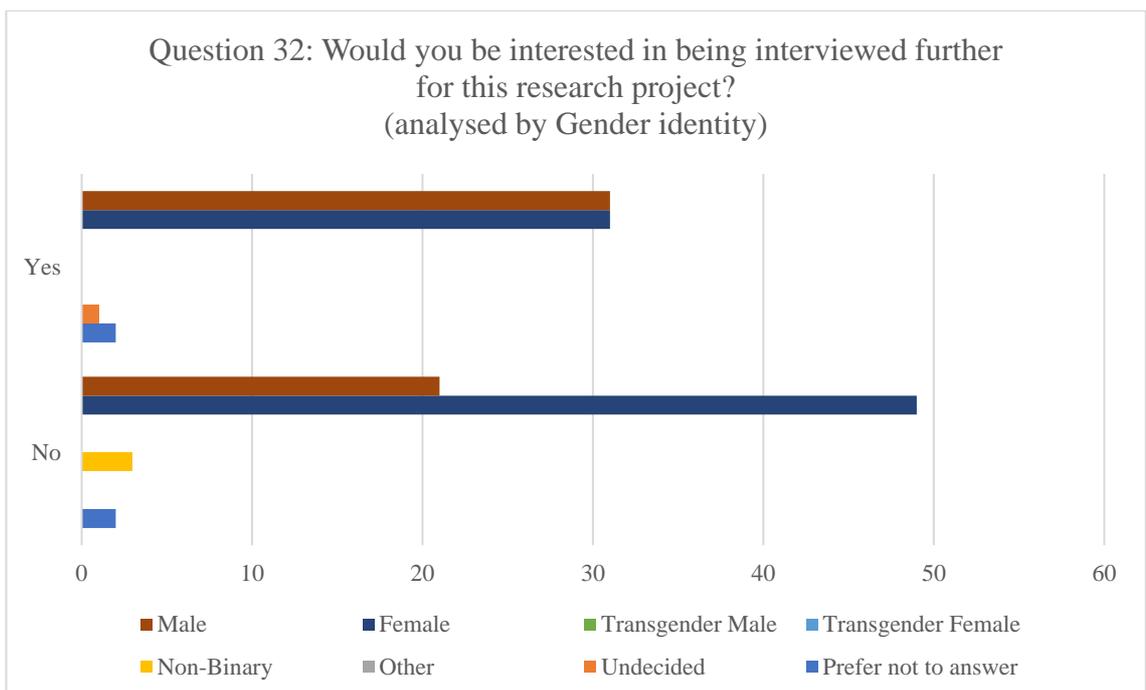
These responses raise difficult questions as we can understand the frustrations of some British Pagans in that they do not feel that Stonehenge is being treated as a sacred temple should be. It is evident that some feel Stonehenge has become too commercialised and tourism-focused. However, these responses could be seen as slightly problematic and exclusionary. How do we know who our ‘ancestors’ are? There are troubling discussions where ‘ancestors’ have been used in pseudoarchaeology to put forward dated and often racist views, where Western cultural heritage is seen as superior to others. Though many consider Stonehenge to be sacred, by removing access to all but for the few who are deemed to be ‘official’ British Pagans or there for spiritual reasons, this is Stonehenge’s history repeating itself. This supports exclusionary ideas that heritage is not for everyone and as sacred as Stonehenge may be, it should be a site where anyone can go to experience archaeological and cultural heritage.



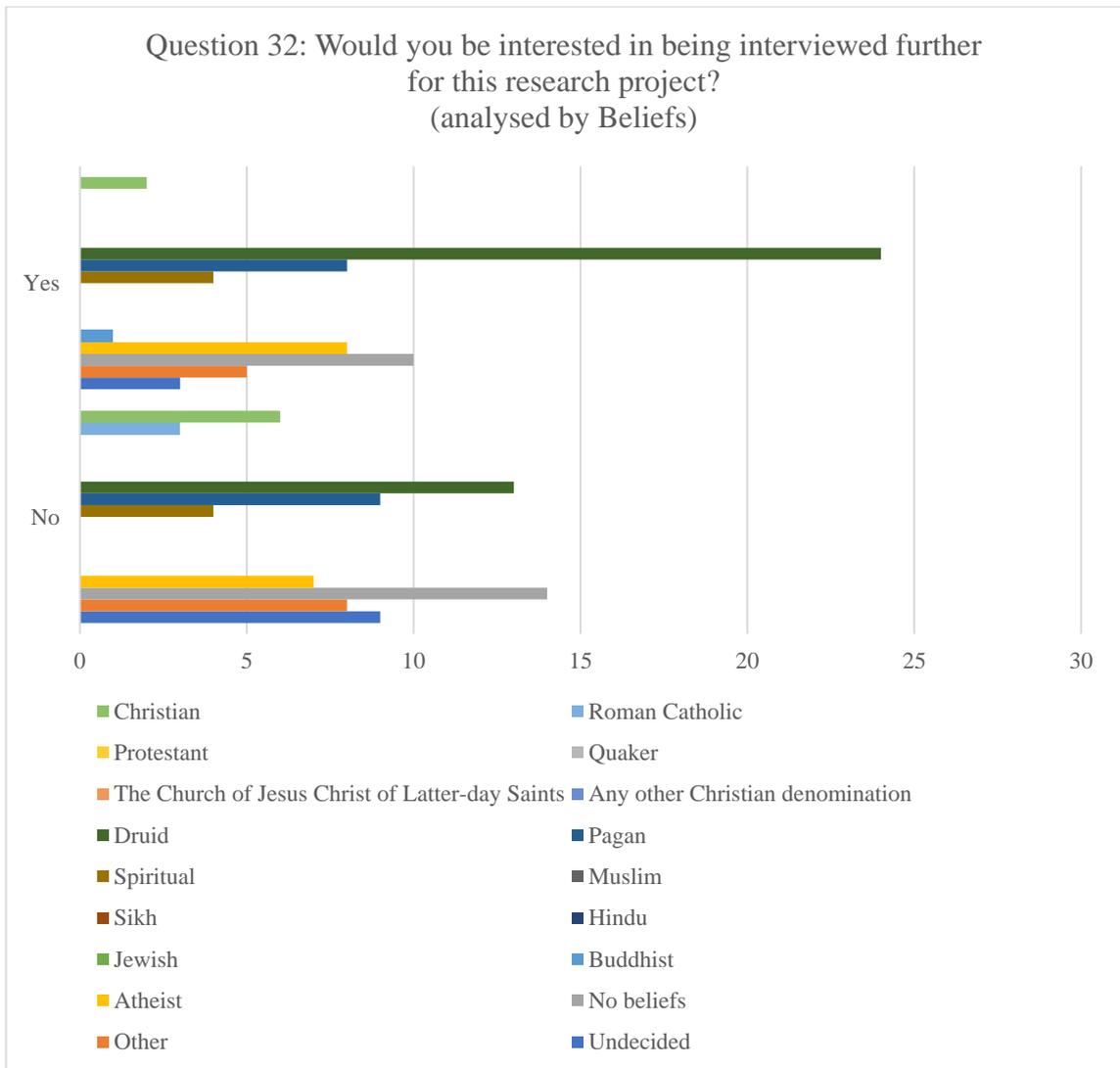
4.101: Further Involvement in this Research Project, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.102: Further Involvement in this Research Project, analysed by Age, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.103: Further Involvement in this Research Project, analysed by Gender identity, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)



4.104: Further Involvement in this Research Project, analysed by Beliefs, 2021  
(T. Grist Parker)

Question 32 asked participants whether they wanted to be interviewed further for this research project. If they answered yes, in question 33, they were encouraged to leave their email address, so that they could later be contacted. Out of 142 participants, 65 expressed an interest in being interviewed. Of these 65 participants, participants that were born between 1960 and 1969 (aged between 52 and 61 at the time of the survey) were the main age group that wanted to be interviewed. When analysed by gender, men and women were equally likely to say ‘yes’ although women were the majority group for saying ‘no’ to being interviewed. However, there was a majority of female participants in this survey, so this does not indicate anything.. In terms of beliefs, Druids were the most interested in sharing their views about Stonehenge, though those who were ‘Undecided’ were the largest group who said ‘no’ to being interviewed. The researcher was surprised that the majority of participants who wished to be interviewed were Druid, but this could be another indicator of how important Stonehenge is to Druids in terms of their beliefs. The Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Interviews are discussed further in Chapter Five.

### End of survey

‘End of survey’ was the final page for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey. It was important to include this page as it brought the survey to a natural close and allowed the researcher to thank the participants for taking part. The participants were not compensated in any way for contributing to the survey, so it was polite and courteous to thank them and make them feel like their time and answers were acknowledged and greatly appreciated.

## **Summary**

In summary, this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the data collected from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, which proved to be an interesting dataset. By breaking down the questions using Thematic coding or Age, Gender identity and Beliefs, it allows for an in-depth view of participants perceptions and ideas about Stonehenge. It is evident that the three afore-mentioned participant factors influence their opinions of the monument and its modern social history.

These results are a unique set that was collected in the Spring of 2021 and doubtless, if this survey was to be repeated in the future, there would be a different outcome. This online survey would be relatively easy to duplicate and analyse if someone wished to do so, using Thematic Coding and other analytical techniques the researcher employed. However, it is worth noting that parts of this survey are dependent on the views of the researcher. For example, the Thematic Coding and categorisation of textual data. Although another person could use the same Thematic Code, they might get a completely different set of results, because they may determine a participant response as political whereas the researcher thought it was cultural and vice versa.

To conclude, although the dataset cannot be generalised to the main UK population due to its size, it indicates how a small sample of the public perceives Stonehenge and its modern social history, through their views and personal experiences of it. Which has proved to be of value to this research project.

## **Chapter Five – Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews**

As detailed in the Methodologies chapter, this set of interviews was carried out after the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey finished. They provide further analysis of what some of the survey participants think about Stonehenge and its social history. They can also be cross analysed with the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. This interview set was analysed using thematic coding.

### **The Interview Process**

Unlike the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews, all the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey interviews were conducted by email. This method was chosen for collecting the data for this interview set as it was quick and provided textual data. It was anticipated that transcripts for the Experiences of SH interviews would take a long time to transcribe, if these interviews also required transcripts, this would take a large amount of research time which the researcher did not have.

Out of the sixty-five survey participants who had expressed an interest in being interviewed, twenty were randomly selected and emailed. The chosen participants were emailed with an invitation and the interview questions. They were given a week to complete the interview if they wished to take part. Giving the participants a short deadline allowed for quick collection of data and the opportunity to follow up with them if some aspects of their interview was unclear. Out of the twenty participants, five responded with usable interviews.

These interviews were then thematically coded to show the key reoccurring themes in the data. An example of this is available in Appendix C. The analysis and discussion of the interviews was based upon these thematic codes and the participant answers. Thematic coding was chosen as an analysis technique because it made it easier to interpret the interview participants' responses. For example, it was evident that many of the participants focused on the Beliefs theme in relation to Stonehenge. Some of the interview data is discussed further in Chapter Nine. The data from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge interviews is discussed via the interview questions rather than the participants, to enable an ongoing comparison between responses.

### **Analysis and Discussion of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interview Data**

The main theme for these five participants was 'Religion and Beliefs', followed by 'Emotive'. Coincidentally, most of the participants were British Pagans. Participant 2 is a Druid. It is evident that participant 2's beliefs and research influenced their response, as the main themes were 'Emotive' and 'Religion and Beliefs'. Overall, it seems that participant 2 has a largely belief-based response to Stonehenge, it is an important part of their life as a Druid but is also a source of interest due to their archaeological background. Participant 14's response was less detailed than the others but was still informative. Similarly, to Participant 2, the thematic coding of Participant 14's interview indicated that the main theme was 'Religion and Beliefs'. It is evident from 14's response that they are interested in the various theories that surround Stonehenge.

The main thematic theme for Participant 31 was 'Religions and Beliefs'. Participant 31 is part of the Pagan community and Stonehenge is of immense importance to them.

It was apparent from Participant 31's responses that Stonehenge is an essential part of their life as it has been part of personal religious ceremonies, evokes strong emotions and they regard it as an 'outdoor organic temple'. Unlike the other participants, the main thematic code for Participant 38 was 'Archaeology and History'. They do not seem to have an emotional connection to Stonehenge and view it from a largely historical perspective. Participant 46's responses were mostly 'Emotive', followed by 'Religion and Beliefs'. It is evident that Stonehenge is important to them as a Druid.

### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

For most of the participants, Stonehenge has an important place in their life. It could be argued that out of the interview group Participant 2 and 31 hold Stonehenge in the highest esteem. Participant 2 has a complex relationship with Stonehenge, some visits have been disappointing but at other times they have had a deep connection with the stones. Stonehenge has been 'a place of wonder' since they were 10 and has caused them to weep openly at a visit on Summer solstice in 2016 whilst pregnant. Participant 2 noted that 'the spirit of the place has long been significant to me', indicating a strong bond with Stonehenge's sense of genius loci. Similarly, the relationship between Participant 31 and Stonehenge is 'ancient...not bound by time or space', when they are physically there 'it strengthens the memories, they have from previous incarnations'. Stonehenge is 'very special' for 31 'in this lifetime' as they had a 'traditional Handfasting ceremony', which indicates why they hold Stonehenge in such high regard as it was the place of a personal lifetime event.

For Participant 14, 38 and 46, Stonehenge is less important, but they are still interested in it. Participant 14 thought as a child that Stonehenge was part of the Legends of King Arthur, later thinking that it was a 'gateway to Avalon'. Participants 38 and 46 gave similar responses in that Stonehenge is of a historical and archaeological interest rather than spiritual. Participant 38 has felt 'more moved by less famous sites' due to the crowds at Stonehenge but thinks that the ancient monument is 'fascinating'. Participant 46 is similar; they are interested in Stonehenge's history rather than for spiritual reasons. They do not consider it to be their 'church or temple' so it is not of more 'spiritual importance' than other sites. The participants all state that Stonehenge is important to some extent in their lives, but for some this is due to beliefs, rather than an interest in its' past.

### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

All the participants had feelings when at Stonehenge. Several mentioned that they feel 'peace' or 'calm' when at Stonehenge but for most participants, the intensity of their feelings depended on the context of the visit and the number of people at the monument. For many, any possible feelings were inaccessible when Stonehenge was crowded.

Participant 14 finds Stonehenge overwhelming at first but stated that it 'brings a calmness when [the pillars] are seen up close'. Participant 46 also felt 'calmed' when they stood 'gazing at the stones when it was quiet', stating that the visit, which was after 9/11, released the tension they were holding about the terrorist attack. Participant 2 has felt 'utter peace' at Stonehenge but has also felt put off from enjoying the experience by

others. Participant 2 commented that on an English Heritage ‘Stone Circle Experience’, the ‘guide’ kept ‘shouting to not touch the stones and threatening people with eviction – even though people were respectful’ which was off putting for them, as they just wanted to enjoy their personal moment with the stones.

Both Participant 2 and 31 had different feelings at Stonehenge depending on the circumstances of their visit. Participant 31 stated that at their handfasting, they ‘felt the energies of ancient tribes gathered there’ but at the summer solstice later that year, they felt a connection to the ‘Earth and the Cosmos’. In contrast, for Participant 38 and 46, it is difficult to feel anything at Stonehenge. Participant 38 felt that ‘the crowds dilute some of the atmosphere’. Participant 46’s feelings about Stonehenge depend on the number of people at the monument. They never go at the Solstices because they feel that people who go are ‘largely looking for a party, rather than a spiritual experience’

### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

For three of the interview participants, Stonehenge does have a positive effect on their wellbeing. Participant 2 said that as a Druid they have a ‘proclivity for sacred sites’ which ‘create enormous mental shift’ for them. Stonehenge has given them ‘humility, love and compassion’, which indicates that they have a strong emotional association with the stones. Similarly, Participant 31 describes Stonehenge as ‘a reservoir of peace’. Participant 14 thought it had less of an emotional impact and more as a reminder of history: ‘it is good to be reminded of the past’. Participant 46 did not think that Stonehenge has a spiritual effect on their mental wellbeing, aside from after 9/11 as mentioned in the previous question responses. They did think it had a positive effect on their mental wellbeing as they associate Stonehenge as the ‘marker’ on the way to holidays, so it is linked with happy memories. Participant 38 was the only participant who did not think that Stonehenge influences their mental wellbeing, they were glad they visited it, but it was not ‘lifechanging’ for them.

### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

For this question, Participants 2 and 31 did not hold strong opinions, though Participant 31 stated that Avebury was also ‘incredibly sacred’ to them. Participant 2 thought Stonehenge might be a bigger focal point for the media as it is a unique site. Although Participant 46 thinks Avebury is more intriguing than Stonehenge, they thought that Stonehenge is more in the public eye due to Druid activity which attracts media attention.

Participants 14 and 38 had similar responses. Participant 14 thought that Stonehenge was a bigger focal point than Avebury as it ‘stands alone’, unlike Avebury, which a road runs through and has a village. Likewise, Participant 38 mentioned that Stonehenge is more popular due to the arrangement of the stones and the lack of modern buildings nearby. This gives Stonehenge a ‘more impressive and mysterious image’. Participant 46 also suggested that it was because Stonehenge is more obvious, being on a main road and that the ancient monument is ‘obviously a construction of some kind’ rather than an arrangement of stones like Avebury.

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

Out of the five participants interviewed, three were against the A303 Tunnel Scheme, one thought it was a good idea and one was in-between. Both Participant 46 and 31 were against as they were concerned about the impact on Stonehenge and its landscape. Participant 31, who is Druid, thought it was ‘unwise to undermine any sacred place’. Similarly, Participant 46 was uncomfortable with the thought of ‘disturbing the landscape around Stonehenge’. It seemed evident that Participant 14 was concerned with the loss of potential archaeology as they thought ‘we are going to lose more that we will ever gain’ if the tunnel scheme went ahead.

In contrast, Participant 38 was for the A303 Tunnel Scheme development, as they stated that ‘reducing vehicular traffic in sight of the monument would be a good thing’. Participant 2, who is a Druid, was torn over the A303 Tunnel. As both a ‘driver on that terrible road and a worshipper at Stonehenge’, Participant 2 appreciates both sides of the argument, but it still upsets them. They seemed worried about the treatment of potential human remains, but as an archaeologist, was confident that the remains would be treated with ‘the honour and respect they deserve’.

## **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who’s never been?**

For this question, the participants were divided into those who responded based on their beliefs and those who focused on the archaeological aspects of Stonehenge’s history. Participant 2 stated that Stonehenge ‘is a place of worship’ first and foremost. Participant 31 also responded solely based on their beliefs. They stated that it was ‘a sacred site of immense potential’ where one can ‘commune with unseen ancient ancestors’. Participant 31 mentioned that they ‘consider the Stone People to be our original ancestors’ in New Zealand, which is where they are from. This could be why they feel such a strong personal connection to Stonehenge as they can interpret it through their culture.

Participant 38 focused on the archaeological elements of Stonehenge’s history, stating that is ‘concentric circles of stones’, with some ‘marking sunrises and sunsets’. They think that Stonehenge was a place of ‘regional importance’ for several thousand years, used by different cultures. Participant 14 would describe Stonehenge as a ‘sight to be seen that has stood the test of time for many millennia’, that no one knows what it was really for but it’s an ‘adventure’ to explore some of the hypotheses and history behind it. Participant 46 also took an archaeological-based approach, describing Stonehenge as an ‘ancient, pre-Roman site’ which had a purpose which ‘has yet to be determined’. Although they are a Druid, 46 does not believe it is a Druid site, adding that the connection is ‘spurious at best’.

## **7. Do you think that Stonehenge’s public profile eclipses its importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

In response to this question, both Participant 46 and 31 agreed that Stonehenge’s public profile eclipsed its importance. Participant 46 made the point that the UK has so many ancient sites that they feel the focus on Stonehenge is ‘out of proportion’. Participant 31 believed it has been eclipsed due to over-commercialisation of Stonehenge in today’s society: ‘the sacredness has been forgotten; it is a place of commercial exploit’.

On the other hand, Participant 2 did not think that the public profile of Stonehenge overtook its importance as it was ‘fascinating’ but acknowledged that the importance of Stonehenge was ‘personally and culturally subjective’. Participant 14 and 38 answered this question from a research perspective, Participant 14 stated Stonehenge would always be a ‘focus point’ as we are still discovering new things about it. In addition, Participant 38 believes that Stonehenge research is important for understanding its’ past but that it has ‘little bearing’ for many who visit it. Stonehenge ‘attracts people worldwide for the sake of curiosity’ but most of them are not interested in the archaeological research on the site.

### **8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

This question garnered a mixed response from the participants. Participant 2 stated that ‘Place IS Living’, whereas Participant 14 sees Stonehenge as both ‘a place and a living thing’, that for ‘modern druids it is a place of worship surrounded by nature’. Likewise, Participant 38 sees Stonehenge as ‘a place, with a shifting meaning’. Participant 31 and 46’s responses were the most similar. Participant 46 thinks that Stonehenge is a place rather than a living being but thinks that places used for spiritual purposes have a ‘residual “feel” ’ and a ‘sense of “other” that is created and developed by the people who use them’. This was partly similar to Participant 31’s response, who sees Stonehenge as ‘a living library of consciousness’.

### **9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of *genius loci*? How would you describe it?**

This was the final question asked to the interview participants and all thought that Stonehenge has its own sense of *genius loci*, to an extent. Participant 14’s response was interesting as they described it as Stonehenge ‘has its own sprite that draws people to it each year’. This was a different interpretation of Stonehenge’s *genius loci*, it is almost like old English folklore of faery folk. Participant 31 described it as a ‘palpable formula of vibrational frequencies’ that people can get in touch with, which was oddly similar to Participant 46’s response. They would describe it as a ‘sense of being in the presence of others’ and a ‘sense of history where the many visitors have left a palpable signature’.

Finally, both participant 38 and 2 agreed that there is a sense of *genius loci* but ‘any spirituality is dilute and unfocused’ at Stonehenge, ‘much like any other tourist spot’. Participant 2 echoed this, saying that it is ‘hard to hear and feel when surrounded by unprepared tourists’. Participant 2 also added that they are an animist ‘so for me all places are sacred’. Although these two participants agree with the *genius loci* idea, they both state it is difficult to get a sense of this at Stonehenge, which is busy tourist attraction.

### **Summary**

The results for the thematic coding indicated that participant often described their relationship and perception of Stonehenge in highly thoughtful terms. It became apparent that the most frequent thematic code used for these data results was ‘Religion and Beliefs’. By chance, most participants selected were British Pagans These responses were interesting as they gave a deeper insight into the topics covered in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, allowing the participants to elaborate and add detail

to their survey responses. In addition, they provide useful first-hand context, a personal narrative of these individuals' lives and how Stonehenge is part of it.

## Chapter Six – Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews

The Experiences of Stonehenge interviews data set consists of five interviews done over the latter months of the research project, amounting to 4 hours, 29 minutes, and 4 seconds worth of recordings. These interviews were time-consuming in relation to the time constraints of the thesis but provide an in-depth view into personal experiences of Stonehenge. Each participant fits into one or more of the key overarching themes of the thesis, as shown below in the table. It's clearly noticeable, that four of the participants fit into most themes, particularly Stonehenge's Contested Landscape, Stonehenge and Politics, Memories of a Free Festival and Admissions and Accessibility. This is because they all have experiences dating from the time of the Stonehenge Free Festivals which had an impact on access to Stonehenge, politics, and the view of Stonehenge as a contested landscape.

Social History Theme/Interviewee	1	2	3	4	5
Interpreting Stonehenge					
Stonehenge's Contested Landscape					
Stonehenge and Politics					
Memories of a Free Festival					
Admissions and Accessibility					
The A303 Tunnel					
Stonehenge and Pop Culture					
Paganism and Stonehenge					

6.A: Application of participant narratives into social history themes, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

### The Interview Process

The Experiences of Stonehenge interview participants were chosen from a list created when planning this research project. Additionally, some made themselves known to the researcher when social media outreach was conducted. For example, Interviewee 5 reached out on twitter, saying that she'd be happy to talk about Stonehenge and its international outreach. It was clear that it was of benefit that the researcher is relatively local to Stonehenge as many local people have stories of the Monument. For example, Interviewee 1 is a local that was part of the Peace Convoy and a chance meeting in the local town led to the interview. Although the researcher reached out to possible Convoy

members through the Battle of the Beanfield Facebook group, none were particularly forthcoming, so it was fortunate that Interviewee 1 wanted to talk about his experiences.

Prior to each interview taking place, the researcher discussed with each interview participant what the interview entailed and the purpose of it in relation to the research project. All the participant documents were gone through in detail, giving the participant an opportunity to ask any questions that they may have had. The interviews began with a brief discussion about the interview participant’s background in relation to their experiences of Stonehenge and then onto the set interview questions. Throughout the interview, extra questions were asked if this was deemed of benefit to the research, for example, asking the participant a question related to the topic they were discussing, to enable a more thorough insight.

The participants were all given the choice as to whether they wanted to use their own first name, a pseudonym or be anonymous. Though all the participants used their own name during the interviews, for the submission of this thesis names were changed to ‘Interviewee 1-5’ for anonymity purposes. Participants were also given the option of skipping any questions that they didn’t want to answer and were encouraged not to disclose any potentially incriminating stories. For example, Interviewee 1 went into lots of detail about his Convoy days, including prior arrests, drug use and other potentially criminal activities. He was asked at the time of the interview whether he wanted this information to be included in the transcript or redacted. Interviewee 1 stated he wanted all the information included, to inform the research project and give the reader a proper insight into what the Convoy really was.

The complete interview transcripts are available in Appendix D, this chapter will go into detail about the interviews, pulling out material to discuss. Please note that some of the information provided by the interview participants has been redacted and that they referred to as ‘Interviewee 1-5’ in this thesis. Though they consented to be part of this research project, it is important that their privacy is respected and that they cannot be easily identified by their personal narratives disclosed in relation to Stonehenge.

Shown below is a small table that gives some background information to each participant.

Interview Participant	Information
Interviewee 1	Interviewee 1 was a member of the Peace Convoy and attended most of the Stonehenge Free Festivals. He gives an interesting insight into what living as a convoy member was like.
Interviewee 2	Interviewee 2 is a retired BBC cameraman and was working as a runner for the BBC during the Stonehenge Free Festival years. He was working on the day of the Battle of the Beanfield and witnessed parts of it. Interviewee 2 along with other BBC colleagues, then followed the convoy after the Battle of the Beanfield, documenting some of the aftermath.
Interviewee 3	Interviewee 3 is an archaeologist and grew up near Stonehenge during the 80s. As a child she witnessed the impact the New Age Travellers had

	on the area surrounding Stonehenge and how it influenced daily life for locals.
Interviewee 4	Interviewee 4 is a practising Wiccan and ex-army. He has long been part of the Pagan community and regards Stonehenge as intrinsically important to his beliefs. Interviewee 4 is local to Stonehenge and was at the Battle of the Beanfield. His parents hid him and themselves in a ditch for several hours until it was over, fearful for their safety.
Interviewee 5	Interviewee 5 is behind Clonehenge, a website dedicated to providing the most complete list of Stonehenge replicas in the whole world. It was great to talk to her about Stonehenge and pop culture, Stonehenge replicas and international views of Stonehenge.

6.B: Basic background information of the interview participants, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

### **Analysis and Discussion of the Experiences of Stonehenge Interview Data**

The five Experiences of Stonehenge interviews are discussed question by question, rather than by discussing each individual participants' experiences. This way of setting out the gathered data allows for comparison between interview participants and indicates their different experiences. Participants were also asked about their background with Stonehenge, for example, Interviewee 4 was present at the Battle of the Beanfield. These sections of the interviews are discussed in Chapter Nine as they provide context in the form of personal narratives regarding the key themes.

#### **Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

For this question, the participant responses represented a sliding scale in terms of how important they regard Stonehenge to be in their lives. Interviewee 5, Interviewee 4, and Interviewee 1 all acknowledged that it was a large part of their lives, although it meant different things to them. For Interviewee 4, who is Wiccan, Stonehenge is an essential part of his life and has been ever since he was 2 years old. In fact, watching the sunset at Stonehenge – 'these huge, huge things set up against the sun, as the sun went down' is his earliest memory. Interviewee 4's response to this question was largely centred around his beliefs, religion and beliefs was the main theme. Stonehenge is the 'centre of the earth' for Interviewee 4, it feels like coming home, somewhere that always feels safe to him. Interestingly, Stonehenge acts as a talisman for Interviewee 4, it is somewhere that he meditates on, when in difficult situations, particularly when he was a soldier. It is evident that Stonehenge is extremely important to Interviewee 4, unlike Interviewee 3, who is ambivalent about it. Though she considers archaeology of Stonehenge as interesting, her relationship with Stonehenge is tainted by her personal experiences as a child growing up near the monument and the impact of the New Age Travellers and Stonehenge Free Festivals. For her, Stonehenge is 'not a focal point at all', unless it appears in conversation, in which case she is 'very opinionated'.

Like Interviewee 4, Interviewee 1 went to the free festivals and believes that Stonehenge has made a significant contribution to his life, particularly 'in his prime'.

He stated that the monument and the surrounding landscape was where he matured and where he ‘met the people who I was looking to meet, it’s where I grew up really’. He believes that his experiences at Stonehenge at the free festivals and as part of the Peace Convoy, ‘opened him up’ to new ways of thinking and living, in all, it completely changed his life. Regarding the thematic coding for the participant responses to this question, there was a clear distinction between those who responded to this question in an emotional way, like Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 4, and those who were more detached from the monument.

Like Interviewee 3, for Interviewee 2, Stonehenge doesn’t particularly hold an important place in his life. He considers it to be an interesting part of British history but ‘got involved with Stonehenge by accident rather than by design’. For this question, Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3’s responses were mostly political and archaeology and history when thematically coded. Interviewee 2’s response could be said to be less emotive as for him Stonehenge was always connected to his work at the BBC or as landmark when travelling. In comparison, Interviewee 5 is clearly fascinated by Stonehenge, particularly in relation how people react to it and replicas of the monument. Like Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 1, Stonehenge is important to Interviewee 5, ‘tremendously important’ and is an everyday part of life for her. It was evident for this question, that although everyone considered Stonehenge’s importance in varying degrees, it had still impacted their lives in some way, however small.

### **How do you feel when you’re at Stonehenge?**

This was asked as the researcher was interested in people’s feelings when at Stonehenge; how the monument and the surrounding landscape impacted their emotions. For this question, responses were largely categorized as emotive, although they touched upon archaeology and history too. For Interviewee 3, this question was not particularly relevant as she has not been to the monument for a long time. She is always struck by how small Stonehenge is when she drives past: ‘God it’s so small!’. Although Interviewee 3 does not really have feelings at Stonehenge, Avebury is clearly important to her, it was her ‘happy place’ when she lived nearby, and the wellbeing feelings she got at Avebury were ‘not something I would ever get at Stonehenge’. Like Interviewee 3, Interviewee 2 finds Stonehenge interesting, but it doesn’t particularly bring up any feelings for him. Although he finds archaeological sites of interest due to their age, they do not tend to affect his feelings, something he expands upon in the next question.

In contrast to Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3, Stonehenge is a happy place for Interviewee 4, as mentioned previously, he uses it in meditation: to ‘bring back that feeling and that security and those good times’. Stonehenge is such a special place for Interviewee 4 that he even wants some of his ashes scattered there. He mentioned that when he is at Stonehenge, he ‘feels the energy’ and that the monument ‘brings off a euphoria’ which gives him a ‘natural high’. Whereas Interviewee 4 believes that Stonehenge has a sense of euphoria, Interviewee 5 had a similar response to the monument, she felt ‘elated’ when she first visited, describing it as ‘filling her with many thoughts and feelings’ as a young ‘poetic dreamer’. These feelings were heightened for Interviewee 5 as it was the first time, she had been somewhere that was several thousand years old. Interviewee 5 described the US as ‘where everything old was destroyed and everything you live among relatively new’. Although there are places of similar ages to Stonehenge in America, like indigenous earthworks, these are not as well known, potentially a product of colonialism in the US.

For Interviewee 1, what he feels at Stonehenge is dependent on the circumstances of the visit. For example, when he was there with a lot of people, the Druids and ‘Sid Rawle and his tribe’, he felt nothing at all. Interviewee 1 explained that the monument felt ‘dead, I found it used. I found it like a shopping mall’. With so many people there, for Interviewee 1, Stonehenge lost its atmosphere, he could not ‘find any magic at all’ in the monument, it was a ‘desiccated temple’. It was interesting that Interviewee 1 found more ‘magic’ or emotions when he talked about the landscape and the effect that it had upon him – ‘the plain itself, the hard chalk grounds, the clouds, the weather systems’. These represented the spiritual side of Stonehenge for Interviewee 1, rather than the stones, which ‘had been knocked about for millennia’ and acted as a signpost for the land around them.

### **Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

This question garnered a mixed response from participants. It was evident that some believed Stonehenge did have a positive effect on them, whereas for others it was more ambivalent. Although Interviewee 3 does not have feelings at Stonehenge or think that the monument has a positive effect on her wellbeing, Avebury is important to her. It was her ‘happy place’ when she lived nearby, and the wellbeing feelings she got at Avebury were ‘not something I would ever get at Stonehenge’. She mentions the trees at Avebury (known as the ‘Mythic Trees’ for their twisted roots’), which she would sit under. Interviewee 2 stated that he did not feel Stonehenge had a positive effect on his wellbeing and his response was quite ambivalent. Although he is interested in Stonehenge and other Neolithic sites, in terms of an ‘affinity’ to them, he does not feel he has one.

Mark believes that Stonehenge does have an impact on his mental wellbeing, as well as being an important part of his beliefs. It is evident from his response to this question, that Stonehenge was a key part to his recovery from what he experienced as a soldier. When Interviewee 4 was wounded and came back to the UK, Stonehenge was one of the first places he went to. His journeys to Stonehenge could be described as a pilgrimage as he would hike across the Plains, wading through the Avon to get to the monument. Interviewee 4 referred to this interaction with Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape as a ritual: ‘coming through the cleansing water, seeing it [Stonehenge] against the sun’ then ‘releasing all the pain, all the frustration, all the shit’ at Stonehenge and returning. This was very interesting regarding this research project as this journey could be described in stages, there’s an intention, Interviewee 4 then goes through a liminal space [the water of the Avon] to his temple where he releases his emotions and then goes back through the Avon, cleansing himself again. Interviewee 4 described the Avon-crossing himself as a ‘barrier between the worlds, the mundane modern world and the world of magic and ritual’. It is an important example of how people today still use Stonehenge as a place of worship and for healing.

Regarding, positive mental well-being, Interviewee 5 thinks of the Stonehenge in terms of friendship, connection, and wholeness. Since beginning Clonehenge, Interviewee 5 has made many friends through it, which explains why she feels connected to others when she visits Stonehenge, although she is disappointed that the monument ‘looks like someone’s lawn’, rather than being allowed to be wild. Interviewee 1 feels that the stones themselves have little impact on his wellbeing but reiterated the impact that the Stonehenge landscape has. He described it as ‘part of life, part of the landscape’ when

he is within it. It was evident for this question that Stonehenge and the landscape can have a big impact on people and their wellbeing, if they feel connected to it.

### **Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

Participants' views were divided for this question. Some believed that it was because Stonehenge is so unique as a monument, that it is used by the media as it is guaranteed to attract attention, the perfect clickbait. Others thought that it was because there is a narrative that surrounds Stonehenge, it carries a lot of symbolism. Interviewee 4 thought that Stonehenge was a bigger focal point due to the use of 'buzzwords' – to him it is regularly presented as a 'symbol' a 'emblem' of all Pagans by the media, although this is not necessarily the case, as British Pagans have several sites that they consider special. He also mentioned that Stonehenge means different things to different people, whereas Pagans 'just want a quiet place to tap into all the power', Stonehenge is also touristic, and the media zooms in on this. Unlike Stonehenge, for Interviewee 4, Avebury is 'pretty much as it always has been' and is somewhere where 'you can freely be Pagan' without the scrutiny of tourists or the media.

In a similar vein, Interviewee 3 thought that Stonehenge was more important to the media than Avebury due to its continual appropriation to fit a narrative. She compared the similarities between Stonehenge and Avebury: 'you know, nobody cares that there's a main A road that goes through Avebury, and nobody's talking about diverting that road'. Interestingly, Interviewee 3 also mentioned nationalism in relation to Stonehenge, that Stonehenge 'fits some kind of narrative' which is that it is the 'pinnacle of nationalistic actual Britons building skills'. Like Interviewee 3, Interviewee 2 prefers Avebury, although it is 'slightly spoilt' by the road going through it. It was interesting to hear Interviewee 2's response to this question because, as a former cameraman at the BBC, he had a unique insight into how the media works and why they focus on Stonehenge. One idea was that this focus on Stonehenge was due to the unrest in the 80s and as 'bad news is good for the media' he offered the reason that they think there might be a repeat of that at the monument.

Interviewee 2, Interviewee 5, and Interviewee 1, all echoed each other in that they all talked about the archaeology and history, specifically, the structure and uniqueness of Stonehenge as a monument. Interviewee 2 mentioned that there is not anything like Stonehenge and it is interesting as it appears that it may have been complete at one point with the cross lintels. Interviewee 1 believed that Stonehenge is a bigger focal point due to its 'monolithic structure' and that although there are plenty of standing stones in the world, nothing is quite like Stonehenge. Similarly, Interviewee 5 stated that the media interest in Stonehenge (aside from it being great clickbait) is due to its 'incredible precision' of the lintels which would have been 'almost a perfect circle'. She finds that the stones themselves are 'incredibly striking' due to their appearance of 'rough on some sides, worked on others'. To summarise, the key taking from this question was that participant responses focused on three main points: uniqueness and structure, marketability for the media (clickbait and buzzwords) and appropriation (e.g., Stonehenge can be used as a nationalistic tool).

### **What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

Out of the five participants, all agreed to some extent with the Stonehenge Tunnel scheme, providing it was carried out properly. Most participants thought that it could

have a positive impact on Stonehenge and the Stonehenge landscape. For this question, responses were largely political, cultural or to do with archaeology and history, concerns were raised about whether the tunnel scheme would be for the better and improve the experience at Stonehenge. When asked about the Stonehenge tunnel development, Interviewee 5 felt she wasn't 'qualified to have an opinion' but did talk about the impact that it would have on tourist visits. This was interesting as none of the other interviewees mentioned it, but Interviewee 5 thinks that 'the creation of the tunnel is going to ruin the Stonehenge experience for many tourists' whilst the construction is ongoing. This has not been covered in detail in the A303 Tunnel debates, so it opened a new way of thinking for this research project regarding the scheme.

Because of her ambivalence about Stonehenge, Interviewee 3 did not 'really care either way' about the A303 Tunnel, though she questioned what the benefits of it would be as she believes that the 'road itself isn't going to do anymore damage'. Interviewee 3's main concern about the Stonehenge Tunnel scheme was that it was more about protection and ownership of the monument. It felt to her that this was a way of EH and the NT and the government taking more ownership of Stonehenge, rather than it being a positive thing for Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape. She thought it was a 'waste of money' but as an archaeologist believed they would do a good job on it. Overall, because of her views on Stonehenge, Interviewee 3 thought that the tunnel scheme was 'a storm in a teacup!'. Interviewee 4 was 'in two minds' about the A303 Tunnel Scheme. Although his beliefs are important to him, he was not entirely against the idea, provided that 'it's done slowly with respect' as he believes that the tunnel will help preserve Stonehenge and the area around it. He stated that 'a lot of people in the Pagan world are dreamers, they're looking for an idyll' which could explain the some of the backlash against the tunnel scheme by British Pagans.

Interviewee 2 personally thought that the tunnel scheme was a good idea because the road is an 'awful bottleneck' near Stonehenge. Although he agreed with the scheme, as he would like less traffic, he did not realistically see this happening. Like Interviewee 4, Interviewee 2 thought that the tunnel would be the 'lesser of two evils' as though it may have the potential of doing damage to the Stonehenge landscape, he reasoned 'if you don't dig, you won't know?'. Interviewee 1 shared the same opinion, he stated 'it's gonna be destructive to the archaeology' but weighed this up with taking the cars away from the landscape. Though he thought they 'could have done a better job on it', Interviewee 1 agreed with the idea of a tunnel.

### **How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

Each participant had their own version of Stonehenge's history as though they all fleshed out the basics it was evident that their own experiences of it influenced their responses. For this question, all the thematic codes were evident, aside from emotive. The researcher used the term 'in a nutshell' often when interviewing participants as for this question they wanted to know the key things that participants would talk about in relation to Stonehenge's history. Interviewee 3 stated that 'it probably won't meet your expectations' and that the landscape that surrounds the monument is far more interesting than Stonehenge itself. Interviewee 4 was more positive about Stonehenge and gave a broader overview. He would start with Stonehenge as a 'prehistoric site', taking them 'through the historical aspect'. This would be followed by 'the pagan view' of Stonehenge which Interviewee 4 explained as 'a centre of power, aligned with the

stars' and that 'there's earth energies, there's air energies, there's solar energies' which all 'mix in a unique vortex'; which is why Stonehenge is so unique to British Pagans.

Interviewee 2's response discussed the age of Stonehenge as a monument, how it was built 3000 years ago and that there is little (relatively, in the timeline of human existence) else like it of a similar age in the world today. Plus, the fact Stonehenge resides in a 'spectacular landscape' adds to its stature as an icon. Interviewee 5 would begin with 'it is a stone circle, but unlike any other stone circle' and then go on to talk about the monument's structure, how it was built and why it is of such great interest due to the building techniques. She would also emphasise the uniqueness of Stonehenge, with the 'carving of the stones' and 'how it's so peculiar'. It is evident from Interviewee 5's response that she largely focused on the structural and architectural elements of Stonehenge, though this makes sense as she is interested in replicas of Stonehenge, so is looking at these elements all the time.

Like Interviewee 5, Interviewee 2 talked of the uniqueness of Stonehenge, calling it an 'enigma' and that its' history is fascinating as 'people are always interested in mysteries'. In contrast to this, Interviewee 1 would begin by saying that Stonehenge is the 'British Pyramids' but acknowledges the monument is more than that. He considers it 'alien to anything in this country' and that it is a 'time signifier' that is a link to the past. Interviewee 1 also mentioned the agelessness of Stonehenge and how it has an incomparable silhouette. For Interviewee 1, the fact that Stonehenge is like this gives him a sense of continuity, it is a key landmark in time to him.

**Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

Participant responses for this question were coded as archaeology and history, culture and politics. Interviewee 1 agreed that the meaning of Stonehenge is lost as 'people use it as a symbol for all sorts of things', giving the example of oppression, with the use of barbed wire fencing. He stated that anyone could 'jump on the bandwagon' of Stonehenge and use it. Interviewee 1 commented that Stonehenge is politicised and always has been. Interviewee 2 thought that the public profile of Stonehenge has really developed over the last 40 years, since English Heritage took it over. He thought that the eclipsing of Stonehenge by its' public profile could be due to the 'flattening' of the monument and modern tradition of making it seem new. This could be linked to the commercialisation of Stonehenge and how it's become a major tourist destination.

Interviewee 3 agreed with the statement that Stonehenge's public profile meant that we lose the meaning of the monument itself. She compared it to ancient monuments in Orkney, like the Ring of Brodgar, that people who visit Stonehenge 'don't realise that it's more than the standing stones' but because other monuments are less visible in the landscape people focus on Stonehenge only. As well as this, she mentioned the timeline of the Stonehenge landscape, stating that because Stonehenge was 'on the cusp of the Bronze Age' it was a 'difficult narrative' for visitors as people often assume Stonehenge is just 'Stone Age' but it is a lot more complicated than that.

Unlike Interviewee 3, Interviewee 4 was not of the opinion that Stonehenge's importance was eclipsed. He believes that the high profile of Stonehenge is actually a positive thing for the site as 'it owes a lot of its preservation to that'. Although Interviewee 4 was disappointed that 'authorities see it as somewhere important from the

financial aspect', he acknowledged that this ensures that Stonehenge is 'protected' and 'looked after as best as it can'.

Interviewee 5 agreed with the eclipse of Stonehenge by its' own public profile as she stated that the profile has 'grown into a thing of its' own' which does not necessarily have much to do with the monument itself. From her work at Clonehenge, Interviewee 5 can see the impact of this, she noted that Stonehenge has become a meme [a joke] online, and that the media uses it 'as shorthand for the Neolithic'. She also sees archaeological sites that have nothing to do with Stonehenge being labelled as the 'Stonehenge of Spain' to capitalise on Stonehenge as a buzzword. In all, Interviewee 5 thinks that Stonehenge and its public profile have become disconnected with each other, and she gave an example of a recent article about the closure of Sheffield Archaeology department, which was not going to be printed unless Stonehenge was mentioned (despite its' irrelevance).

### **Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

For this question, participant responses were largely coded as religion and beliefs, due to the discussion about genius loci and the idea of Stonehenge as a living landscape. Due to her experiences, Interviewee 3 sees Stonehenge as a place because 'she's so jaded' about it, although other monuments she would see as 'having agency and a life'. Although other archaeological sites like Avebury or West Kennet Long Barrow 'speak to' Interviewee 3 because of growing up near them and spending time as a child there, Stonehenge is unwelcoming. It is evident that due to Interviewee 3's personal relationship with Stonehenge and the negative impact of the Stonehenge Free Festivals that particularly affected her family, Interviewee 3 is unable to connect to Stonehenge in this way.

Interestingly, although Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 3 both had a similar childhood experience of Stonehenge (both experienced the Stonehenge Free Festivals and the impact of the Battle of the Beanfield though on different sides of the coin – Interviewee 4 was a festivalgoer whereas Interviewee 3 was a local who did not go), Interviewee 4 was far more positive about this question. This could be due to his being a Wiccan, as to Interviewee 4 Stonehenge is an essential part of his belief system, whereas to Interviewee 3, Stonehenge is not important. Interviewee 4 explained that due to 'Sprawle' (an energy that some British Pagans, particularly Pellars believe in) Stonehenge is undoubtedly a living being. As well as this, Interviewee 4 believes in Animism, to him 'everything on the land, everywhere in this country is alive' with 'each having its own spirit'. A key part of Interviewee 4's beliefs is that if you look after the genius loci of a place, 'your life will flourish, you get a good energy for it', which is why he is respectful of Stonehenge when he visits.

Regarding Stonehenge as a living thing, Interviewee 2 thought that it could partly be considered as a living thing, due to his experiences of a solstice dawn, which made him see why people could feel like the monument was living itself. He was in between thinking of Stonehenge as being a landmark and a place of its own. Interviewee 1 sees the landscape of Stonehenge as a place, with the stones being a marker for a 'festive place' where people can express themselves 'tribally'. Interviewee 5 was interested in this question as though she was not sure if she believed Stonehenge was living, it is 'very useful' for her to think of it that way as it impacts her Clonehenge research. She thought that it was a living thing in the way that Stonehenge occupies people and

‘changes who they are for the rest of their life’, which could be applied to Interviewee 5 herself and how Clonehenge has changed how she thinks about Stonehenge.

**Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

Similarly, to her response to the question above, Interviewee 3 believes that Stonehenge does have its own sense of genius loci but not to her. She mentioned ‘landscapes of the living and landscapes of the dead’ and that in a wider context, taking in the landscape, Stonehenge does have genius loci. But again, due to personal experiences, Interviewee 3 does not feel this way herself about Stonehenge. When asked about genius loci at Stonehenge, Interviewee 1 stated that he did not feel it as Stonehenge but within the landscape. He said that the only place he could ‘feel something’ was when he’d sit on the round barrows nearby due to the immense space of the sky and the plain.

Again, unlike Interviewee 3, Interviewee 4 was of the absolute belief that Stonehenge has its’ own genius loci, which he ‘visualises as a dragon’. Not in that it looks like one, but that ‘there’s a dragon in the heart of it which with ritual and enchantment you can call up and you can tap into the energy of it’. For Interviewee 4 it is evident that the genius loci at Stonehenge is something to conduct rituals for, to give thanks and for the use of its energy.

In terms of genius loci, Interviewee 2 likes to think of Stonehenge as a ‘point that travels through time’ which gives the opportunity to think about things in a long term scale. The monument gives Interviewee 2 a sense of perspective and makes him ‘aware of the shortness of your existence’. It is evident that Stonehenge puts context in perspective for Interviewee 2 and makes him aware of our small existence in the world when compared to the rest of the universe.

For Interviewee 5, there was no doubt that Stonehenge has genius loci, thought to what extent is related to the place and personal experiences. Interestingly, she talked about indigenous spiritual quests or visions, and that ‘childhood experiences in nature that have a transcendent or mystical nature’ can impact how a person feels about a place. This could be applied to Interviewee 5’s first experience at Stonehenge as a post-adolescent, how she felt this sense of elation when viewing the stones. Interviewee 5 wondered that perhaps Stonehenge had this ‘extraordinary feeling’ when it was first built, which was why it was built where it is. She compared it to Native American stone works, which are said to be built in areas where there were ‘certain feelings’. Perhaps, what people feel know at Stonehenge is the residuals of the sense of awe that used to be there.

**Summary**

To summarise this chapter, the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews proved to be an invaluable source of knowledge for this research project, and a worthwhile addition to the primary data research. This is because they provide a narrative voice that can support the main objectives of the research. The content is unique and multi-vocal, it includes a range of people that Stonehenge has touched in some way. Although these participants have a shared connection in Stonehenge, their experiences, and stories they tell of the monument are varied, indicating the range of uses it had and has in its modern social history. The information provided by the interviews, the participants’ experiences

of Stonehenge and their narrative of how the Monument impacts their lives relates to the concept of Personal Narratives. In Chapter 9, the interviewee's personal experiences of Stonehenge are discussed to inform the metanarrative of the research project.

## **Chapter Seven – Stonehenge Photo Archive**

It was decided to include a photo archive within this research project to provide a visual accompaniment to the text. Photos are an informative part of social history and the inclusion of them within this thesis added another facet to the primary data collected. As previously detailed in Chapter Three, these photos were collected over the course of this research project, using several sources to gather them, the main two being social media outreach and archive visits. The photos are presented in chronological order when possible and are used with the kind permission of the owners.

### **The Inclusion of a Stonehenge Photo Archive**

The inclusion of a photo archive, as documented above, adds another type of primary data. But photo archives are also a fascinating insight into other people's lives and often have an emotional impact on the viewer (Tinkler 2014). The researcher was inspired to add a photo archive to this research project from visiting the 'Your Stonehenge: 150 years of Stonehenge in photos' exhibition at the Stonehenge Visitor Centre (English Heritage 2019b). Seeing people's photos of Stonehenge and reading snippets of their experiences provided a different view of Stonehenge's modern social history. By including a photo archive in this thesis, it allows the reader to view Stonehenge in a different way and contributes to the multivocal aim for this research project.

When researching social history, often the narrative that is presented is of the wealthy, the privileged or the upper classes of society. It is not often that the 'ordinary peoples' narrative is presented. For example, English Heritage and the National Trust are both custodians of buildings of those who were powerful and rich, with a narrative that has previously ignored the role of the lower classes in maintaining this lifestyle and wealth (Bender 1998: 118). Although this is now changing for the better, social history is still weighted in favour of those who were in the top bands of society. In relation to Stonehenge, the researcher wanted to include photos from people who might not have been involved in major events but had photos of the ancient monument, whether it was a quick stop and stretch the legs before the holidays snap, a family day out or a commemorative handfasting.

Using the social media outreach and archives, this photo archive was collated and offers a glance into people's interactions with Stonehenge, memories of the monument documented in photographs. It is a privilege to have access to these photos, ones that in themselves may not be particularly of interest, but when together provide a visual narrative of Stonehenge's modern social history; how the monument and the surrounding landscape has changed over the years. The following tables document the collating of photos, followed by the Stonehenge photo archive.

### 7.A: Table of information for photos collected from social media outreach

Number of participants	Image sourced from	Name of person	Image description	Date of image
1.	Instagram	Rachel Elizabeth Tharp	An image of Stonehenge	24 <sup>th</sup> July 2019
2.	Instagram	Emily Rose Hall	An image of Stonehenge behind the NT fence	24 <sup>th</sup> October 2018
3.	Instagram	Beth Lowman	An image of Stonehenge in winter, with sun directly behind Stonehenge	18 <sup>th</sup> January 2017
4.	Instagram	Isobel Jacob	A photo of Isobel and her two sisters at Stonehenge	30 <sup>th</sup> January 2016
5.	Twitter	Ann Clarke	Photos from a visit in the 60's, 1 used in photo archive	1960s
6.	Twitter	Tim Daws	3 images from of visitors at Stonehenge, 2 used in archive	Circa 1970
7.	Twitter	John Rogers	A photo of Stonehenge in the sun and a photo of hares at Stonehenge	June 2021
8.	Facebook	Lucy Overbury	A photo of Stonehenge from a university trip	2018
9.	Facebook	Katie Seal	Photo of a visit, of Stonehenge rings	2018
10.	Facebook	Hazel Crabb	2 photos of a visit to Stonehenge on the 2019 Summer Solstice	2019
11.	Email	Harriet Sams	Two photos from a special 40 <sup>th</sup> birthday dawn visit, one	2018

			used in photo archive	
12.	Email	Annwyn Hanham	3 photos, one of Annwyn's handfasting ceremony and two of 2017 Summer Solstice, two used in archive	2017
13.	Email	Buck Marchington	Three photos sent over of a trip to Stonehenge, one photo of Buck's daughter at Stonehenge used	2016

## 7.B: Table of information for photos collected from archival research

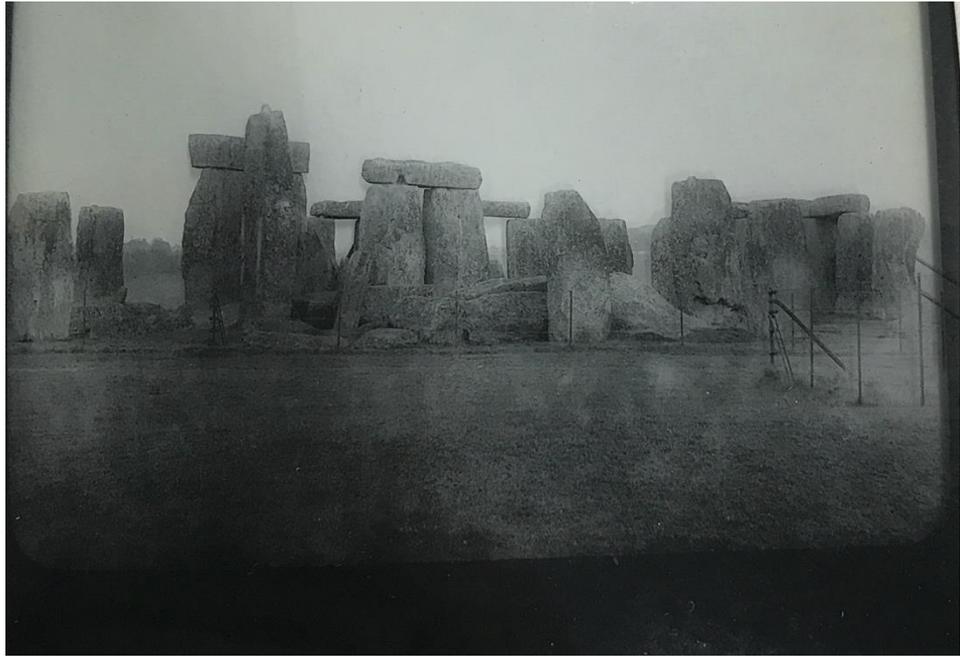
Number of photos	Sourced from	Name of collection	Held by	Image description	Date of image
1.	National Archives website	The Dixon Scott Collection	The National Archives, Kew	Photograph depicting Stonehenge, Wiltshire: Abbot's Nose from the circle.	1926-1942
2.	National Archives website	London 2012 Olympics	The National Archives, Kew	Day 55 - Olympic Torch Relay - Olympic gold medallist former sprinter Torchbearer 001 Michael Johnson holds the Olympic flame at Stonehenge at the beginning of Day 55 of the London 2012 Olympic Torch Relay.	25 <sup>th</sup> September, 2012
3.	National Archives website	London 2012 Olympics	The National Archives, Kew	Day 55 - Olympic Torch Relay - Olympic gold medallist former sprinter Torchbearer 001 Michael Johnson holds the Olympic flame at Stonehenge at the beginning of Day 55 of the London 2012 Olympic Torch Relay.	25 <sup>th</sup> September, 2012
4.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Other Wiltshire Places, General Wiltshire	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Car in front of the stones, Stonehenge	1913
5.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Other Wiltshire Places, General Wiltshire	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Stonehenge postcard	1935
6.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Wiltshire General and Places	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Stonehenge, Salisbury Plain postcard	1917
7.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Wiltshire General and Places	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Salisbury Plain postcard	ca.1914-1918
8.	Wiltshire and Swindon	Photographs of a family's	Wiltshire and Swindon History	A photo of a family's trip to Stonehenge	1990

	History Centre	trip to Stonehenge	Centre, Chippenham		
9.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Photograph of Stonehenge	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Stonehenge	20 <sup>th</sup> century
10.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Austin Underwood Papers	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Old Netheravon Coachroad	1960
11.	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre	Austin Underwood Papers	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham	Bud Bogles	1967

## Stonehenge Photo Archive



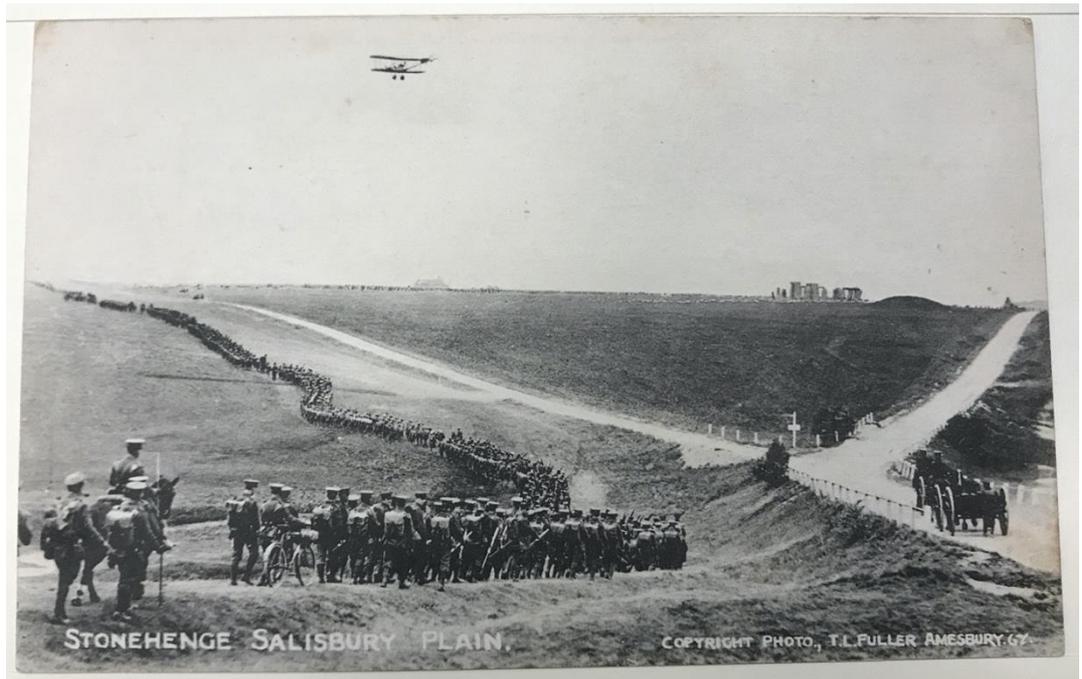
7.1: *Stonehenge*, 20<sup>th</sup> Century (WSHC)



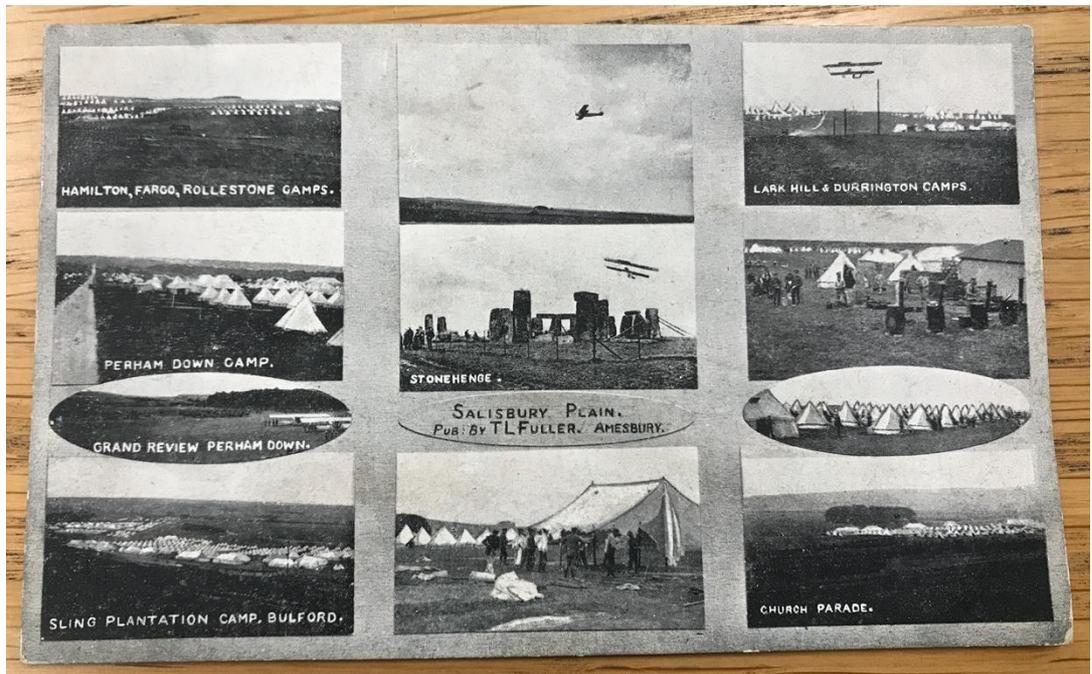
7.2: *Stonehenge*, 1909 (W Lane, via WSHC)



7.3: *Stonehenge*, 1913 (WSHC)



7.4: Stonehenge, Salisbury Plain 1917 (WHSC)



7.5: Salisbury Plain Postcard, 1914-1918 (WSHC)



7.6: Photograph depicting Stonehenge, Wiltshire: Abbot's Nose from the circle, 1926-1942  
(The Dixon Scott Collection, National Archives)



7.7: Stonehenge Postcard, 1935 (WSHC)



7.8: *Stonehenge*, 1960s (Anne Clarke)



7.9: *Old Netheravon Coachroad*, 1960 (Underwood, via WSHC)



7.10: *Bud Bogles*, 1967 (Underwood, via WSHC)



7.11: *Grace Grist, Aunty Molly and Penny Grist (from left to right), 1964*  
(Grist family photographs)



7.12: *Visitors at Stonehenge, 1970* (Tim Daw)



7.13: *Stonehenge*, 1970 (Tim Daw)



7.14: *Visiting Stonehenge*, 1970 (Tim Daw)



7.15: Visit to Stonehenge, 1990 (WSHC)



7.16: Olympic gold medallist former sprinter Torchbearer 001 Michael Johnson holds the Olympic flame at Stonehenge at the beginning of Day 55 of the London 2012 Olympic Torch Relay, 2012 (International Olympics Committee)



7.17: Olympic gold medallist former sprinter Torchbearer 001 Michael Johnson holds the Olympic flame at Stonehenge at the beginning of Day 55 of the London 2012 Olympic Torch Relay, 2012 (International Olympics Committee)



7.18: Stonehenge visit, 2016 (Buck Marchington)



7.19: *Three Sisters at Stonehenge, 2016* (Isobel Jacob)



7.20: *Sunrise at Stonehenge, 2017* (Beth Lowman)



7.21: *Handfasting at Stonehenge, 2017* (Annwyn Hanham)



7.22: *Summer Solstice sunrise, 2017* (Annwyn Hanham)



7.23: *Stonehenge from behind the fence*, 2018 (Emily Rose Hall)



7.24: *Stonehenge*, 2018 (Lucy Overbury)



7.25: *Matching Stonehenge Rings*, 2018 (Katie Seal)



7.26: *Dawn visit for a fortieth birthday*, 2018 (Harriet Sams)



*7.27: Visit to Stonehenge, 2019 (Rachel Elizabeth Tharp)*



*7.28: Summer Solstice sunrise at Stonehenge, 2019 (Hazel Crabb)*



7.29: *Summer Solstice at Stonehenge, 2019* (Hazel Crabb)



7.30: *Family visit to Stonehenge, 2020* (T. Grist Parker)



7.31: *Stonehenge*, 2021 (John Rogers)



7.32: *Hares at Stonehenge*, 2021 (John Rogers)

## Summary

These collated images provide an insight into how the Stonehenge visitor experience has changed over the years, how people dress for Stonehenge and how they interact with the monument and the landscape that surrounds it. Over the course of the photographic timeline provided here, we can see the evolution of the Stonehenge landscape and how it has changed over time. From Stonehenge being propped up with wooden beams, people wandering in-between the stones at leisure, to dedicated visitor paths and systematic fencing. These images collated here illustrate Stonehenge's modern social history in this time period, providing another way of analysing it.

The reader can see the impact that Stonehenge has in people's lives, how people dress, often smartly, for visits to the monument. It is a holiday stop, a special family trip or commemorated in international events. Stonehenge is also a celebration site in these collated photos, to welcome the transitions of the seasons, celebrate the appearance of the sun and acknowledge love and commitment through handfasting's. It is evident that Stonehenge is a stage on which we see aspects of people's lives and their interactions with the monument. Stonehenge is a place people gravitate to experience happenings. These images offer a glimpse into people's lives which are documented here and how Stonehenge is part of them.

The following chapter accompanies this one. The Stonehenge paraphernalia archive consists of an assortment of Stonehenge-related objects, collected over the course of the thesis. These objects provide an idea of the influence Stonehenge has on tourism and popular culture, for example, official souvenirs or fashion.



## **Chapter Eight – Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive**

Alongside the Stonehenge photo archive, it was also decided to include an archive which was of Stonehenge paraphernalia within this thesis. Another visual accompaniment to the text, the idea was that this archive would showcase a small sample of the vast variety of Stonehenge related items that can be found today, for example: tourist specialities, memorabilia, souvenirs, and clothing. Although this type of research isn't often included in research projects, for this thesis, the inclusion of Stonehenge paraphernalia made perfect sense.

### **The Inclusion of a Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive**

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, paraphernalia is 'all the objects needed for or connected with a particular activity' (Cambridge English Dictionary 2021). Although it could be argued that none of these items are particularly needed, they relate to a particular activity, which is interactions with Stonehenge and its' surrounding culture. This odd assortment of objects collated here in this archive shows the prevalence of Stonehenge in popular culture, its role as a tourist destination and its status in society.

As well as providing another aspect of primary data for this research project, it's also an interesting insight into Stonehenge's social history, a visualisation of Stonehenge's tourism development and how it is monetized for financial gain in a capitalist society. The researcher was inspired to add a photo archive to this research project from reading about Julian Richard's 2010 exhibition 'Inspired by Stonehenge' which was Richard's collection of 'all the strange things that people have produced in the name of Stonehenge' (Richards 2016).

Including this archive adds to the discussion of Stonehenge's social history from 1900 to 2020. The rise of tourism and souvenir culture over the 20<sup>th</sup> century is clearly indicated by the wide array of Stonehenge related items available from online sources. These photos of Stonehenge paraphernalia were collected over the course of the research project, with the majority found using online resources. eBay, Depop and Twitter were all useful sources to find various Stonehenge memorabilia, particularly eBay. Items were found using controlled searches such as 'vintage stonehenge', 'stonehenge', 'stonehenge memorabilia', 'stonehenge t-shirt', 'stonehenge tourist', 'stonehenge souvenir' and 'vintage stonehenge souvenir'. These initial searches were then narrowed down to find good examples of paraphernalia relating to Stonehenge.

### 8.A: Table of information for photos collated of Stonehenge paraphernalia

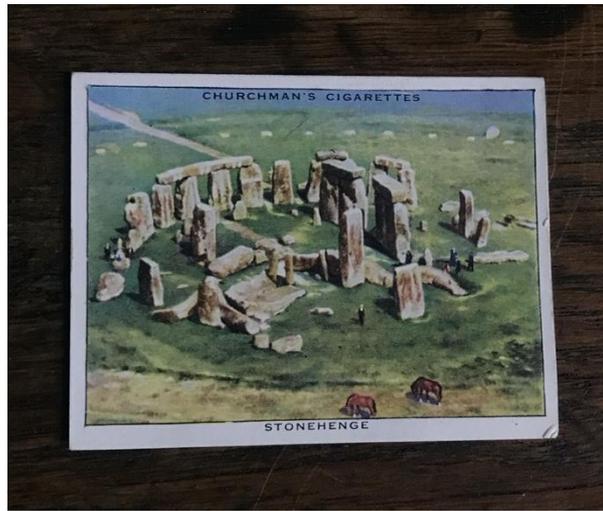
Item number	Sourced from	Keywords searched	Stonehenge paraphernalia description	Date of paraphernalia	Date of search
1.	Twitter (Tim Daw)	'stonehenge'	Guinness Stonehenge advert, two young couples with a picnic	1957	9 <sup>th</sup> May 2021
2.	Twitter (Tim Daw)	'stonehenge'	Player's No. 6 Stonehenge cigarette advert	1974	Sent to me by Tim Daw
3.	eBay (UK)	'stonehenge souvenir'	Ministry of Work official Stonehenge souvenir colour slides, set of 4	1960s	27 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
4.	eBay (UK)	'vintage stonehenge'	Vintage Stonehenge 'SAND' CND Peace badge	1970s	27 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
5.	eBay (UK)	'vintage Stonehenge souvenir'	Prehistoric Monument Stonehenge English Heritage Souvenir Pin Badge	Undated	30 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
6.	eBay (UK)	'stonehenge'	English Heritage Stonehenge t-shirt	90s	10 <sup>th</sup> July 2021
7.	eBay (UK)	'stonehenge'	Vivienne Westwood 'Man' silk tie	90s	9 <sup>th</sup> May 2021
8.	eBay (UK)	'stonehenge'	Vivienne Westwood 'Man' Stonehenge ring	90s	24 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
9.	eBay (UK)	'stonehenge'	GPO ex-military Stonehenge rotary telephone	undated	25 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
10.	eBay (Japan)	'stonehenge t shirt'	Vivienne Westwood Stonehenge 'man' evolution of humans t-shirt	90s	9 <sup>th</sup> May 2021

11.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge souvenir'	Wiltshire Stonehenge souvenir tea towel	1970s	9 <sup>th</sup> July 2021
12.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge souvenir'	English Heritage Stonehenge colourful souvenir mug	Undated	8 <sup>th</sup> July 2021
13.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge poster'	Vintage Jimmy Cauty Stonehenge Original Poster	1978	27 <sup>th</sup> June 2021
14.	eBay (USA)	'vintage stonehenge'	Stonehenge Rock Festival 1982 t-shirt	1982	4 <sup>th</sup> February 2021
15.	eBay (USA)	'vintage stonehenge souvenir'	Stonehenge vintage souvenir patch	Undated	19 <sup>th</sup> February 2021
16.	eBay (USA)	'vintage stonehenge'	Souvenir Stonehenge coffee mug	Undated	17 <sup>th</sup> May 2021
17.	eBay (USA)	'vintage stonehenge souvenir'	Stonehenge tourist souvenir Irish linen tea towel	1970s	8 <sup>th</sup> July 2021
18.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge'	Keltic Designs dragon t-shirt	1992	9 <sup>th</sup> May 2021
19.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge t shirt'	Stonehenge English Heritage t-shirt	90s	21 <sup>st</sup> March 2021
20.	eBay (USA)	'stonehenge t shirt'	English Heritage Stonehenge destination t shirt	90s	27 <sup>th</sup> June 2021
21.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Vivienne Westwood 'Man' jumper	90s	5 <sup>th</sup> March 2021
22.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Vivienne Westwood 'Man' shirt	90s	10 <sup>th</sup> April 2021
23.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Stüssy Stonehenge t-shirt	2020	28 <sup>th</sup> March 2021
24.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Vintage pewter Stonehenge thimble	Undated	18 <sup>th</sup> June 2021

25.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Stonehenge British Railway Poster tote bag	Undated, repro item	20 <sup>th</sup> June 2021
26.	Depop (UK)	'stonehenge'	Stonehenge Rocks	2010s	5 <sup>th</sup> May 2021
27.	English Heritage Shop	'stonehenge'	Stonehenge Discover t-shirt	2021	9 <sup>th</sup> May 2019
28.	English Heritage Shop	'stonehenge'	Stonehenge Summer Solstice 2021 t-shirt	2021	25 <sup>th</sup> June 2021
29.	The Henge Shop	'stonehenge'	Purple Stonehenge embroidered t-shirt	2021	28 <sup>th</sup> March 2021
30.	T. Grist Parker	N/A	Hawkwind Stonehenge t-shirt	Repro band t-shirt	N/A
31.	T. Grist Parker	N/A	Cigarette card: Stonehenge, from 'World Wonders, Old & New', Churchman's	1955	N/A
32.	T. Grist Parker	N/A	Cigarette card: Stonehenge, from 'Wings over the Empire' Churchman's	1939	N/A

8.A: Photos collated of Stonehenge Paraphernalia, 2021 (T. Grist Parker)

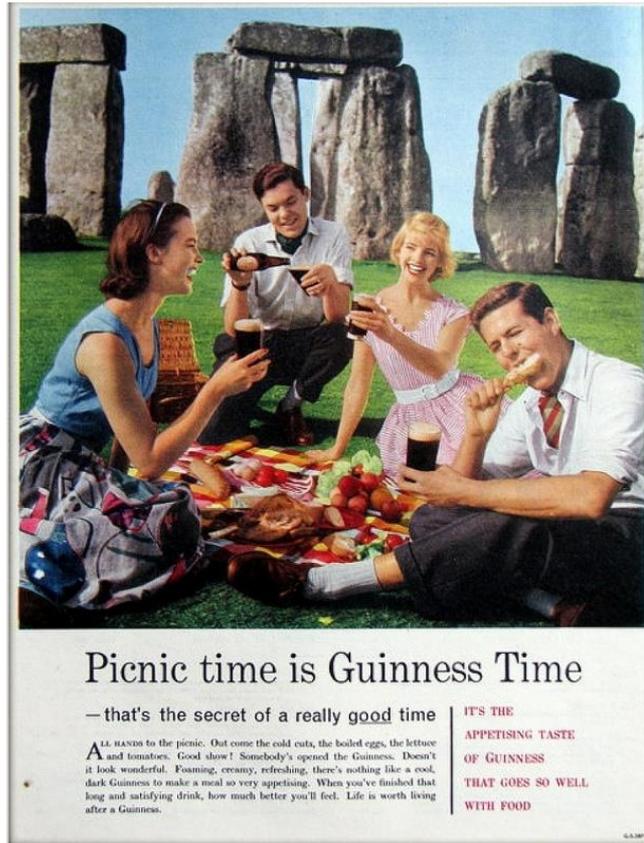
## Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive



8.1: *Stonehenge cigarette card, from 'Wings over the Empire', Churchman's, 1939*  
(T. Grist Parker)



8.2: *Stonehenge cigarette card, from 'World Wonders Old and New', Churchman's, 1955*  
(T. Grist Parker)



8.3: Guinness Stonehenge advert, 1957 (Tim Daw)



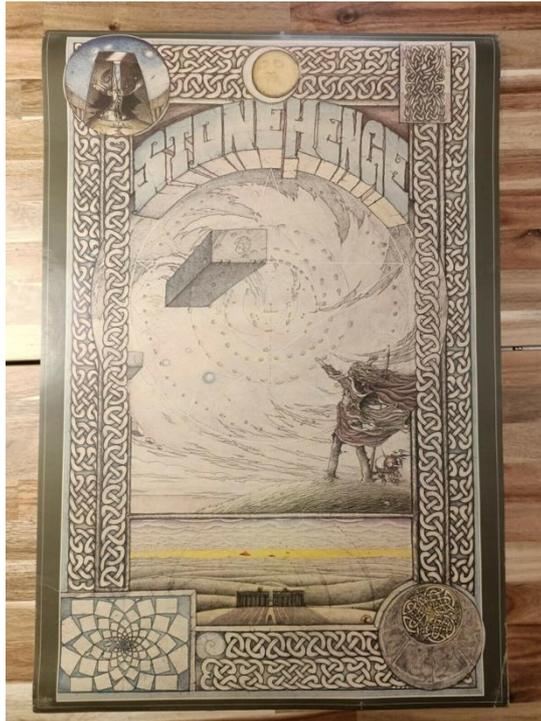
8.4: Ministry of Works Souvenir slides, 1960s (eBay)



8.5: Stonehenge Irish Linen Tea towel, 1970s (eBay)



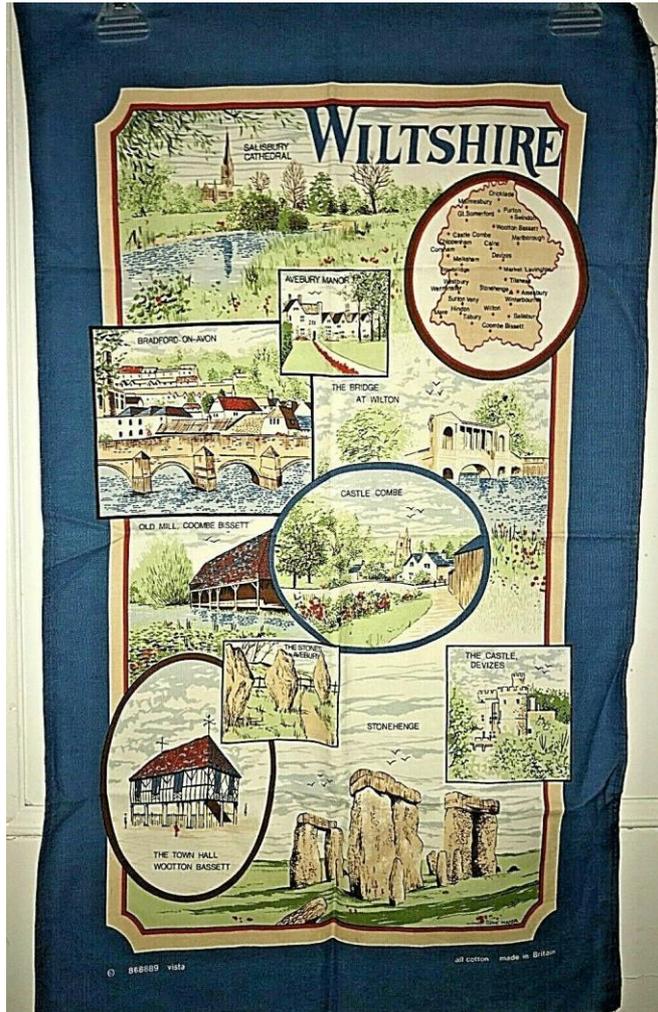
8.6: Player's No. 6 Stonehenge advert, 1974 (Tim Daw)



8.7: *Stonehenge Jimmy Cauty poster, 1978 (eBay)*



8.8: *Stonehenge 'Sand' CND Peace badge, 1970s (eBay)*



8.9: Wiltshire souvenir tea towel, 1970s (eBay)



8.10: Stonehenge '82 Rock Festival t-shirt, 1982 (eBay)



8.11: *Stonehenge English Heritage t-shirt, 90s (eBay)*



8.12: *Stonehenge English Heritage t-shirt, 90s (eBay)*



8.13: Stonehenge English Heritage t-shirt, 90s (eBay)



8.14: Vivienne Westwood 'Man' jumper, 90s (Depop)



8.15: Vivienne Westwood 'Man' shirt, 90s (Depop)



8.16: Vivienne Westwood Stonehenge Evolution of Humans 'Man' t-shirt, 90s (eBay)



8.17: *Vivienne Westwood Stonehenge 'Man' silk tie, 90s (eBay)*



8.18: *Vivienne Westwood Stonehenge 'Man' ring, 90s (eBay)*



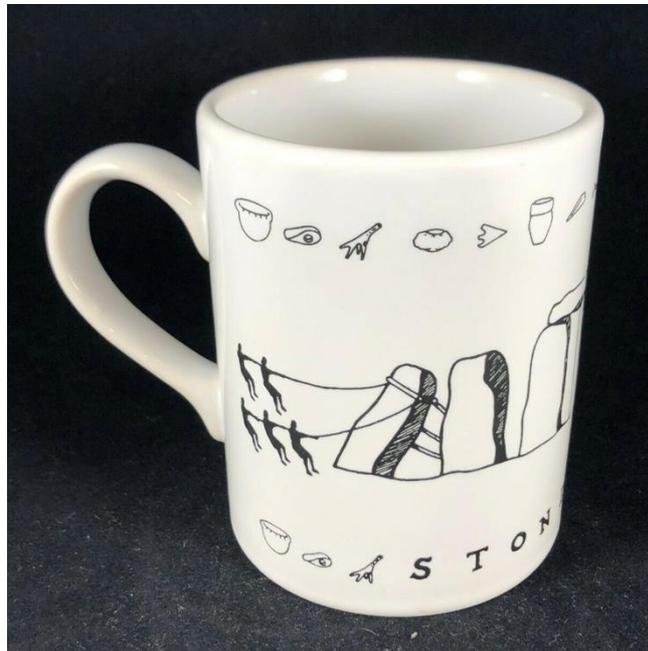
8.19: *Keltic Designs Dragon t-shirt, 1992 (eBay)*



8.20: *Vintage Stonehenge pewter thimble, undated (Depop)*



8.21: *British Railways Stonehenge poster tote bag*, undated (Depop)



8.22: *English Heritage Stonehenge souvenir mug*, undated (eBay)



8.23: *Stonehenge souvenir patch*, undated (eBay)



8.24: *Stonehenge English Heritage badge*, undated (eBay)



8.25: *Stonehenge English Heritage colourful souvenir mug, undated (eBay)*



8.26: *GPO Ex-Military Stonehenge rotary telephone, undated (eBay)*



8.27: Stonehenge Rocks English Heritage shirt, 2010s (Depop)



8.28: Stüssy Stonehenge t-shirt, 2020 (Depop)



8.29: *Hawkwind Stonehenge repro band t-shirt*, repro (T. Grist Parker)



8.30: *Stonehenge t-shirt*, 2021 (The Henge Shop)



8.31: *Stonehenge Discover t-shirt*, 2021 (English Heritage Shop)



8.32: *Stonehenge Summer Solstice t-shirt*, 2021 (English Heritage Shop)

## Summary

The selection of Stonehenge paraphernalia shown here provides an insight into the culture of souvenir and memorabilia regarding Stonehenge. Particularly from the 1960s onwards, we can see from the images that there was a boom in tourism culture and the production of souvenirs. We go from simple picture postcards in the 1930s to Ministry of Work produced souvenir Stonehenge slides to 1970s Irish Linen tea towels depicting Stonehenge. This development of the quantity (and quality) of Stonehenge souvenirs coincides with the plans of the WCC from 1968 onwards to make Stonehenge a bigger and better tourist destination. It also of interest to note that a lot of the paraphernalia, particularly on eBay, is listed as coming from the United States. This is interesting because it shows there is a clear correlation between Stonehenge tourism and American tourists, it indicates that Stonehenge is a popular destination for American tourists.

This Stonehenge paraphernalia archive indicates the ongoing popularity of the monument and its firm place in popular culture, particularly within the UK. It also tells us about accessibility to the monument, not so much about in person, but the amount of Stonehenge related items available. Whether official EH merchandise or not, Stonehenge paraphernalia ensures that everyone, regardless of their background, knows of Stonehenge because it is a familiar symbol in popular culture.



## **Chapter Nine – The Writing of a New Social History?**

This penultimate chapter brings together all the strands of the primary data research collected for this research project to write a new social history for Stonehenge between 1900 and 2020. This discussion is written in the same style as Chapter Three, using the eight key themes that were covered in that section. Although each type of primary research has been previously discussed, with each strand having their own chapter within the thesis, interweaving them in this way allows for cross-analysis between the different primary datasets.

By revisiting the ideas that were put forward in ‘Writing Social History’, this chapter establishes how the primary data enhances the key themes for the research project, as well as the extent to which it supports the overall aims and objectives of this thesis. Having now collated the primary data sets, are the same ideas still relevant or are there some adjustments to be made? This chapter also allows for further insight into Stonehenge’s modern social history by discussing the data using the eight key themes of Chapter Three, creating a multivocal discourse that is formed of many different perspectives.

### **Interpreting Stonehenge**

As a theme, Interpreting Stonehenge focused on how ideas around Stonehenge have been constructed and discussed from 1900 to 2020 both for the archaeology and the social history. Stonehenge is a key example of how modern people use ancient monuments, how ‘ancient things are taken out of their original social context and given a new context and a new set of meanings within another society; history is used to make history’ (Darvill: 1994: 56). The discussion in Chapter 3 covered academic ideas, Stonehenge as a healing site, landscape archaeology and cultural heritage. In this section, relevant primary data will be analysed to ascertain how it contributes to interpretations of Stonehenge.

Bender wrote that ‘people’s understanding of the places they visit are wound around with memories, resonances, and unpredictable connections.’ (Bender 1998: 125) and this could be linked to how participants’ responses were formed based on their individual connections to Stonehenge. Ashmore expands on this, stating that these connections can ‘reside in memories, shared orally, if at all’ (Ashmore 2004: 259). When planning this research project, one of the key objectives was for the project to be multi vocal. By including this as a target, it was reasoned that this account of Stonehenge’s modern social history would be informative and varied, due to variety of voices across society that were included. As the project developed, it was apparent to the researcher, that the modern history of Stonehenge can be compared to a kaleidoscope. Not scientific but a reasonable comparison. A twist of a kaleidoscope and the scene changes completely, beads tumbling to create a new variant of what was there before.

People’s narratives of Stonehenge are like this, the ‘scene’ dependant on several basic individual characteristics. These can include age, gender, beliefs, and socioeconomic status, amongst others. This analogy, though obscure, makes sense when applied to Stonehenge’s modern social history and explains people’s own interpretations of the monument. There were several examples of this within the participant data collected,

with the individual characters, when supplied, helping the researcher to understand their perspectives of the modern social history of Stonehenge within the timeline. It is hoped that this research project has been insightful into how people connected and still connect to the monument. The Experiences of Stonehenge interviews for this research projects were oral histories in themselves, of individuals with connections to Stonehenge. This small set of interviews covered many topics of Stonehenge's modern social history, like cultural heritage, the Stonehenge free festivals, access, and contested landscapes.

Everyone who was interviewed for the Experiences of Stonehenge set had different experiences of the monument, despite their stories overlapping on the timeline. For example, Interviewee 3, Interviewee 4, Interviewee 1 and Interviewee 2 all experienced the Stonehenge Free Festivals at Stonehenge and their impact, but these experiences were influenced by a variety of factors, such as age, socio-economic backgrounds and personalities. This links to Bender's view on people's understandings of place and was also evident in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey and subsequent interviews. Personal accounts of Stonehenge, like the ones which were collated for this research project, are intertwined with the individuals' own experiences and personal identity. Use of a thematic code for the primary data allowed for further analysis and comparison of the personal experiences that were shared with researcher.

It was evident from the collated primary data, that participants experience a 'textured intangible culture' (Darvill 2016a: 155) at Stonehenge, and every experience is different. Stonehenge has multi-layered interpretations, of varying difference dependent on which sub-group of society the individual is from.

It was noted by the researcher that participants who identified as British Pagan often explained their experiences in a more emotive way than others, which was indicated by the primary data. For example, two of the most common words associated with Stonehenge were 'sacred' and 'spiritual' when survey participants were asked to describe the monument; both. Of which as often associated with British Pagan views of the site.

Also, British Pagan participants from the following interviews regarded Stonehenge as a 'reservoir of peace' or a site which creates 'enormous mental shift'. This emotive response by British Pagans could be because they associate Stonehenge with their beliefs, and it is of great importance to them. Perhaps they are more 'in tune' with their emotions as Stonehenge is where parts of their community connect and celebrate solstices and other festivals in the Wheel of the Year.

These experiences of Stonehenge are enriched by 'oral traditions, folklore, beliefs and histories' (Darvill 2016a: 155), which inform how the participants perceived Stonehenge. During the research project, the researcher became immersed in Britain's modern social history to better understand participants' stories. It was important to know what was happening in the background as events at Stonehenge were happening, such as difficult socio-political scene of the 70s and 80s. Alternative histories, like those of New Age Travellers or the personal experiences of the BOB are often oral, traded for other stories and passed around by word of mouth. Parts of this research project, like some of the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews only happened by chance.

Stonehenge as a site of pilgrimage and healing was a reoccurring theme in the primary data, most notably in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews and the

Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews. According to Darvill, ceremonial centres like Stonehenge grow in ‘scale and complexity’ as they become more popular, extending their influence (Darvill 2016a: 155). Stonehenge is set up as a ceremonial structure, due to its proximity to the Ridgeway and the River Avon. It could be said that from 1900 to 2020, Stonehenge has grown as a ceremonial centre, particularly due to its’ association with the solstices and popularity of managed access at Summer solstice.

The aim of pilgrimage is ‘spiritual renewal, emotional enrichment’ (Darvill 2016a: 155, with pilgrimage being an ‘emotional initiation in the sense of being a ritualized ideal that propels participants into a different state of consciousness’ (Darvill 2016a: 155). This was interesting as both Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 1’s responses to the Experiences of Stonehenge interview could be linked to pilgrimage. Stonehenge is set up as a ceremonial structure, due to its proximity to the Ridgeway and the River Avon (Darvill 2016a: 164).

For Interviewee 4, Stonehenge is ‘all that felt holy’ and throughout his life it has been a ‘talisman’ which he meditates on when things are difficult. It is a ‘place he comes home to’ and was particularly important when he left the army. Interviewee 4 would make regular pilgrimages to Stonehenge, hiking across Salisbury plains and ‘wading through the Avon’ which he compared to a ritual with the ‘cleansing water’. Interviewee 4’s personal narrative supports the idea of Stonehenge as a ceremonial centre. For him, the river Avon was a liminal space, a ‘barrier between the worlds’ which allowed him to connect to his beliefs by passing through the water. Stonehenge was where Interviewee 4 came to ‘release all the pain’ and start to heal, both physically and mentally. Interviewee 4’s pilgrimages are one example of how people use Stonehenge as a healing site and a place to find comfort.

Darvill states that the ‘combination of tangible and intangible culture creates a structured, complicated, and deeply emotive experience’ (Darvill 2016a: 156), at ceremonial centres such as Stonehenge. For example, Interviewee 1 talked about how the Stonehenge landscape and how it affected him, how the ‘magic of it’ was the ‘the hard chalk ground, the clouds, the weather systems’ and how he gets a ‘spiritual feeling’ in places like this. Interestingly, it was evident that Interviewee 1 connects more to the landscape than Stonehenge itself as he knows that the stones have been ‘knocked about figured out for millennia’. Both Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 1’s narratives link to Darvill’s ideas of spiritual renewal. For Interviewee 1, the act of sitting on the barrows near Stonehenge makes him feel ‘part of life...part of the landscape’. In Interviewee 4’s case, the pilgrimages he took whilst in recovery were ritualistic and helped him heal.

Both the Stonehenge Photo and Paraphernalia Archives included in this thesis are new interpretations in themselves of the monument. It was interesting to see how through the rough timeline of the photos collated, we can glimpse the changing history of Stonehenge and how the monument develops into the tourist destination it is now, from 1900 to 2020. The Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive was an interesting collection of items that show how we have used Stonehenge and its image over the years. The esteemed archaeologist, Julian Richards, has previously had an exhibition of Stonehenge-related items, dubbed ‘all the strange things’ (Richards 2016) and this concept was used as a basis for the Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive, included in this research project. Perhaps ‘paraphernalia’ was not the best word choice for the archive, but it gives an indication of just how many things are produced that are somehow linked to Stonehenge and how these items give an idea of Stonehenge’s history.

To summarise, the primary data from this research project was interesting as it supported interpretations of Stonehenge – it is an archaeological site with many contexts, cultural heritage, pilgrimage, wellbeing, celebration and more. It is evident that Stonehenge has had a long-lasting cultural impact on modern social history between 1900 and 2020 due to its variety of uses, though the primary data had several wellbeing examples. If we all get the Stonehenge we deserve, or desire within our lifetime (Hawkes, 1967: 174), then it appears what we deserve is a monument that can be moulded to suit our own interpretations varied as they may be. Stonehenge is multi-dimensional in that there are several interpretations of it, its uses and how it should be used now. Stonehenge is a key case study of how we use ancient monuments to support our individual narratives. We sculpt it into a carving of our own beliefs held about the site.

### **Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape**

According to Historic England, contested heritage is defined as ‘historic objects, structures, buildings or places where the associated stories or meanings have become challenged’ (Historic England 2021). With each generation, how we interpret the past changes, and this was evident in 2020, with the toppling of the statue of Edward Colston as part of the Black Lives Matter protests (BBC News 2020a). National heritage bodies have become increasingly more publicly aware of issues regarding contested heritage, with the National Trust publishing their Colonialism and Historic Slavery Report (National Trust 2020) which includes and acknowledges the links that 93 of their buildings and collections have (National Trust 2020: 62).

Though Stonehenge is not linked to colonialism or historic slavery, it could be argued that the monument still forms part of our contested heritage due to its modern social history. Bender notably presents Stonehenge as a contested landscape in ‘*Making Space*’ (Bender 1998) and this is a well-thought academic idea which has substantial roots. However, it could be suggested that ‘contested heritage’ is a more encompassing term to apply to Stonehenge as it expands the perception of the monument. Rather than thinking physically in terms of landscape (if landscape can be considered a solely physical thing), contested heritage is an updated version of Bender’s theory. Applying this term allows Stonehenge to be part of the ongoing discussion of contested heritage in the UK, acknowledging past historical events at the monument and how these contribute and shape our perceptions of it today.

To contest is to argue or disagree over something (Cambridge University Press 2021) and the act of contestation is written into the very fabric of Stonehenge. Throughout this research project, the researcher found that elements of Stonehenge as a contested landscape in this research project were present in each chosen key theme and it was sometimes difficult to analyse the collated data without repeating ideas. For this reason, this discussion of Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape touches upon elements of contestation present within each of the themes, presenting them together here to provide analysis and a summary.

From 1900 to 2020, there is evidence of a contested landscape scattered across the decades. Historical events like the 1905 Attorney-General vs. Antrobus court case (The Times 1905: 9), the solstice ‘invasions’ of the 60s (Underwood 1961) or the implications of the Stonehenge Regulations 1997 after the BOB. Within the boundaries of this research project, Stonehenge as a contested landscape was a reoccurring theme.

This is supported by data from the participants in the project and examples of a 'contested landscape' from the primary data are discussed below.

The shared personal narratives and opinions of the 3 sets of different participant datasets all contained elements of a 'contested landscape'. For example, how politicians have contributed to the idea of Stonehenge's contested landscape, such as how political policies like the 1997 Stonehenge Regulations have impacted access to Stonehenge, after the brutality of the BOB and aftermath. Interviewee 3 spoke about this in her Experiences of Stonehenge interview, how her Stonehenge is a 'conflict site' due to the 'Tory policies and images of the Battle of the Beanfield, the Miner's Strike'. The brutality at the BOB was evident from the interview set with 'thuggish' police who were 'getting them [free festivalgoers] on the ground and stamping on them, kicking them'. Stonehenge had never seen such contestation that day and Interviewee 3 questioned why the monument was so vital: 'was this place of such importance that people in power were willing to destroy people's lives to stop them getting there'.

Although the BOB is an easy example of how Stonehenge is a contested landscape, it could be argued that the A303 tunnel scheme is another, given how it has divided those who are invested in it; whether they be the public, the government or archaeologists. The A303 is a continually reoccurring issue from the 1970s onwards in Stonehenge's history, and participant responses from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey indicate the differing opinions people have on the matter; from 'a necessary evil' or 'a tunnel will enable the landscape to return to a more normal setting' to 'it will tear right through the heritage landscape' and 'ill-thought, destructive of archaeology, a disaster!'. It appears in recent years that this issue will continue to be debated but it is another indication of how the Stonehenge landscape can be divisive and fought-over.

Another aspect of the Stonehenge 'contested landscape' argument is the relationship British Pagans have had with the monument from 1900 to present day. Over the years, tolerance for British Pagans and their celebrations waxed and waned. In the 1950s and 60s they faced disruption to their solstice celebrations (Underwood 1961), and it was difficult to access Stonehenge for British Pagans during the exclusion years.

Interviewee 4 reflected upon how the BOB made him wary of publicly being a British Pagan in the years after Battle. He cited the Fraudulent Mediums Act, 1951 (which was preceded by the Witchcraft Act 1735) as a reason for being wary of the police and possible contestation at Stonehenge. The Act was only repealed in 2008 and people could be prosecuted under it for an 'intent to deceive' if it was proved the person in question acted for a reward and money or valuable items changed hands (Fraudulent Mediums Act 1951). This Act also mentioned the use of 'any fraudulent device' which explains why, after the BOB, Interviewee 4 took safety precautions to avoid arrest if he wanted to celebrate the solstices: 'Any witch related items were left at home... You really looked at yourself, made sure you weren't giving out signals that they might misinterpret'.

There are several interwoven concepts that form the idea of a 'contested landscape' at Stonehenge. It is both physical and emotional, linked to historical boundaries and hierarchies. Contestation at Stonehenge is linked to access, politics and class, all issues which affect how we can interact with ancient monuments. Perhaps Stonehenge's 'Contested landscapes' part of a bigger issue, though what this issue is, is difficult to define. Using 'contested heritage' to define Stonehenge would link the monument to

socio-politics and other characteristics that determine Stonehenge to be a ‘contested landscape’, but the researcher is unsure whether this is the correct terminology to use.

As stated at the beginning of chapter 3, the 8 key themes chosen for this research project overlapped and blurred into each other. Out of all of them, Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape was the clearest example of this. Aspects of contestation were apparent within each of the themes. Due to the researcher wanting to avoid repetition, several historical events from Stonehenge’s 1900-2020 timeline were chosen to represent Stonehenge’s Contested Landscape in this section. Other instances of it appear in other themes in Chapter 9, such as Memories of a Free Festival and Stonehenge and Politics. It was evident throughout this research project, that Bender’s theory of a contested landscape (Bender 1998) was a lasting one, though the researcher suggests including Stonehenge in the current contested heritage discussion to allow for further exploration of Stonehenge’s social history.

### **Stonehenge and Politics**

In reflection, it is evident that politics had had a bigger impact on Stonehenge than the researcher had previously thought. From 1900 to 2020, politics has impacted Stonehenge in numerous ways, such as public access, regulations, and appropriation of the monument for political gain. As previously mentioned, Stonehenge is the only ancient monument that has its’ own parliament legislation (Darvill 2006: 276), indicating the influence that politicians have had on Stonehenge. For the thematic discussions, it was useful to keep Politics, Contested Landscape, and Admission and Accessibility separate, although the latter two could have been incorporated into the Stonehenge and Politics theme. It was evident there was clear overlap between the themes and at times, it was difficult to not repeat certain ideas.

For this section, the responses from the survey and two sets of interviews will be discussed. Regarding politics, the researcher wanted to know participants’ views were on Stonehenge and issues surrounding the monument. We so often hear politicians’ views in the media, but it is sometimes more interesting to hear from the public, particularly if they have a strong personal connection to Stonehenge. As part of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, participants were asked whether they thought politicians should influence access to Stonehenge (q.16). This was asked due to historical access issues, such as the Attorney-General vs. Antrobus court case of 1905 and the exclusion zone years after the BOB. In the survey, most participants (87%) were against political involvement in access, though 13% agreed with the idea. Though a relatively small number of participants took part in the survey linked to this research project, the results were interesting.

The response to question 16 in the survey indicated that many did not want Stonehenge access to be controlled by politicians and in her interview, Interviewee 3 discussed political appropriation of the monument – ‘you’ve got this appropriation for somebody else’s political agenda, whether that be a nationalist agenda or a Conservative agenda trying to force through social changes in the 80s’. This appropriation of Stonehenge in a political way can be linked to the concepts of nationalism, which is discussed further below.

The concepts of nationalism and tribalism were briefly discussed in Chapter 3. These concepts were included in the Interpretations section of the literary discussion but for

Chapter 9, the researcher has chosen to analyse them in this section, as they have definitive links to politics and Stonehenge. Although these ideas were not overtly noticeable in the primary data, the researcher was aware of a small proportion of data that could indicate nationalistic tendencies.

Interviewee 3 linked political appropriation of Stonehenge to identity and believes that 'it's been appropriated to fit a narrative', giving the example that 'nobody cares that there's a main A road that goes through Avebury' and yet there have been years of discussion about the A303 Tunnel Scheme. This appropriation could be applied to British identity, and what Britain's cultural image is internationally or how Stonehenge is used to 'unite' Britain, looking at this in the wake of Brexit (Barclay and Brophy 2020: 1). It could be argued that there is a tentative link between Stonehenge and Britain's empirical past, how it could be used to represent how Britain is 'better than' other countries due to our ancient monuments.

Interviewee 3 thought that Stonehenge is always in the public eye as it can be moulded to fit a narrative, she linked this to nationalism, stating that Stonehenge can be presented as the 'pinnacle of nationalistic actual Britons building skills', which could use to further imperialistic tendencies if someone was thus inclined. In a 2020 TedTalk, the archaeologist Sarah Kurnick talks about pseudo-archaeology and ancient monuments in '*Aliens built the pyramids*' (Kurnick 2020) and how this can 'perpetuate racist and xenophobic notions of history and culture' (Kurnick 2020). Interviewee 5 documents Stonehenge all over the world and perhaps it is indicative of British history that the monument is replicated so often. Though Interviewee 5 believes that worldwide Stonehenge is seen as 'this amazing legacy of ancient humanity'.

Some stated in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Surveys that it 'belonged' to the British Pagan community, such as 'it's ours, not for development or monetising' or 'Stonehenge should be accessible to those in the faith up close but only seen to visitors from distance' but not all held this belief. Though it is a very small minority of participant opinions that could be said to be linked to tribalism or othering; this indicates how some sub-cultures can feel that they have more right to ownership to the site than others.

It was concerning that these topics were brought up as it is evident that Stonehenge can be twisted in an interpretive way to fit people's agendas. Though it is important to discuss, the data resulting from this research project cannot be said to give cause for concern, but it is something that archaeologists should be aware of regarding ancient monuments like Stonehenge.

The suppression of the alternative scene through the BOB and end of free festivals 'was part of a wider political agenda authorised from the highest level' (Worthington 2004: 133) and this suppression was evident in the primary data from this research project. This was of particular interest to the researcher as they were interested in the link between the Miners Strikes and BOB and how they believed the same tactics were used by the government to control the citizens involved. The comparison between the Establishment's treatment of miners and free festivalgoers was previously discussed in Chapter 3, but as it links to the political scene at the time, it will be discussed here.

The crackdown on the alternative lifestyle by the Tory government of the time can be linked to NIMBY, as Interviewee 2 mentioned, they were a 'small minority' who

wanted to differently, but for everyone else, they did not want this ‘on their doorstep’. The Peace Convoy and free festivalgoers were anti-establishment and to the authorities ‘Scum! Dropouts! Criminals!’ as Interviewee 4 stated in his interview. Thatcher saw the Convoy as a threat, as this quote from *Making Space* indicates: ‘[I will do] anything I can to make life difficult for such things as hippy convoys’ (Bender 1998: 115).

The researcher was fortunate to have been able to interview Interviewee 2 for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews as he had witnessed the police behaviour at both the Miner’s Strike of 84-85 and the BOB. Interviewee 2 was part of the crew filming for BBC news at the time. The Wiltshire police had a reputation as ‘thuggish’ and ‘hard boys’ which Interviewee 2 thought had come from the Miner’s Strike. Though the Miner’s Strike was mostly up north, it involved ‘1000s of police’ and forces from around the country were involved in it. The Wiltshire police were disliked as much as the Met by the Miners and police were known to taunt miners by ‘waving their pay packets at them’, all on overtime and earning ‘fantastic sums of money’ during a time of mass unemployment.

As the project developed, the researcher was interested in whether the police used similar tactics at the Miner’s Strike as the BOB. Interviewee 2 agreed with this, though he thought that there was more intimidation towards the free festivalgoers. He backed this up by explaining that the ‘big, hefty miners’ were ‘quite happy to...have a go at you’ so the police were fresh off ‘having big punch ups in the coal fields’ when the BOB happened.

It could be argued that the Miners were prepared to be defensive towards the police as they had a cause they were fighting for. Although the Stonehenge Free Festivals were important culturally, the alternative lifestyle could happen without them. The Miner’s Strike of 84-85 was an attempt to prevent mine closures and a fight for employment. For the police, who ‘liked nothing more than winding the miners up’ fighting ‘a hippie when you’re dressed in full riot gear’ would not have been much of a challenge. The BOB was brutal and was a warning - the police were making an example of the free festivalgoers to scare them into submission.

Out of the political turmoil of the aftermath of the BOB, Paddy Ashdown, then MP for Yeovil proved to be an unlikely ally for the free festivalgoers. The BBC had followed the Peace Convoy (those that were not arrested) from Stonehenge to Somerset as they attempted to reach Glastonbury. Jim remembered being followed by ‘vanloads of riot police’ and there was a standoff at the Dorset border, with Dorset riot police. From Interviewee 2’s perspective, ‘it was fairly obvious that they [the police] were going to beat the hell out of them’ and were trying to move the BBC on so they would not be witnesses.

As Interviewee 2 told it, Paddy Ashdown ‘saved their bacon’ as the Peace Convoy avoided further violence due to his involvement. Ashdown stated (as Interviewee 2 remembered): ‘this is not a police state - these gentlemen filming are going to film with me and we are going to talk to these people’. Ashdown had temporarily claimed the free festivalgoers as his constituents so the police would back down. This act was another example of authorities clashing due to Stonehenge but had a positive impact.

The discussion above gives further evidence of similar treatment of the miners and free festivalgoers and confirms that they were treated the same way by the police. The police

force used intimidation, aggression, and violence amongst other tactics to coerce miners and free festivalgoers into 'behaving'. This indicates that the Tory government felt threatened by those they perceived as a challenge to their policies and behaved in a vindictive manner, punishing those who were not under their control, determined to crush their spirit.

In Chapter 3, the development of Stonehenge was discussed, notably how the political and social economy of the 1970s and 80s influenced how the monument became the largescale tourist attraction today. The researcher previously noted how widespread unemployment in the UK during the Thatcher years was a determining factor for substantial improvements at Stonehenge; with the main goal of encouraging tourism and bringing money into the local economy.

Today, Stonehenge has gone from the national disgrace' (Baxter and Chippendale: 2002) to the face of British tourism. It forms a substantial part of the tourist economy within the UK and is an invaluable asset for EH. Although the development of Stonehenge as a tourist destination has had its benefits, many of the participant comments from the survey could be considered negative. For example, it is too 'commercialised and taken over by tourists' or 'touristy concreted blocks'. Interviewee 5 was more positive about tourism and Stonehenge, she stated that 'there are people who are saving up their money right now, their dream is to go to Stonehenge' and that it was a destination for people all over the world. Whereas Interviewee 4 regarded Stonehenge as more touristic than other local monuments as 'you get everyone from all over the world up there' or that tourists are 'trying to get selfies with you while you're working a ritual', which is why he prefers going to Avebury if he wants to be 'freely Pagan'.

Presented as one of the front runners of our British cultural heritage, Stonehenge is a political pawn; both within heritage and wider socioeconomic issues in the UK. It was evident from the primary data collected as part of this research project, that most participants believed politicians should not be allowed to influence Stonehenge and that the monument has a small but significant influence on nationalistic ideas. To summarise, the political sphere is intertwined with every aspect of Stonehenge's modern social history and had a significant contribution to how we interact and regard the monument today.

### **Memories of a Free Festival**

For Chapter 3, this theme discussed the emergence of the free festival culture, how they changed Stonehenge and the Battle of the Beanfield and its's aftermath. This was a fascinating part of Stonehenge's modern social history, in part because outside of the academic or alternative spheres, it does not seem to be particularly well-known. The researcher was fortunate in that several acquaintances had experience of the free festivals, or the BOB and it was a privilege to record and transcribe their individual aural histories as part of the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. Questions for the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews and the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey both touched on the free festivals and are discussed below.

The Stonehenge free festivals 'preserved some of the character of the festivals of the flower-power era' (Chippindale 1985: 43), they were free-spirited, a place where people could gather and escape the restrictions of society. It was interesting to interview

Interviewee 1, who was part of the Peace Convoy and gave a rare insight into how the free festivals came about. During the interview with Interviewee 1, the researcher asked about how a free festival would be set up, with the following based on his response. The free festivals would begin with planning where to go: 'it was a sort of like, oh, where should we go? Now? You know?... And it was sort of, okay, we'll do that then', making sure that everybody in the Convoy was ready to move. Interviewee 1 listed the essentials that they'd check off: 'Gone find out how many vehicles, who's coming, how many vehicles need attention, what about petrol what about water?'

Water was the most the most important aspect of 'taking a site' as this would determine how long the group could stay on one site, 'holed up', without having to go out for supplies and attract unwanted attention. It was transported in 'big jerry cans', tied down on truck flatbeds. It was evident from Interviewee 1's explanation that the free festivals, despite their appearance, had a very organized system behind the scenes. Interviewee 1 also explained that the next site for a party would be kept very quiet, 'like there wasn't anybody trying to actually organise it' to ensure that word would not get out to the press or police about where the Peace Convoy was trying to go.

Talking to Interviewee 1 about the Peace Convoy and the Stonehenge Free Festivals was informative and changed the researcher's perspectives of the scene. It was evident that to 'take the ground' for the free festivals was complex, involving individuals working together to outsmart the Establishment. Although the Convoy is often presented as a shambolic mess during the festival years, squatting of sites and the set-up of the free festivals were highly organised and often successful. It should be noted that Interviewee 1 was asked by the researcher whether he wanted any information redacted, but he wanted everything to be included in his transcript to provide a true account of life in the Convoy. This was very beneficial to the research project as it confirmed many stories that the researcher had heard or read about the Peace Convoy. It was also a fascinating insight into free festival culture and how one would go about setting up a free festival, from taking the land to keeping things running.

Although Chippendale links the Stonehenge free festivals to those of the 60s, the 'flower-power era' (Chippendale 1985: 43), it could be argued that the Stonehenge festivals were grittier and more violent than their predecessors. As children, both Interviewee 3 and Interviewee 4 were witness to the undercurrent of unrest that resulted from the free festivals. In her Experiences of Stonehenge interview, Interviewee 3 and the researcher discussed the impact that the free festivals had on her community and childhood, and how her relationship with Stonehenge today is shaped by the conflict of the 80s and continual appropriation of the site for political means.

Interviewee 3 discussed her childhood in Wiltshire, which echoed the researcher's own, one of picnics at hillforts and at Avebury, where they would 'spend their days rolling down the henges'. These early experiences of ancient places were compared with Stonehenge and Interviewee 3 admitted that she just could not understand why this place was 'so special' that it needed to be 'roped off and protected'. From a 10 or 11 year old's perspective, Stonehenge and the travellers from the free festivals impacted Interviewee 3's community in a variety of ways, several negative. For example, Interviewee 3 talked about the snow gates on the A36, which from May to June each year made it 'really difficult to get anywhere'. Or the anti-Gypsy Roma and Traveller rural architecture such as 'tractors and bales' that farmers put out around the solstice, blocking off potential stopping places for free festivalgoers.

These acts of underlying aggression were part of the hostility that free festivalgoers faced where Interviewee 3 lived, over a period of '3 or 4 years'. When some were 'put up on the White horse', a hillfort near Interviewee 3's town, they were 'being shouted at and called all sorts by the locals', a result of prevailing stereotypes. This attitude towards the free festivalgoers had a direct effect on Interviewee 3's family as her dad, with a 'bit of a scruffy hippie' appearance, was arrested by the police, who presumed he was a Traveller. Interviewee 3 can laugh about it now, but she reflected on how for her, Stonehenge was a place used by 'people in power' to 'destroy people's lives to stop them getting there' and she could not understand why.

Interviewee 3 linked all of this to misappropriation of Stonehenge with the Tory government of the time, stating that it is a 'conflict site', with the Battle of the Beanfield contributing to a 'merging of a repressive government'. It was evident from her interview that Interviewee 3 has a largely negative or difficult relationship to Stonehenge today, a result of her experiences living nearby. The Stonehenge free festivals made life in a Wiltshire town near Stonehenge isolated and frustrating at times during the festival years for local communities. From the experiences Interviewee 3 shared of her and her family, the festivals and influx of festivalgoers into Wiltshire had a substantial impact on the county which was largely negative.

In contrast, although Interviewee 4 also experienced difficult times at Stonehenge when he was a child, he still has a happy relationship with the site today. In his interview, Interviewee 4 talked at length of how Stonehenge has been a guiding figure throughout his life, a 'talisman' and this idea is explored further in the Interpretations section of this chapter. During his childhood, Interviewee 4 attended many of the free festivals and was at the BOB with his parents.

He witnessed the violence at the Beanfield, how the free festivalgoers were treated by 'coppers getting them on the ground and stamping on them, kicking them'. Though some escaped arrest, they 'were given bloody serious beatings with batons and things'. Interviewee 4 linked this police brutality to the government and how it was to do with control of the public: 'at that point they wanted to control every aspect of your life' and as a 'hippie' you were moving out of their control. Fortunately, Interviewee 4 and his parents were not arrested at the BOB as he was 'er got dragged by the parents and hidden safely in a ditch until it all calmed down a bit'. Despite this experience at Stonehenge, Interviewee 4 often returns to the monument and has continued to establish a positive relationship with Stonehenge.

Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 3's relationships with Stonehenge today are the result of their experiences with the monument over their lifetimes. It was evident from the interviews that, though they both have memories of Stonehenge during the free festival years from their childhood, Interviewee 4 continues to view Stonehenge in a positive way. He visits regularly and has built a significant and long-lasting relationship with Stonehenge, despite the brutal events of the BOB. On reflection, it was evident that for Interviewee 3, how the free festival years at Stonehenge affected her family and childhood have soured Stonehenge; to the extent that she is disinterested in the monument and thinks that it is continually misappropriated. It was interesting to interview both Interviewee 3 and Interviewee 4, as though their experiences are within a similar timeframe, their relationships with Stonehenge today could not more contrasted and different.

Interviewee 1 is another participant in the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews who had personal experience of the violence that occurred within the alternative scene and at the Stonehenge Free Festivals. Though Interviewee 1 was not at the BOB, he was arrested as part of the clash between the Peace Convoy and Nostell Priory; and attended many of the early free festivals at Stonehenge. Several issues that Interviewee 1 mentioned in his interview were to do with drugs and it was interesting that he confirmed several stories that the researcher had heard about the free festivals. For example, the story about ice cream vans and heroin: 'the Convoy came down and trashed all these ice cream vans which was selling smack [heroin]'. Although the free festivals were very liberal regarding drug use, provided it was relatively discreet – 'if you are selling something you keep it bloody quiet' - heroin was abhorrent. Interviewee 1 expanded on this, stating that 'you don't sell hard drugs, and that's it...we didn't like all that'. This hard line with heroin was due to the issue the free festivals had with addicts as Interviewee 1 mentioned – 'there was a lot of guys taking hard drugs, they'd been some addicts there, I knew some addicts' and that gangs were coming from the cities to the free festivals: 'the gangsters came in and tried to use it as a marketplace'.

Other examples of violence at the free festivals from Interviewee 1's narrative, were due to power struggles over who controlled the festivals. Interviewee 1 evidently did not think highly of Sid Rawle, who is often regarded as one of the key people in the free festival scene, such as these anecdotes show: 'Sid...was brandishing his name all over the place, he got cornered by these - these guys who'd shown up with sawn-off shotguns at the road' or 'Sid got caught by some gangsters coming out of Stonehenge because he basically put it out that he was the King of the Convoy'. It was apparent from Interviewee 1's experiences shared in the interview that there were power struggles due to the notoriety of being anti-Establishment, such as clashes with the Hells Angels. But also due to the serious money that could be made at the free festivals as an ideal marketplace for drug selling: 'We got some guys came in and raided a tent which was knocking out cocaine. And they got trashed with that'. Although the festivals were free in theory, it is apparent from these narratives, that they were not without their issues, like mainstream society.

Participants for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey were asked whether they would like the free festivals to happen again and if they had any comments on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape. More participants were against the idea of festivals in the Stonehenge landscape than the researcher had thought and there were many comments on it. That most were against festivals could be to do with the damage that the Stonehenge free festivals did, such as the use of Bronze Age Barrows as latrines and bread ovens (Chippindale 1985: 45) or that we are more aware of the environmental impact that festivals have today. Topics from the participant comments included concern about the landscape, noise, and archaeological damage, although some reasoned that since Stonehenge is a celebration site it should be so again. Due to his knowledge of the set up behind the free festivals, Interviewee 1 was asked by the researcher whether he thought there was a possibility of them happening again within the Stonehenge landscape. His answer was a unanimous yes – 'Oh, yeah. Yeah. I think if people could get it together, and put a few festivals on, I think all this control nonsense would disappear'. It could be argued that the survey participant views on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape are influenced by current mainstream media. In recent years, there has been an increased focus on the impact of festivals, whether that be festival sizing issues and noise complaints, drug-related deaths, or damage to the

environment. For example, a recent study has found that cocaine from the urine of Glastonbury festivalgoers is causing an impact on endangered European eels (Davis 2021). Studies like this could arguably be changing how we think about festivals, causing us to be more aware of the negative environmental impact they can have.

In *Stoned Henge*, Chippindale reflected on the free festivals and Battle of the Beanfield, describing the various characters in the BOB as having ‘a diversity of interests, variously allied and divided, and variously ignorant of and hostile to each other’ (Chippindale 1985: 42). An Experiences of Stonehenge participant, Interviewee 2, was working for the BBC as a dispatch rider when the Battle of the Beanfield happened. From what the ‘3 or 4 minutes’ he witnessed, he described it as a ‘ginormous field’ with ‘all these... ‘hippie’ buses hurtling around with lots of police chasing them’. It was evident from Interviewee 2’s perspective that the ‘hippies’ did not know ‘what on earth to do’ as they were stuck in a field, with police ‘trying to smash the window screens’. According to Chippindale, the only positive outcome of the BOB was ‘a wry astonishment that a monument almost exactly 4000 years old... can generate such passions in the contemporary world’ (Chippindale 1985: 40).

One of the key stories about the BOB is that the police involved were a ‘faceless, paramilitary police force’ (Worthington 2004: 134) but it was difficult to confirm whether they had removed their identification numbers or hidden them beneath riot gear. Interviewee 2, an Experiences of Stonehenge participant noted that from what he saw at the BOB: ‘there were lots of police in unmarked boiler suits. Which as far as I knew was illegal’. Although the researcher did attempt to find police uniform regulations from the time to verify what the rules were, it was very difficult to find any information on the matter. When the researcher watched the *Operation Solstice* documentary (Channel 4 1991), some police numbers could be seen but this footage only showed parts of the BOB. In photos of the event, some police have their police identification numbers (like in 3.13), but others do not (3.10). There is power in anonymity and due to the brutal violence, it is easy to see why police wanted to be anonymous.

Much of the primary data collected for this research project supported the idea of the police as a violent and suppressive force during the festival years and particularly at the BOB. In Chapter 4, a handful of experiences shared by participants from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey were briefly discussed with their stories shocking, but not surprising. For example, one participant reflected that they were ‘Beaten. Shell shocked’, with ‘still about six weeks missing from my memory’ which could be indicative of a severely traumatic experience.

Like many who went to the free festivals, Interviewee 2 also experienced difficulties with the police. Part of his experiences are discussed within the Politics section of this chapter, as they support the researchers’ ideas of how the police used similar treatment of the Miners and free festivalgoers. In his Experiences of Stonehenge interview, Interviewee 2 discussed his experiences of the Stonehenge free festivals, both as a punter and as part of his work. Before his work with the BBC, Interviewee 2 had been to the free festivals several times, in ’75 and ’77. He described them as ‘quite good fun but they were totally anarchic’ with a ‘youthful’ crowd and much of the festivals were ‘just people sitting in a field really, nothing was organised’. Despite this, they were a ‘useful meeting place’ to catch up with friends and were an important social event.

1975 was the first time Interviewee 2 saw dawn on solstice at Stonehenge but was also his first run-in with the police at the festival. A not 'wildly legal' motorbike led to arrest and a night of detainment, in which Interviewee 2 and his friend got 'strip searched in front of all the women police officers' then 'thrown out' at daybreak.

At the time of the BOB, Interviewee 2 was working for the BBC as a dispatch rider. In the days before digital film, tapes had to be couriered to a 'feed point' in Inkpen, where they would be sent by 'microwave link' to be broadcast. It was interesting to hear Interviewee 2's experiences of dealing with the police as part of the BBC during the BOB as he remembers how difficult they were – 'the police were being incredibly obstreperous' and hard work to deal with. This was surprising as Interviewee 2 was BBC and therefore 'in theory 'on their side' if you see what I mean'.

The police were particularly frustrating for Interviewee 2 as due to the 5-mile exclusion zone around Stonehenge, he had several roadblocks to get through to deliver and collect the BBC tapes. During the interview, he voiced his incredulity on this, remembering how he had to prove he had all the access passes every time as they were 'stopping me – searching everything', often contacting a senior officer, which meant 20 minutes to get through, only to go through 'exactly the same again' when he came back. Although this is not an example of the police being violent at Stonehenge in 1985, it is a good example of how deliberately difficult they were, even to a member of staff at the BBC.

Though this does not excuse the behaviour of the police towards Interviewee 2, the Peace Convoy were known to use motorbikes and walkie-talkies to evade the police and communicate with one another when 'taking a site' like Stonehenge for a free festival. Interviewee 1 commented on this in his interview, remembering how the police tried to stop them getting into Greenham Common: 'We have walkie talkies on the Convoy. We had outriders. We had guys on motorbikes, guys in jeeps'. As a young dispatch rider on a motorbike, police may have thought Interviewee 1 may have fit the characteristics of a convoy member or free festivalgoer to the police, which could explain why he was consistently stopped by them.

The end of the Stonehenge free festivals happened at a difficult time for the UK, alongside mass unemployment, nuclear war scare, The Troubles and the Miner's Strike. Despite this, the brutality shown by the police at the BOB was shocking for the public and film footage from the day was part of Channel 4's *Operation Solstice*. When interviewed, Interviewee 1 was of the belief that the BOB could have been a lot more violent, had the police not had the accountability of having film crews there, though he thought that 'I don't think they realised that at the beanfield that ITN were there. Because they were filming through the hedge sort of thing. I don't think they would have done some of the things they did.' On the day of the BOB, Interviewee 1 was going back and forth between Stonehenge and Inkpen when he happened to pass the Beanfield and witnessed what was happening. From what he saw, Interviewee 1 wanted to get his BBC crew down there: 'I was thinking from a news point of view 'How good is this?' And it was bloody good! So yeah, I didn't really want to hang around too long. Because I wanted to get our film crew back.'

Though the police might not have realised ITN were filming, it was evident from Interviewee 1's personal narrative that they were doing everything they could to stop the BBC from filming the BOB. For example, though Interviewee 1 wanted to move his crew down from the police mobile headquarters to the BOB, it was a 'B-team crew' that

day and the police were saying ‘No it’s far too dangerous for you to go up there’ which meant that they only filmed arrests, strip searches and free festivalgoers being ‘slung in Black Mariahs’. It was obvious that the police did not want film footage evidence of what they were doing at the BOB as Interviewee 1 noted: ‘they knew exactly what they were doing’. It was also telling that the police were ‘prepared to be a lot more violent if there wasn’t a camera there’ which would explain why the Beanfield was so violent as, according to what Interviewee 1 saw, they were not aware there was an ITN crew filming.

Police violence against the free festivalgoers was compared by the researcher to the force used with the miners and this was discussed previously in more detail in the Politics section of this chapter. It is indicative from Interviewee 1’s experiences that the police were violent at the BOB and could have been worse if they did not feel held accountable by the presence of BBC and ITN crew at Stonehenge that day.

The Stonehenge Free Festivals were a culmination of layers of subcultures at Stonehenge that had accumulated since 1900. Built upon British Pagan ceremonies and solstice celebrations, the festivals evolved into something of a legend. They are a folklore in themselves, comprised of aural history. Though a moment in Stonehenge’s lifetime, they had a noticeable impact on public interaction with the monument. The collated participant data and literary discussion for this research project dipped into the free festival subculture but it was clear that the festivals are a complex part of Stonehenge’s modern social history.

### **Admission and Accessibility**

In hindsight, Admission and Accessibility could have easily been put under the Politics theme as it is politically driven, however it was interesting to write it separately as it allowed for further reflection on the changing access at Stonehenge. Access is a key part of interaction with Stonehenge and throughout Stonehenge’s modern social history, it has been an issue, arguably ever since the Attorney-General vs Antrobus court case of 1905. Part of the problem is land ownership as though EH ‘own’ Stonehenge, the NT ‘owns’ the landscape that surrounds it. The primary data reflected several of the issues with access, notably with participants wanting greater access to Stonehenge and its landscape.

In Chapter 3, the literature research introduced aspects of admission and accessibility at Stonehenge, discussing topics like affordability, both past and present and disabled access. Stonehenge is a very accessible monument and was voted this by UK Age Mobility (English Heritage, 2021a). The primary data further informed the discussion, to a greater or lesser degree. For example, the photos collected for the Stonehenge Photo Archive this project did not contribute much to the theme, but what was evident was how public access has changed to the monument. From the small photo archive collated by the researcher, it was evident that Stonehenge access has changed considerably from 1900 to 2020, gradually over the years documented in the photos, with the implementation of fences people get further away from the monument. For example, image 7.3, taken in 1913, shows a car parked right next to the stones, with the next 60 years or so documenting people wandering round the stones in the inner circle. But images taken after 1990 (such as 7.15), show the gravel paths and low fences we associate with Stonehenge today, after the 1983 takeover by EH and impact of legislation like the Stonehenge Regulations 1997.

Out of the three participant data sets, the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey is most relevant to this theme as the questions directly address it. The questions were chosen to explore how accessible participants felt Stonehenge and the surrounding landscape is, with space for comments. 74% of participants had been to other monuments in the Stonehenge landscape, and 90% wanted more extensive access to it. Although EH has 'managed access' to Stonehenge during solstices and there are several footpaths through the NT managed areas of the Stonehenge landscape, most participants wanted more access to the landscape in general. The survey for this research project is a relatively small dataset, but it indicates that the public wants to explore and enjoy the Stonehenge landscape more.

In short, Stonehenge is a good example of how public access to ancient monuments and the landscape they reside in is managed, and how this access is influenced by political and financial issues. Although we have a right to our cultural heritage, Stonehenge indicates that this heritage is not always accessible to the public, despite that from 1918, the monument donated to the people. Admission and Accessibility is closely linked to politics and the academic idea of Stonehenge as a contested landscape. The primary data for this section indicated that access is an issue that people feel strongly about and feel entitled to the monument so that they may use it in the way that they chose.

### **The A303 Tunnel**

Since the very conception of the idea, the A303 Tunnel has been a reoccurring issue regarding Stonehenge and its landscape and is arguably the longest running one. Unlike the visitor centre issue, which was solved in 2013, the tunnel scheme has been in planning since the 1970s and shows no signs of being resolved, despite numerous revisions. Even over the short course of the research project, the tunnel plans went through considerable changes. For this section, primary research from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey, the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews and Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews is used to inform the discussion. Out of these 3 sets of participants (which do have some overlap), there were varying opinions on the A303 Tunnel Scheme.

The results from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey were very varied and it was interesting to note the impact of media on participant responses. A couple of months prior to the launch of the survey, a letter from Parker Pearson et al. 2020, was published in *The Times*, warning that half a million artefacts would be destroyed due to the proposed A303 Tunnel being too short (Parker Pearson et al. 2020). They added that land lost from the scheme would equate to '20 football pitches' (Parker Pearson et al. 2020). This news influenced the participant responses, with no fewer than 13 along the lines of 'horrific harm to possible artifacts underground' or 'important archaeology that will be destroyed by the tunnel'. Perhaps this serves as a good example for archaeologists to be cautious of how we convey information about archaeology to the public.

Overall, most participants who took part in the survey were largely against the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme. Those who were against it, were primarily due to the archaeology and heritage of the site, though some would consider a tunnel provided it was longer. Most of the Experiences of Stonehenge participants supported the idea of an A303 Tunnel scheme, although to what extent depended on how they felt it should be

carried out, if it was to go ahead. For example, the researcher had thought that Interviewee 4 would be against the tunnel scheme, as he identifies as a British Pagan, but though he was 'in two minds', if it was carried out with respect to the landscape, he thought it could help preserve Stonehenge for future generations. Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 1 both agreed with it, even though it may damage the archaeology and the landscape as it could improve the traffic problems around Stonehenge. Out of those who agreed with the scheme, traffic was a prevailing reason, with several survey participants also mentioning it: 'I like the idea of the experience of visiting the stones being devoid of intrusive traffic'. Although other participants did not agree as putting the A303 in a tunnel could 'take away the only free view most will have', despite the fact Stonehenge can be viewed from NT land too.

Similarly, to the responses from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey, most participants from the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey interviews were against the A303 Tunnel. Those who were against it, were because of their beliefs. Participant 46 felt 'uncomfortable with disturbing landscape around Stonehenge' whereas 14 thought that we would 'lose more than we will ever gain' from the development. Participant 31's response was that it was 'an unwise concept to undermine any sacred place on earth'. Although participant 2 could see the argument from both sides, they thought the tunnel would be a good thing, if executed properly. The only participant who was fully for the tunnel scheme was participant 38, who thought that 'reducing the vehicular traffic' was positive. This was echoed by 2, who said that the A303 'needs to be widened and hidden'.

Overall, those who were interviewed or took part in the survey for this project, were just as divided over the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel plans as mainstream society seems to be. The primary data supported the literary discussion and gave a greater understanding of how the public feels about the tunnel scheme. Although the debate around the A303 tunnel has frequently been presented as either for or against in the media, it is clear from both sets of interviews and the survey that it is not that simple. Of course, participants had their own personal reasons regarding their opinions, but it was evident that the argument was not black or white. In fact, those who took part fell across a broad spectrum as to whether they agreed with the Tunnel Scheme or not. It was evident from the research for this project that the A303 Tunnel Scheme is a complex and divisive issue for Stonehenge and may never come to a final resolution.

### **Stonehenge and Pop Culture**

The Pop Culture theme was of particular interest to the researcher, and the literary discussion of Chapter 3 linked well with Chapter 8, which provided further examples of how Stonehenge has influenced and continues to shape popular culture. Stonehenge has had an undeniable impact on popular culture from 1900 to 2020. The sheer size of Stonehenge-related paraphernalia or appearances in adverts, films and tv has been described as a 'bewildering range' (Darvill 2006: 280) but perhaps shows the popularity and longstanding nature of Stonehenge as a pop cultural icon. Stonehenge is emblazoned across every type of popular culture, particularly in the UK. The more the researcher analysed Stonehenge, the more they realised that its imagery is used everywhere, impacting everything from pop culture, from skate t-shirts to tourist souvenirs of every possible kind you can think of.

From the items included in the Stonehenge Paraphernalia Archive, it was obvious that Stonehenge had impacted pop culture and was a pop culture icon. Even the Stonehenge free festivals had t-shirts. The symbolic representation of Stonehenge, classified as part of the 'use value' of the monument is indicated by the wide array of different advertisements that use the monument (Darvill 1994: 57). Stonehenge paraphernalia is heavy with symbolism, and it is evident that Stonehenge has high monetary value when applied to souvenirs, music, or fashion.

To search for paraphernalia, the researcher used re-selling websites, Twitter, the legendary Henge Shop (in Avebury) and the EH website. This allowed them to find an array of items from different time periods. The oldest item found, was a cigarette card, dating to 1939, from the researcher's own Stonehenge themed collection, from a set called 'Wings over the Empire'. This was interesting as it can be linked to the social history of the time. 1939 was the outbreak of WW2 and the use of 'Empire' has imperial and nationalistic connections, which indicates that this cigarette card set used Stonehenge as a national icon and frankly, British propaganda.

Other items included in this archive show Stonehenge's links to tourism, music, and fashion, as well as the Army's use of Salisbury Plain, with a 'Stonehenge' Ex MOD rotary dial telephone. It is fascinating how, from the 30 or so items included in the Paraphernalia Archive, Stonehenge's modern social history can be constructed and shows how far-reaching the monument's influence on pop culture is. The researcher included several examples from Vivienne Westwood's MAN collection as well as a various EH tourist souvenirs and t-shirts. It was interesting that the research on tourist souvenirs and the number included (in this small sample) mirrored the timeline of tourist management of Stonehenge. From the 1960s onwards, the researcher found few souvenirs, such as the slides from the Ministry of Work (fig. 8.4) but in the 90s, after EH had gained management of Stonehenge in 1984; there were numerous souvenir mugs, t-shirts, badges; indicating the push in marketing Stonehenge to the public.

Stonehenge's representation in pop culture has strong links to the media and how they portray Stonehenge. Both sets of interview participants were asked about media attention to Stonehenge, specifically, why it gets more press than Avebury. It is evident that media coverage of Stonehenge is guaranteed to get the public's attention, something Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 4 explained in the Experiences of Stonehenge interviews. The intense media attention Stonehenge gets could be due to use of 'buzzwords' Interviewee 4, as it is the perfect clickbait. Interviewee 2 thought that it was more to do with the social history of Stonehenge, stating that 'bad news is good for the media', so Stonehenge is a focal point due to the Battle of the Beanfield and further clashes with police. Due to her Clonehenge work, Interviewee 5 constantly monitors social media and the news, looking out for different replicas; and this also gives her an interesting view of how the media presents Stonehenge. Interviewee 5 thought this media interest was due to the uniqueness of Stonehenge as a structure, it's 'almost a perfect circle'. When asked about media attention to Stonehenge, the participants for the Public Perceptions interview had various opinions. Participant 46 was of a similar view to Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 4, because Stonehenge has various activities, such as Druid, they thought that this attracted the media's attention. Other participants echoed Interviewee 5's comments, focusing on the structure and uniqueness of Stonehenge.

Although the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey questions were different to both interview sets, they still give an insight into how media contributes to perceptions of

Stonehenge in popular culture. For example, when participants were asked how important they thought Stonehenge was to contemporary culture (question 14), 102 ranked it as 'important' or 'very important', with 10 regarding it as 'somewhat unimportant' or 'very unimportant'. This data indicates, at a basic level, that the majority of participants were of the belief that Stonehenge had a significant impact on popular culture in society.

Darvill states that Stonehenge has become a 'legend within its own lifetime' (Darvill 2006: 280) and indeed it seems that its reputation precedes it. It was interesting that the primary data indicated that Stonehenge's status as a legend impacts actual visits to the monument itself. Although Stonehenge is well-known, it was evident from the primary data that Stonehenge can seem disappointing in person, which some participants for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey noted, with one remarking that it was 'much smaller and less imposing' than they were expecting. This was echoed by Interviewee 3 too, who said in her interview that she could 'never even from quite a young age, understand the attraction because it was so small!' Stonehenge is a cultural phenomenon and has far reaching implications across the globe, Interviewee 5 has a unique insight into this due to her work on Clonehenge. Having started Clonehenge as a joke, it became apparent that there was a vast amount of Stonehenge replicas in the world, which indicates the popularity of Stonehenge internationally and its role as an iconic figure in popular culture. Interviewee 5 mentioned this in her interview, that the number of Stonehenge replicas she sees are 'endless' and it can feel exhausting.

To summarise, throughout Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to 2020, it is evident that it has grown into a pop culture icon. By doing so, the monument has become bigger than itself. This iconicism, which can be seen across all genres of pop culture, allows Stonehenge to become accessible worldwide, even if some may never see it in person. It has become part of the cultural fabric of Britain and a heritage touchpoint for many.

### **Paganism and Stonehenge**

Paganism and Stonehenge was an important theme for this research project, and it was fortunate that many of the participants for the primary data collection were from the British Pagan community. For example, 39% of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey identified as Druid or Pagan, although in hindsight, the researcher would have used British Pagan as an inclusive term that covered all 'alternative' beliefs. This was not a planned element of the research project, but the large sample of British Pagans present in the primary data was beneficial. The sample gave the researcher a wider understanding of the importance of Stonehenge in the modern community and how they use it. This section will discuss how the primary data informs the use of Stonehenge by British Pagans and what it means to them.

From the primary research, there is a clear correlation between positive mental wellbeing at Stonehenge and British Pagans. It could be suggested from the data collected that British Pagans use Stonehenge to improve and restore their mental health, which links to academic research on Stonehenge as healing sites, such as Human Henge. For example, for Interviewee 4, an Experiences of Stonehenge interview participant, Stonehenge is a talisman, something he meditates on in times of stress. It brings out strong feelings, like a 'concentrated prayer...a euphoria'. It is the 'centre of the earth', something that grounds him and makes Interviewee 4 feel safe. Others

thought similarly, participant 31 of the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews describes Stonehenge as ‘a reservoir of peace, the Stones holding beautiful mediations. When visiting Stonehenge, they feel ‘the energies of ancient tribes’, but these feelings depend on their intention and state of consciousness at the time. Participant 2 explains that ‘there is a massive presence there,’ which is ‘easy to connect to’ when there are less people at the Stones but that being at Stonehenge creates ‘enormous mental shift’ for them as a Druid. From this primary data, it was evident that for British Pagans, Stonehenge is important to supporting their wellbeing and being at the monument improves their mental health.

The importance of Stonehenge for religious reasons to British Pagans was indicated by several types of primary data included in the research project. For example, in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey, when participants were asked what words, they most associated with Stonehenge (in questions 13 and 15), ‘spiritual’ ranked third in both word sets, indicating that beliefs are strongly associated with the monument. It was notable in the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey that out of all the beliefs options, Druids had visited Stonehenge the most, when answers were analysed by beliefs. Though the researcher had expected that more Pagans and Druids would have visited Stonehenge at either Winter or Summer solstice or both, there was still a considerable number in the sample who had. The Stonehenge Photo Archive includes a photo of a handfasting (7.21), from the 2017 Summer solstice, evidence that the solstices are times for celebration for British Pagans. Also, the survey gave further evidence of the importance of Stonehenge to British Pagans, as when asked how important Stonehenge is to them personally, most Druids and Pagans ranked it as ‘very important’ or ‘important’, suggesting that the monument is of considerable significance to British Pagans.

The two interview sets included in the primary data gave the researcher a greater understanding of how beliefs intersect with use of the monument regarding British Pagans. By chance, many of the participants for the Public Perceptions interviews were British Pagan, complimented by Interviewee 4’s interview for the Experiences interviews. The data from these 6 interviews gave more insight into why and how Stonehenge is important to British Pagans. For example, when asked about the relationship between Stonehenge and them, responses from the Public Perceptions interviews included statements like: ‘the spirit of the place has long been significant to me’ or ‘very special...in this lifetime’. As well as this, Participant 14 stating that Stonehenge is ‘a place of worship surrounded by nature’ for Druids and the monument is a ‘living library of consciousness (Participant 31). These responses mirrored Interviewee 4’s who, when asked about genius loci, responded that he absolutely believes Stonehenge has it, and that for him, he ‘visualises [it] as a dragon’, which he can summon with rituals and ceremony.

It was evident from the primary data, that Stonehenge holds great emotional and spiritual significance for the British Pagans who took part. They regard Stonehenge as a temple or place of worship to congregate at to celebrate their beliefs, it is a sacred site. There is a tradition of British Pagans worshipping at Stonehenge which links to their wellbeing, and we as archaeologists, need to continue to acknowledge their role in Stonehenge’s modern social history. The findings from the primary data included in this research project could be used to support the idea of Stonehenge as a healing site, as well as ceremonial and celebratory.

## Summary

Throughout this research project, it became evident that Stonehenge has and continues to have a multitude of uses by modern society. It is both a place of great spiritual significance and archaeological importance. A tourist destination and a pop culture icon. Stonehenge's meaning throughout this history, and to individuals themselves, is juxtaposed by society and a wide variety of socio-political issues. To regard Stonehenge without analysing key issues in society at the time is to see a faded photo of the monument.

The beauty of Stonehenge's modern social history that it is multi-faceted. Whatever avenue the individual chooses to pursue, there are a myriad of ways in which Stonehenge can be interpreted. It is fascinating that a Neolithic monument, built 2500 years ago can have such an impact on recent social history. It is impossible to cover all aspects of Stonehenge's history from 1900 to 2020, but it is hoped that this research project has given a deeper understanding of it.

To summarise, this chapter has written a new social history of Stonehenge from 1900 to 2020, based upon the data collected for this research project as part of the primary research. This research contributes to the metanarrative of Stonehenge's modern social history, a collective of experiences that adds to what we all know as the main story. This social history presented here is relative and multivocal, it is a fluid interpretation of Stonehenge that is based upon personal narratives, opinions, and ideas held by participants, intersected with prior research of the key events in the time studied. Stonehenge's history is complex and interwoven with society of the time and it is hoped that this chapter has reflected our continued fascination with Stonehenge.

## **Chapter Ten – Summary and Conclusions**

This final chapter considers the research project in its entirety, ascertaining the extent to which it has explored the main question and whether it has met the aim and objectives set in Chapter One. This section of the thesis begins with a summary of the whole work and an analysis of how it has met the aim and objectives. Potential further research is then discussed, it is evident that there are many different strands from this research project that could be explored. The chapter ends with a conclusion linking the main ideas together and providing a measured overall view of the project.

### **Research Project Summary**

To summarise, this research project has explored aspects of Stonehenge's modern history from 1900 to 2020, focusing on historical events to discuss and weave together Stonehenge's story within the time period. As laid out in Chapter One, the main aim for this thesis was to produce an informative narrative of the above-mentioned period, using a relativist and multivocal approach. This main aim was met to an extent, as though it is informative, it cannot hope to provide the full narrative of Stonehenge from 1900 to 2020 as that topic is vast. But it does add to previous writings about Stonehenge. This thesis provides a new point of view on Stonehenge's modern social history and encourages the reader to think about it from different social perspectives. It is hoped that this research project will be of relevance to those who are particularly interested in the modern social history of Stonehenge between 1900 and 2020.

Although this work does not cover all of Stonehenge's modern social history, it provides the reader with an analysis of key aspects of 1900 to 2020, supplementing the literature and media research with a variety of primary data, including personal narratives. The use of personal narratives can evoke an emotional response and allows the reader to immerse themselves in the social history. It is evident from this work that Stonehenge brings together sub-cultures of society through its primary events such as the Solstices. From this research Stonehenge has a significant role in modern society, and is seen as a catalyst for social change, for protestations, due to its strong media presence.

### **Potential for further research**

Before this research project began, it seemed apparent that there was not a substantial amount of recent research relating to Stonehenge's modern social history between 1900 and 2020. Although there have been several academic publications, such as Christopher Chippindale's 'Stonehenge Complete' (2012) or Julian Richard's 'Stonehenge: The story so far' (2017), it seemed that in the latter half of the 2010s and into the present decade that the social history of Stonehenge is not such a priority as it used to be. This could be because there have not been any major historic social incidents (such as the Battle of the Beanfield) at Stonehenge in recent years. Another potential contributing factor is that there have been several important archaeological discoveries at Stonehenge over the last decade, such as the confirmation of the origin of the Sarsen stones. As well as this, the A303 Tunnel Scheme has taken precedence in current archaeological debates around Stonehenge, which leaves little room for other aspects of the monument's story.

It was therefore a pleasant surprise when researching Stonehenge literature that there is an emerging sphere of research regarding Stonehenge's modern social history in the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, particularly regarding alternative beliefs, such as Neopaganism. It is exciting to see that more academics are engaging and researching Paganism and other beliefs in relation to Stonehenge and other ancient monuments in the UK. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, beliefs like Druidism and Paganism, have previously been cast aside by archaeologists. However, they provide us with an insight into how people today interact with Ancient Monuments which can be of great value to academic research.

Over the course of this thesis, it became evident that there is a lot of potential for further research on Stonehenge's modern social history, despite what has already been published. For example, there is enough material regarding Stonehenge between 1900 and 2020, that this thesis could be extended into a doctorate research project, providing that there was funding. It is worth noting here that a lot of data has not been included in this thesis due to time constraints, but this could be added later if needed.

It would also be interesting to continue researching the key themes of this research project using the engagement of the public with ancient monuments as a topic. For this potential research, this work in this thesis on Stonehenge could be a key case study. The project could then be expanded to include a series of ancient monuments or sites of archaeological interest dating from the prehistoric period in the UK. Perhaps Newgrange, Skara Brae and Bryn Celli Ddu. There is also the potential that parts of this thesis could be written up into individual research papers. Over the course of this research project, several conferences and seminars were attended, including some that the researcher presented at. From the feedback given and discussion afterwards, there is interest in the thesis' material, especially regarding Stonehenge and its image in popular culture.

Another possible research avenue to explore could be the dissemination of archaeology in popular culture. Archaeological sites and historic artifacts are often used as symbols, whether knowingly or unknowingly. It would be interesting to do a marketing study on Stonehenge and its commercial value, looking at the EH shop and comparing the popularity of items dependant on the inclusion of Stonehenge motifs. For example, would a t-shirt have higher market value when it has a Stonehenge element? Would the inclusion of a Stonehenge element increase an item's value and its longevity as an object of value? This could be a duo project with someone from a business background, using combined knowledge to validate and present the research. Although not a conventional archaeological research topic, it would be interesting as an example of the impact archaeology has on popular culture, using Stonehenge as a case study. Overall, there is a lot of potential for further research into Stonehenge's modern social history over the time period that is covered in this thesis. It would be of interest to continue to research Stonehenge and other ancient monuments, their social history and relevance to today's society.

## **Final Conclusions**

To conclude, this research project gives the reader a new narrative of Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to 2020, using different voices to tell the monument's story. From the research presented here, it is evident that Stonehenge has been continually appropriated by several societal sub-groups over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup>

century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Although various societal subcultural groups all lay claim to Stonehenge in some way, whether they be Druid, archaeologists or otherwise; it could be argued that the main appropriation of Stonehenge is for political gain. Stonehenge is used as a political tool, to gain power and retain control over lower social classes and those deemed a threat to society. This is linked to the development of Stonehenge as the popular commercial site that we know today which was due to the political climate of the late 70s and 80s and pushed by the state of the UK economy during in that period. Stonehenge has been and continues to be, an emblem of British culture, both to celebrate and to suppress.

It is clear from this research that Stonehenge has a significant role in society over the period of time covered. The ancient monument holds symbolism for many different sub-cultures of society, including archaeologists, New Age Travellers and some British Pagans. This symbolism is strongly connected to the emotional meaning that people derive from the stones and the surrounding landscape. Regarding contemporary use, Stonehenge is used in a variety of ways. It is both a sacred temple and an important archaeological site. Although the monument can be interpreted as a contested landscape or a battleground for different sub-cultures of society, it can also be a meeting place. Although Stonehenge has been used as catalyst for change in society and a place to protest. Stonehenge is also a place where people gather to celebrate, to meet like-minded people and visit to establish their own interpretations of the monument and place themselves within its context. As a whole, Stonehenge is a complex character in modern social history, a common ground for all who relate to it, in whatever way that may be.

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## **Legislation**

Witchcraft Act 1735

Fraudulent Mediums Act 1951

Sexual Offences Act 1967

Caravan Sites Act 1968

Sex Discrimination Act 1975

Stonehenge Regulations 1983

Public Order Act 1986

Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994

Stonehenge Regulations 1997

Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000

## The Appendices

### Appendix A – Ethics Statements

#### Online Ethics Checklist for Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey

 <b>Research Ethics Checklist</b>	
About Your Checklist	
Ethics ID	36295
Date Created	12/02/2021 12:17:41
Status	Approved
Date Approved	05/03/2021 10:38:27
Date Submitted	04/03/2021 19:01:08
Risk	High
Researcher Details	
Name	Tabby Grist Parker
Faculty	Faculty of Science & Technology
Status	Postgraduate Research (MRes, MPhil, PhD, DProf, EngD, EdD)
Course	Postgraduate Research - FST
Have you received funding to support this research project?	No
Project Details	
Title	Step into Your Story: The Modern Social History of Stonehenge, 1900-2020
Start Date of Project	21/09/2020
End Date of Project	21/07/2021
Proposed Start Date of Data Collection	28/02/2021
Original Supervisor	Timothy Darvill
Approver	Research Ethics Panel
<b>Summary - no more than 600 words (including detail on background methodology, sample, outcomes, etc.)</b>	
A Master of Research thesis that discusses the modern social history of Stonehenge, by focusing on key events during the period, including the handover of Stonehenge to the nation, creation of English Heritage, the free festivals and management of Summer/Winter solstices. Social issues discussed will include freedom to roam, public access and classism. Will include a literature review highlighting all relevant literature, as well as interviews with key figures and surveys with general participants (e.g. people who visit Stonehenge at solstice time). Aims to be a comprehensive guide to the modern history of Stonehenge, accessible to all.	

**Filter Question: Does your study involve Human Participants?****Participants****Describe the number of participants and specify any inclusion/exclusion criteria to be used**

For the interview section of the primary research for this thesis, I will be aiming for a maximum of 15 interviewees (I will contact more than this but am aware that not all will be interested and I am limited due to time constraints). These interviewees will be people who have deep connections to Stonehenge and plenty of experiences to talk about, for example, I am currently communicating with a woman who grew up near Stonehenge during the 80s so has experience of the festivals and the affect on the local community. The purpose of the interviews is to understand the social context of Stonehenge to individuals, whereas the surveys are to gain a general understanding of public opinion.

Do your participants include minors (under 16)?	No
---	----

Are your participants considered adults who are competent to give consent but considered vulnerable?	No
--	----

Is a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check required for the research activity?	No
---	----

**Recruitment****Please provide details on intended recruitment methods, include copies of any advertisements.**

Potential interview participants will be recruited via email and via the ongoing online survey. I have a list of individuals that I would like to interview for this thesis and the online survey has an option for survey participants to enter their email address if they are interested in being interviewed further. I will then narrow this down to a maximum of 15 interview participants.

Do you need a Gatekeeper to access your participants?	No
---	----

**Data Collection Activity**

Will the research involve questionnaire/online survey? If yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the questionnaire/survey or sample of questions.	No
--	----

Will the research involve interviews? If Yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the interview questions or sample of questions	Yes
---	-----

**Please provide details e.g. where will the interviews take place. Will you be conducting the interviews or someone else?**

I will conduct the interviews myself. Due to the ongoing pandemic and current lockdown in the UK, the interviews will be conducted from home, via email, phone or over Zoom. Where interviews are conducted over Zoom or by phone, these interviews will be audio recorded using an external microphone attached to my laptop. If these options are not accessible to individuals, they will have the option of accessing the interview questions via post, which can then be filled in and returned.

Will the research involve a focus group? If yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the focus group questions or sample of questions.	No
---	----

Will the research involve the collection of audio materials?	Yes
--	-----

Will your research involve the collection of photographic materials?	No
--	----

Will your research involve the collection of video materials/film?	No
--	----

Will any audio recordings (or non-anonymised transcript), photographs, video recordings or film be used in any outputs or otherwise made publicly available?	No
--	----

Will the study involve discussions of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)?	Yes
---	-----

**Please provide details and measures taken to minimise risks**

There is a distinct possibility that the interviews will involve discussions of sensitive topics such as extreme police brutality against civilians at the Battle of the Beanfield or potential criminal acts (e.g. accessing the inner circle of Stonehenge without permission, drug taking). As mentioned above, participants will be advised not to potentially incriminate themselves and transcripts will be anonymised

unless they want to use their own names. As well as this, participants will be able to skip any interview questions that they feel uncomfortable answering and will be offered the option to take a rest break at any time during the interview. If a participant becomes upset by a question they can either come back to it or skip it entirely. Questions will be optional not required.

Will any drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) be administered to the participants?	No
Will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potential harmful procedures of any kind?	No
Could your research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants or researchers (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)?	No
Will your research involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	No

#### Consent

Describe the process that you will be using to obtain valid consent for participation in the research activities. If consent is not to be obtained explain why.

Prior to the interview, potential participants will be given a participation information sheet and a participant agreement form as well as a list of basic interview questions. Sufficient time will be given for the participant to ask any questions they may have and they will be allowed to withdraw their consent at any time. We will have a brief discussion prior to the interview to ensure that the participant is happy with the interview and questions that will be asked and that they are happy to give their informed consent to the interview.

Do your participants include adults who lack/may lack capacity to give consent (at any point in the study)?	No
Will it be necessary for participants to take part in your study without their knowledge and consent?	No

#### Participant Withdrawal

At what point and how will it be possible for participants to exercise their rights to withdraw from the study?	A participant will be able to withdraw at any time from this study, without needing to provide an explanation. If a participant wishes to withdraw, the interview will be stopped (if it is not finished).
If a participant withdraws from the study, what will be done with their data?	If a participant withdraws, their data (e.g. transcripts, audio recordings) will be deleted immediately and not used in the study.

#### Participant Compensation

Will participants receive financial compensation (or course credits) for their participation?	No
Will financial or other inducements (other than reasonable expenses) be offered to participants?	No

#### Research Data

Will identifiable personal information be collected, i.e. at an individualised level in a form that identifies or could enable identification of the participant?	Yes
Please give details of the types of information to be collected, e.g. personal characteristics, education, work role, opinions or	

<b>experiences</b>	
The audio recordings that will be collected may contain identifiable information, such as the participant's voice and experiences, that the participant could possibly be identified by.	
<b>Will the personal data collected include any special category data, or any information about actual or alleged criminal activity or criminal convictions which are not already in the public domain?</b>	Yes
<b>If Yes, please give details of the information you will be collecting</b>	
There is potential that the personal data collected could include incriminating or alleged criminal activity as detailed in the data collection activity section.	
<b>Will the information be anonymised/de-identified at any stage during the study?</b>	Yes
<b>Will research outputs include any identifiable personal information i.e. data at an individualised level in a form which identifies or could enable identification of the individual?</b>	No

<b>Storage, Access and Disposal of Research Data</b>	
<b>During the study, what data relating to the participants will be stored and where?</b>	Research data will be stored on my personal laptop during the study, audio recordings will only be kept until the transcript is finished, after which they will be deleted. The transcripts will be kept until the completion of my MRes.
<b>How long will the data relating to participants be stored?</b>	Participant data in anonymised/pseudonymised form (unless the participant wishes to use their name) will be stored until the completion of my MRes.
<b>During the study, who will have access to the data relating to participants?</b>	During the study, I will be the only one to have access to participant data, this won't be shared with anyone else unless my supervisors need to explicitly see it.
<b>After the study has finished, what data relating to participants will be stored and where? Please indicate whether data will be retained in identifiable form.</b>	Interview transcripts will be stored on my personal laptop for research purposes until I complete my MRes, it will not be retained in identifiable form unless the participant has given their informed consent.
<b>After the study has finished, how long will data relating to participants be stored?</b>	The data relating to participants will not be kept longer than needed. It will be stored until my MRes is fully completed but not in an identifiable form, unless the participant has given their permission.
<b>After the study has finished, who will have access to the data relating to participants?</b>	Until the completion of my MRes thesis, I will be the only one to have access to participants' data, unless my supervisors need to see it. I will not use a transcript service and will transcribe the interviews myself. Once my thesis is complete, anonymised transcripts will be available as part of my thesis unless the participant has given consent for their own name to be used.
<b>Will any identifiable participant data be transferred outside of the European Economic Area (EEA)?</b>	No
<b>How and when will the data relating to participants be deleted/destroyed?</b>	Data relating to participants will be destroyed once the transcript is complete, I will seek advice from the IT Services on how to delete it properly.
<b>Once your project completes, will any anonymised research data be stored on BU's Online Research Data Repository "BORDaR"?</b>	Yes

Dissemination Plans	
<b>How do you intend to report and disseminate the results of the study?</b>	
Peer reviewed journals,Conference presentation,Publication on website	
<b>Will you inform participants of the results?</b>	Yes
<b>If Yes or No, please give details of how you will inform participants or justify if not doing so</b>	
I will inform participants prior the study taking place that the results may be discussed. It will then be their choice as to whether they would still like to take part in the study. Once my thesis is complete I will also offer to send them a copy if they wish.	
Final Review	
<b>Are there any other ethical considerations relating to your project which have not been covered above?</b>	No
Risk Assessment	
<b>Have you undertaken an appropriate Risk Assessment?</b>	Yes
Attached documents	
Interview sample questions.docx - attached on 18/02/2021 15:34:43	
Participant Agreement Form Interviews TGP.docx - attached on 04/03/2021 19:00:53	
Participant Information Sheet Interviews TGP.docx - attached on 04/03/2021 19:00:57	

## Online Ethics Checklist for Experiences of Stonehenge Interview

 <span style="float: right;"><b>Research Ethics Checklist</b></span>	
<b>About Your Checklist</b>	
Ethics ID	36295
Date Created	12/02/2021 12:17:41
Status	Approved
Date Approved	05/03/2021 10:38:27
Date Submitted	04/03/2021 19:01:08
Risk	High
<b>Researcher Details</b>	
Name	Tabby Grist Parker
Faculty	Faculty of Science & Technology
Status	Postgraduate Research (MRes, MPhil, PhD, DProf, EngD, EdD)
Course	Postgraduate Research - FST
Have you received funding to support this research project?	No
<b>Project Details</b>	
Title	Step into Your Story: The Modern Social History of Stonehenge, 1900-2020
Start Date of Project	21/09/2020
End Date of Project	21/07/2021
Proposed Start Date of Data Collection	28/02/2021
Original Supervisor	Timothy Darvill
Approver	Research Ethics Panel
<b>Summary - no more than 600 words (including detail on background methodology, sample, outcomes, etc.)</b>	
<p>A Master of Research thesis that discusses the modern social history of Stonehenge, by focusing on key events during the period, including the handover of Stonehenge to the nation, creation of English Heritage, the free festivals and management of Summer/Winter solstices. Social issues discussed will include freedom to roam, public access and classism. Will include a literature review highlighting all relevant literature, as well as interviews with key figures and surveys with general participants (e.g. people who visit Stonehenge at solstice time). Aims to be a comprehensive guide to the modern history of Stonehenge, accessible to all.</p>	
<b>Filter Question: Does your study involve Human Participants?</b>	
<div style="background-color: black; color: white; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">Participants</div>	

**Describe the number of participants and specify any inclusion/exclusion criteria to be used**

For the interview section of the primary research for this thesis, I will be aiming for a maximum of 15 interviewees (I will contact more than this but am aware that not all will be interested and I am limited due to time constraints). These interviewees will be people who have deep connections to Stonehenge and plenty of experiences to talk about, for example, I am currently communicating with a woman who grew up near Stonehenge during the 80s so has experience of the festivals and the affect on the local community. The purpose of the interviews is to understand the social context of Stonehenge to individuals, whereas the surveys are to gain a general understanding of public opinion.

Do your participants include minors (under 16)?	No
Are your participants considered adults who are competent to give consent but considered vulnerable?	No
Is a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check required for the research activity?	No

**Recruitment**

Please provide details on intended recruitment methods, include copies of any advertisements.

Potential interview participants will be recruited via email and via the ongoing online survey. I have a list of individuals that I would like to interview for this thesis and the online survey has an option for survey participants to enter their email address if they are interested in being interviewed further. I will then narrow this down to a maximum of 15 interview participants.

Do you need a Gatekeeper to access your participants?	No
---	----

**Data Collection Activity**

Will the research involve questionnaire/online survey? If yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the questionnaire/survey or sample of questions.	No
--	----

Will the research involve interviews? If Yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the interview questions or sample of questions	Yes
---	-----

Please provide details e.g. where will the interviews take place. Will you be conducting the interviews or someone else?

I will conduct the interviews myself. Due to the ongoing pandemic and current lockdown in the UK, the interviews will be conducted from home, via email, phone or over Zoom. Where interviews are conducted over Zoom or by phone, these interviews will be audio recorded using an external microphone attached to my laptop. If these options are not accessible to individuals, they will have the option of accessing the interview questions via post, which can then be filled in and returned.

Will the research involve a focus group? If yes, don't forget to attach a copy of the focus group questions or sample of questions.	No
---	----

Will the research involve the collection of audio materials?	Yes
--	-----

Will your research involve the collection of photographic materials?	No
--	----

Will your research involve the collection of video materials/film?	No
--	----

Will any audio recordings (or non-anonymised transcript), photographs, video recordings or film be used in any outputs or otherwise made publicly available?	No
--	----

Will the study involve discussions of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)?	Yes
---	-----

Please provide details and measures taken to minimise risks

There is a distinct possibility that the interviews will involve discussions of sensitive topics such as extreme police brutality against civilians at the Battle of the Beanfield or potential criminal acts (e.g. accessing the inner circle of Stonehenge without permission, drug taking). As mentioned above, participants will be advised not to potentially incriminate themselves and transcripts will be anonymised

unless they want to use their own names. As well as this, participants will be able to skip any interview questions that they feel uncomfortable answering and will be offered the option to take a rest break at any time during the interview. If a participant becomes upset by a question they can either come back to it or skip it entirely. Questions will be optional not required.

Will any drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) be administered to the participants?	No
Will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potential harmful procedures of any kind?	No
Could your research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants or researchers (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)?	No
Will your research involve prolonged or repetitive testing?	No

#### Consent

Describe the process that you will be using to obtain valid consent for participation in the research activities. If consent is not to be obtained explain why.

Prior to the interview, potential participants will be given a participation information sheet and a participant agreement form as well as a list of basic interview questions. Sufficient time will be given for the participant to ask any questions they may have and they will be allowed to withdraw their consent at any time. We will have a brief discussion prior to the interview to ensure that the participant is happy with the interview and questions that will be asked and that they are happy to give their informed consent to the interview.

Do your participants include adults who lack/may lack capacity to give consent (at any point in the study)?	No
Will it be necessary for participants to take part in your study without their knowledge and consent?	No

#### Participant Withdrawal

At what point and how will it be possible for participants to exercise their rights to withdraw from the study?	A participant will be able to withdraw at any time from this study, without needing to provide an explanation. If a participant wishes to withdraw, the interview will be stopped (if it is not finished).
If a participant withdraws from the study, what will be done with their data?	If a participant withdraws, their data (e.g. transcripts, audio recordings) will be deleted immediately and not used in the study.

#### Participant Compensation

Will participants receive financial compensation (or course credits) for their participation?	No
Will financial or other inducements (other than reasonable expenses) be offered to participants?	No

#### Research Data

Will identifiable personal information be collected, i.e. at an individualised level in a form that identifies or could enable identification of the participant?	Yes
Please give details of the types of information to be collected, e.g. personal characteristics, education, work role, opinions or	

<b>experiences</b>	
The audio recordings that will be collected may contain identifiable information, such as the participant's voice and experiences, that the participant could possibly be identified by.	
Will the personal data collected include any special category data, or any information about actual or alleged criminal activity or criminal convictions which are not already in the public domain?	Yes
If Yes, please give details of the information you will be collecting	
There is potential that the personal data collected could include incriminating or alleged criminal activity as detailed in the data collection activity section.	
Will the information be anonymised/de-identified at any stage during the study?	Yes
Will research outputs include any identifiable personal information i.e. data at an individualised level in a form which identifies or could enable identification of the individual?	No

<b>Storage, Access and Disposal of Research Data</b>	
During the study, what data relating to the participants will be stored and where?	Research data will be stored on my personal laptop during the study, audio recordings will only be kept until the transcript is finished, after which they will be deleted. The transcripts will be kept until the completion of my MRes.
How long will the data relating to participants be stored?	Participant data in anonymised/pseudonymised form (unless the participant wishes to use their name) will be stored until the completion of my MRes.
During the study, who will have access to the data relating to participants?	During the study, I will be the only one to have access to participant data, this won't be shared with anyone else unless my supervisors need to explicitly see it.
After the study has finished, what data relating to participants will be stored and where? Please indicate whether data will be retained in identifiable form.	Interview transcripts will be stored on my personal laptop for research purposes until I complete my MRes, it will not be retained in identifiable form unless the participant has given their informed consent.
After the study has finished, how long will data relating to participants be stored?	The data relating to participants will not be kept longer than needed. It will be stored until my MRes is fully completed but not in an identifiable form, unless the participant has given their permission.
After the study has finished, who will have access to the data relating to participants?	Until the completion of my MRes thesis, I will be the only one to have access to participants' data, unless my supervisors need to see it. I will not use a transcript service and will transcribe the interviews myself. Once my thesis is complete, anonymised transcripts will be available as part of my thesis unless the participant has given consent for their own name to be used.
Will any identifiable participant data be transferred outside of the European Economic Area (EEA)?	No
How and when will the data relating to participants be deleted/destroyed?	Data relating to participants will be destroyed once the transcript is complete, I will seek advice from the IT Services on how to delete it properly.
Once your project completes, will any anonymised research data be stored on BU's Online Research Data Repository "BORDaR"?	Yes

### Dissemination Plans

How do you intend to report and disseminate the results of the study?

Peer reviewed journals,Conference presentation,Publication on website

Will you inform participants of the results?

Yes

If Yes or No, please give details of how you will inform participants or justify if not doing so

I will inform participants prior the study taking place that the results may be discussed. It will then be their choice as to whether they would still like to take part in the study. Once my thesis is complete I will also offer to send them a copy if they wish.

### Final Review

Are there any other ethical considerations relating to your project which have not been covered above?

No

### Risk Assessment

Have you undertaken an appropriate Risk Assessment?

Yes

### Attached documents

Interview sample questions.docx - attached on 18/02/2021 15:34:43

Participant Agreement Form Interviews TGP.docx - attached on 04/03/2021 19:00:53

Participant Information Sheet Interviews TGP.docx - attached on 04/03/2021 19:00:57

## Appendix B – Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey

### Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Questions (blank set)

# Stonehenge: Step into our story

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## Privacy Notice

The aim and purpose of this online survey is to gain a greater understanding of people's experiences and opinions of Stonehenge in order to inform my MRes project. Participants must be aged 16 years or older. It is not necessary to have visited Stonehenge in order to participate in this survey.

This survey should take around 15-20 minutes to complete. If you wish to withdraw from the survey, you can do this at any time prior to completion, simply close the browser to exit the survey.

Before you begin, please take the time to read through these three documents. It is important that you read them, otherwise your consent cannot be obtained for the survey.

[For the Participant Information Sheet click here](#)

[For the Participant Agreement Form click here](#)

[For the BU Research Participant Privacy Notice click here](#)

I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above in the Participant Agreement Form.

- Yes
- No

## Participant Eligibility

- Yes
- No

Can you confirm that you are aged 16 years or older?  *Required*

## About you

Thank you for consenting to take part in this online survey, I am really grateful for your participation.

What is your date of birth?  *Required*

  
(dd/mm/yyyy)

Which gender identity do you most identify with?

What are your beliefs?

## Visiting Stonehenge

Have you ever visited Stonehenge?

- Yes
- No

How many times have you visited Stonehenge?

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

	0-10	10-20	20 +	50 +	100+
Number of times you've visited	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Have you ever visited Stonehenge during the Summer and/or Winter Solstice?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

- Summer Solstice
- Winter Solstice
- Summer and Winter Solstice
- Neither

## The Stonehenge Free Festivals

Did you ever go to any of the Stonehenge Free Festivals before 1986?

Yes

No

Which years did you attend the Stonehenge Free Festival? (Please tick each box that is applicable to you)

Please select at least 1 answer(s).

1974

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

Have you got any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Stonehenge Free Festivals?

Did you try and attend the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival? (Which became the Battle of the Beanfield)

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Do you have any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Battle of the Beanfield?

## What Stonehenge means to you

How important is Stonehenge to you personally?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

- Very important
- Important
- Somewhat important
- Somewhat unimportant
- Very unimportant

How would you describe Stonehenge in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

How important do you think Stonehenge is in contemporary culture?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

- Very important
- Important
- Somewhat important
- Somewhat unimportant
- Very unimportant

How would you describe Stonehenge's relevance to contemporary culture in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

Do you think that politicians should influence the access of Stonehenge?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

## Stonehenge and its landscape

Have you ever visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

How many times have you visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

	0-10	10-20	20 +	50 +	100+
Number of times you've visited	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Have you been to visit sites in the landscape that surrounds Stonehenge? (for example, Durrington Walls or the Cursus)

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Would you like more extensive access to the Stonehenge landscape?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Would you like the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is used now?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Would you like public events to happen in the Stonehenge landscape?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Would you like music festivals to happen again in the Stonehenge landscape?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Do you have any comments on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape?

## Stonehenge and transport

This next section of the survey is about Stonehenge and Transport. Feel free to refer to the two sketch maps to help you.

[Stonehenge A303 and A344 Road Map](#)

[Stonehenge and proposed Stonehenge Tunnel Map](#)

Please note, these maps are not exact, they are sketches to help you with the following questions.

Do you think it was a good thing that the A344 closed?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Do you think that the A303 should be improved?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Do you think that the A303 should be improved with a tunnel?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Do you agree with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

Do you have any comments on the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?

Do you know who manages Stonehenge?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Historic England

English Heritage

National Trust

Do you know who manages the Stonehenge landscape?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

National Trust

English Heritage

Historic England

## Final Comments

This is the last section of the survey and is an opportunity to voice any final comments you may have.

Is there anything else you would like to contribute?

Would you be interested in being interviewed further for this project?

Please select exactly 1 answer(s).

Yes

No

If you answered 'Yes' to the above question, please put your email address in the next question answer box.

If you answered 'Yes' to the above question, please put your email address in here.

Please enter a valid email address.

## End of survey

Thank you for your participation in the 'Stonehenge: step into our story' survey, your responses are greatly appreciated. You may now close this window.

---

## Key for selection options

### 4 - Which gender identity do you most identify with?

Male  
Female  
Transgender Male  
Transgender Female  
Non-Binary  
Other  
Undecided  
Prefer Not To Answer

### 5 - What are your beliefs?

Christian  
Roman Catholic  
Protestant  
Quaker  
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints  
Any other Christian denomination  
Druid  
Pagan  
Spiritual  
Muslim  
Sikh  
Hindu  
Jewish  
Buddhist  
Atheist  
No beliefs  
Other  
Undecided

## Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Participant Information Sheet



### Participant Information Sheet

#### **The title of the research project**

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

#### **What is the purpose of the research?**

This research project is about the modern social history of Stonehenge, discussing Stonehenge's history from 1900 to 2020 by analysing key events such as the Stonehenge free festivals and the creation of English Heritage. The aim and purpose of this online survey is to gain a greater understanding of people's experiences and opinions of Stonehenge to inform my research. This project has a duration of 10 months and will be handed in in July 2021.

#### **Why have I been chosen?**

For this online survey, participants must be 16 years or older to take part. If you have visited Stonehenge this is preferable but is not essential criteria in order to take part. For this online survey, I am looking to recruit 150 participants, in order to have a significant data set to analyse.

#### **Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will have access to this participant information sheet to read. You can withdraw from participation at any time and without giving a reason, simply by closing the browser page. Please note that once you have completed and submitted your survey responses, we are unable to remove your anonymised responses from the study. Deciding to take part or not will not impact upon you in any way.

#### **How long will the questionnaire/online survey take to complete?**

This online survey should take around 20 minutes to complete.

#### **What are the advantages and possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those who participate in the project, it is hoped that this work will be of interest to the participants.

#### **What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

In the online survey, you will be asked a series of questions to gain an understanding of your experiences and opinions of Stonehenge. These will include some questions about yourself (e.g. age, gender) in order to gain a general picture of the participant as well as a series of questions where you can share how you feel about Stonehenge. For example, 'How important do you think Stonehenge is in contemporary culture?', 'Do you agree with the A303 Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?' and 'How important is Stonehenge to you personally?' This information is relevant as one of the main aims for this research project is to present a multivocal analysis of Stonehenge's modern social history. It's important to gain an understanding of what you think as it will inform the research for this project. Additionally, if you would like to give further information other than this survey, this will be an option.

### **Use of my information**

Participation in this study is on the basis of consent: you do not have to complete the survey, and you can change your mind at any point before submitting the survey responses. Once we receive your survey response, your personal information is processed in compliance with the data protection legislation. We will use your data on the basis that it is necessary for the conduct of research, which is an activity in the public interest.

Bournemouth University (BU) is a Data Controller of your information which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it appropriately. BU's Research Participant Privacy Notice sets out more information about how we fulfil our responsibilities as a data controller and about your rights as an individual under the data protection legislation. We ask you to read this [Notice](#) so that you can fully understand the basis on which we will process your information.

Once you have submitted your survey response it may not be possible for us to remove it from the study analysis, as this might affect our ability to complete the research appropriately or the accuracy and reliability of the research findings.

### *Sharing and further use of your personal information*

Information collected in this survey will only be shared with the BU student researcher and BU staff working on this research project, it will not be shared with anyone else in non-anonymised form.

The information collected about you may be used in an anonymous form to support other research projects in the future and access to it in this form will not be restricted. It will not be possible for you to be identified from this data. Anonymised data will be added to BU's [Data Repository](#) (a central location where data is stored) and which will be publicly available.

### *Retention of your data*

All personal data collected for the purposes of this study will be held until the degree for this research project is rewarded. Although published research outputs are anonymised, we need to retain underlying data collected for the study in a non-anonymised form for a certain period to enable the research to be audited and/or to enable the research findings to be verified.

### **Contact for further information**

If you have any questions or would like further information, please contact Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk) or Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

### *In case of complaints*

Any concerns about the study should be directed to Professor Timothy Darvill or Dr Eileen Wilkes. If your concerns have not been answered by the above named people, you should contact Professor Tian Tian Zhang, Bournemouth University by email to [researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk).

### **Consent to Participate**

I confirm that I have read and understood the information provided and I agree to take part in the study.

# Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Participant Agreement Form

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 34958  
Date: 17/12/2020



## Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project: Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher: Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology,  
tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk

Name, position and contact details of supervisors: Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk) or Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (34958, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">Privacy Notice</a> which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).	
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).	
I understand that taking part in the research will include the following activity/activities as part of the research: <i>[delete the following bullet points or add additional ac</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Completing an online survey, answering questions about my experiences and opinions of Stonehenge</li> <li>• my words will be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs [without using my real name].</li> </ul>	
I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study <b>except</b> where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.	
I understand that my data may be included in an anonymised form within a dataset to be archived at BU's Online Research Data Repository.	
I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.	
	<b>Initial box to agree</b>
I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)	

I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.

_____ Name of participant (BLOCK CAPITALS)	_____ Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	_____ Signature
_____ Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	_____ Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	_____ Signature

Once a Participant has signed, **please sign 1 copy** and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

## Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Sketch Maps



Stonehenge A303 and A344 Road Map (created using EdinaDigiMaps)

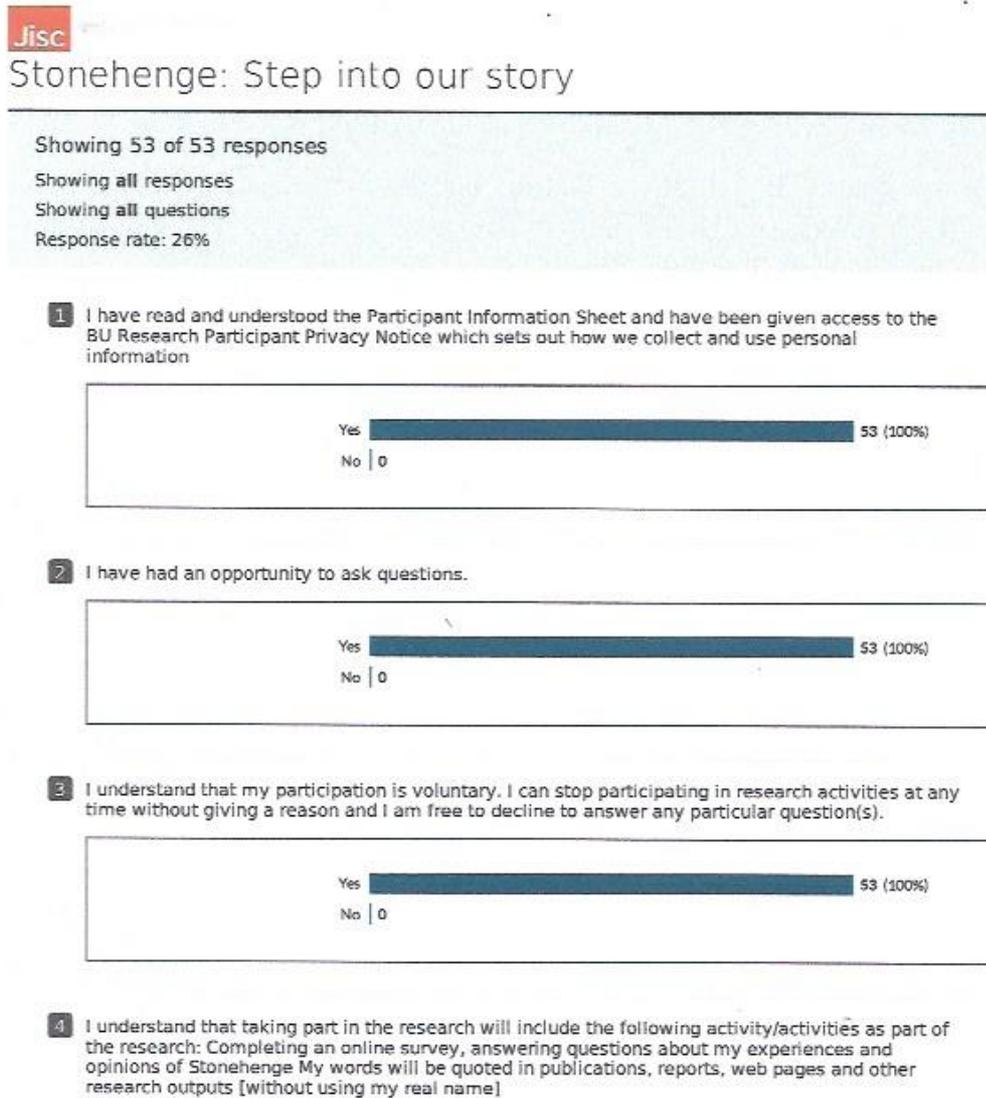


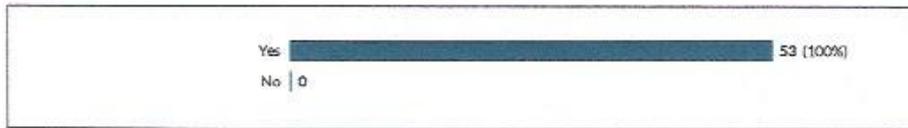
Stonehenge and proposed Stonehenge Tunnel Map (created using EdinaDigiMaps)

# Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Data Set

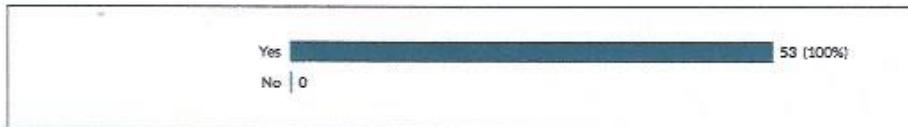
## Initial Survey

(Results for question 39 have been removed for participant privacy)





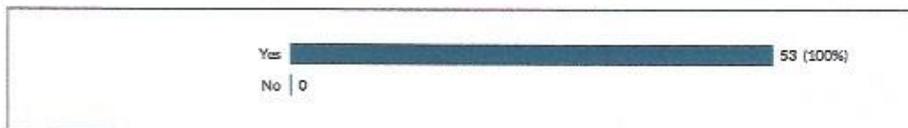
5 I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study except where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.



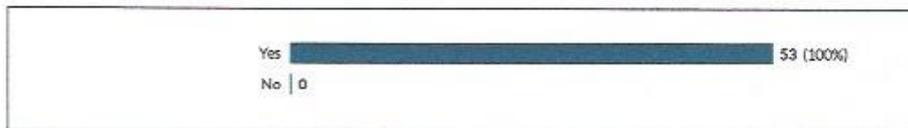
6 I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.



7 I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above.



8 Can you confirm that you are aged 16 years or older?



9 What is your date of birth?

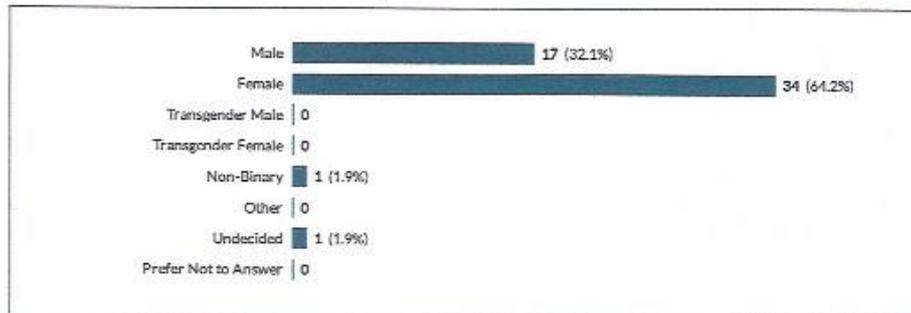
Showing all 53 responses

10/09/1996	700826-700817-71902493
24/3/2000	700826-700817-71906747
08/07/1973	700826-700817-71960209
27/08/1994	700826-700817-71967283
18/02/1994	700826-700817-71967480
06/02/2000	700826-700817-71968785
06/10/1995	700826-700817-71979608
03/07/1998	700826-700817-71979642
18/01/1964	700826-700817-71982367
20/05/1994	700826-700817-72065071
22/01/1997	700826-700817-72262570
06/08/1965	700826-700817-72276712
11/05/1974	700826-700817-72278377
14/01/1978	700826-700817-72281355
04/05/1988	700826-700817-72287021
03/10/1995	700826-700817-72288702
20/07/1996	700826-700817-72291672
27/11/1998	700826-700817-72291300
06/12/1996	700826-700817-72291297
03/06/1984	700826-700817-72290974
01/06/1998	700826-700817-72292510
01/07/2001	700826-700817-72296959
25/03/1994	700826-700817-72297018
19/01/1990	700826-700817-72297926
09/11/1976	700826-700817-72309370
23/10/1963	700826-700817-72320345
19/01/2000	700826-700817-72340839
27/11/1997	700826-700817-72349195
24/11/1967	700826-700817-72368361
02/10/1984	700826-700817-72369639
10/09/1949	700826-700817-72369343
02/06/1983	700826-700817-72369456
14/12/1964	700826-700817-72368878

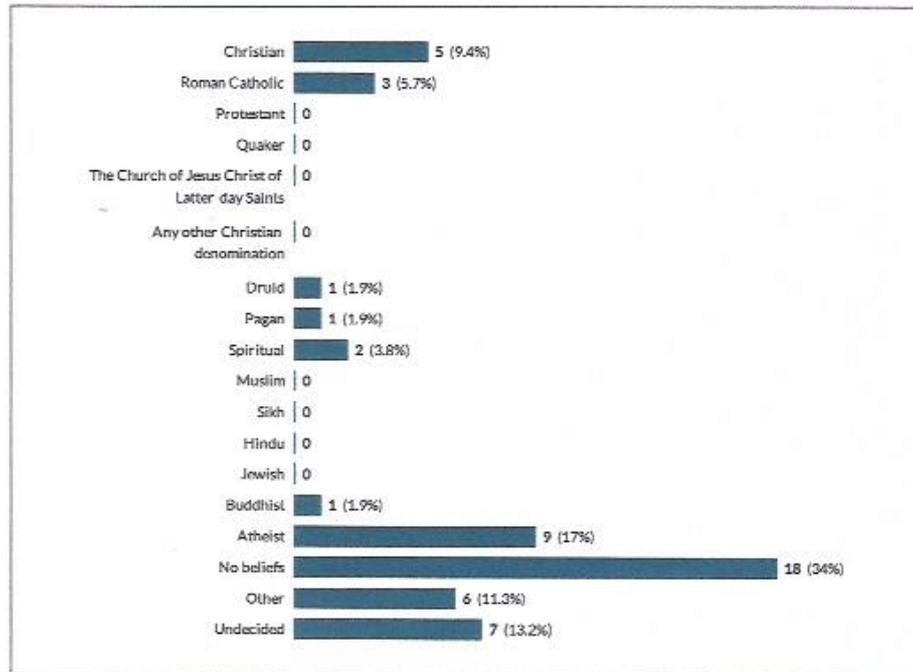
3/21

21/11/1971	700826-700817-72372206
24/10/1975	700826-700817-72373523
09/10/1996	700826-700817-72373642
17/12/1963	700826-700817-72378215
27/02/1982	700826-700817-72385336
27/03/1985	700826-700817-72385705
22/11/1962	700826-700817-72387171
25/12/1956	700826-700817-72387695
26/08/1991	700826-700817-72388225
02/06/1969	700826-700817-72388911
03/10/1981	700826-700817-72392698
02/12/1990	700826-700817-72393385
11/10/1995	700826-700817-72397996
28/09/1970	700826-700817-72411497
04/11/1965	700826-700817-72435057
04/11/1975	700826-700817-72575899
24/06/1963	700826-700817-72576285
14/01/1986	700826-700817-72580400
10/08/1957	700826-700817-72589738
29/04/1981	700826-700817-72687609

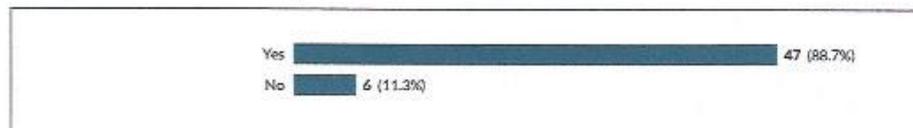
10 Which gender identity do you most identify with?



11 What are your beliefs?

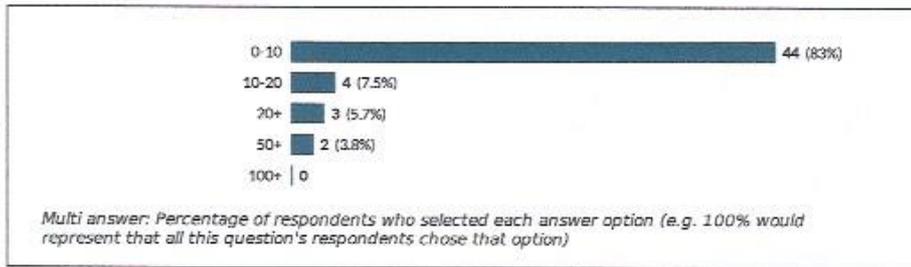


12 Have you ever visited Stonehenge?

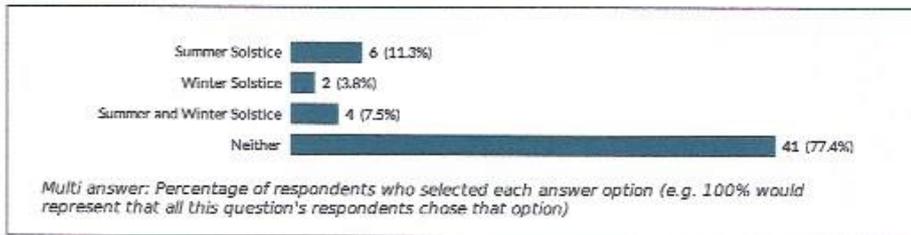


13 How many times have you visited Stonehenge?

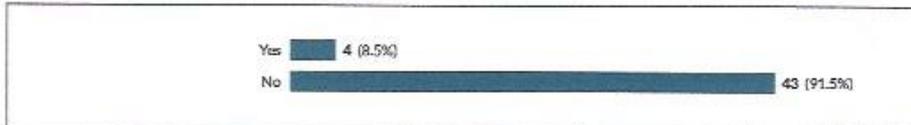
13.1 Number of times you've visited



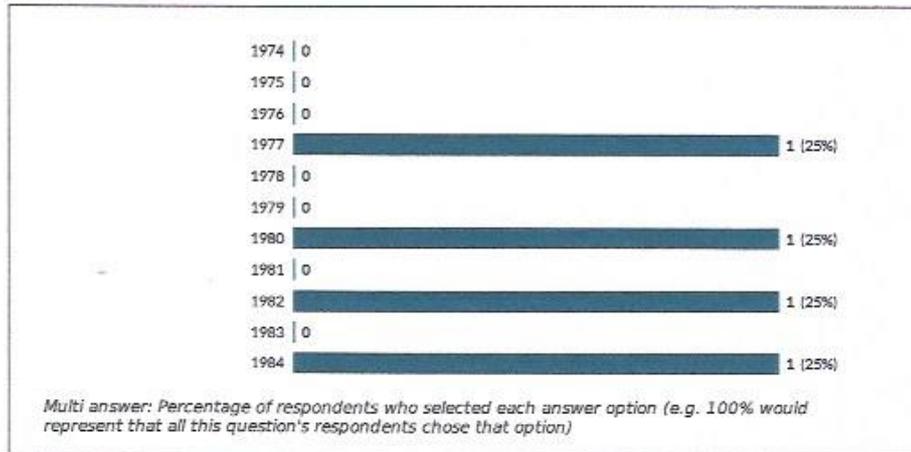
14 Have you ever visited Stonehenge during the Summer and/or Winter Solstice?



15 Did you ever go to any of the Stonehenge Free Festivals before 1986?



16 Which years did you attend the Stonehenge Free Festival? (Please tick each box that is applicable to you)

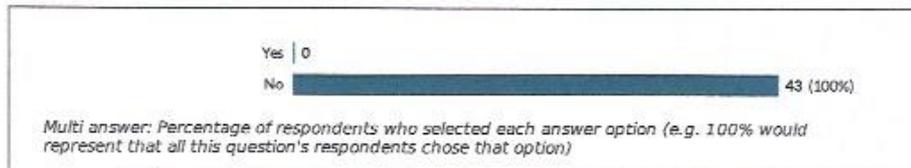


16.a Have you got any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Stonehenge Free Festivals?

Showing all 4 responses

Did not attend	700826-700817-71906747
I was a toddler!	700826-700817-72278377
A large peaceful festival not unlike Glastonbury in feel. Drugs very freely available and clearly advertised. No police visible. We had travelled to attend the festival but did not go to the stones. I had already visited them as a child and was not interested in them in a spiritual way.	700826-700817-72320345
Probably, but I don't remember.	700826-700817-72589738

17 Did you try and attend the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival? (Which became the Battle of the Beanfield)

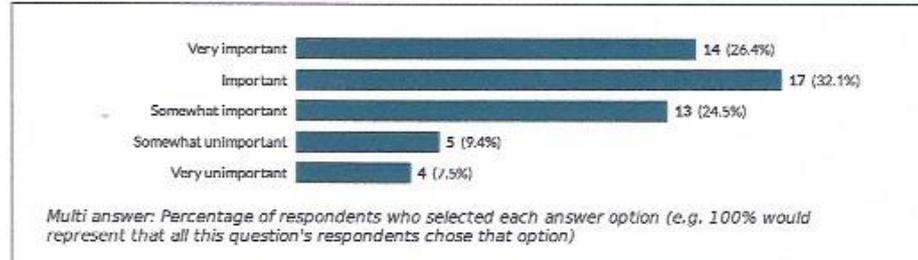


17.a Do you have any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Battle of the

Beanfield?

No responses

18. How important is Stonehenge to you personally?



19. How would you describe Stonehenge in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

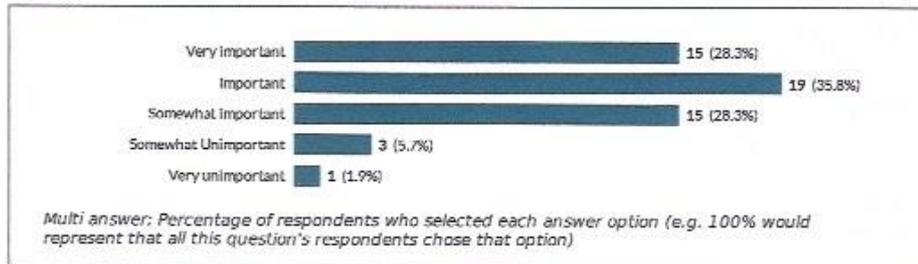
Showing all 51 responses	
Spiritual, Neolithic, Monument	700826-700817-71902493
Celebration, Social, Sensuous	700826-700817-71906747
Rocks that once had a significant meaning	700826-700817-71960209
Powerful, beautiful, historic.	700826-700817-71967283
Mysterious, interesting, old	700826-700817-71967480
Awe inspiring rocks	700826-700817-71968785
Wonder Beautiful Ancient	700826-700817-71979608
Peaceful Timeless Powerful	700826-700817-71979642
Awesome ancient focus	700826-700817-71982367
mysterious, impressive, large	700826-700817-72065071
Iconic, prehistoric, intriguing	700826-700817-72262570
Monumental Prehistoric Community	700826-700817-72276712
Landscape not (just) megaliths	700826-700817-72278377
Beauty, ancient, blocks	700826-700817-72281355

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touristy concreteed circles	700826-700817-72281333
History archaeology valuable	700826-700817-72287021
Contentious Intriguing Aggrandised	700826-700817-72288702
Mysterious, Historic, Significant	700826-700817-72291300
Mystery, heritage, preserved	700826-700817-72291297
Archaeologically interesting	700826-700817-72290974
Historic Paganism Tourists	700826-700817-72292510
mysterious, historic	700826-700817-72296959
Stones, prehistoric, beautiful	700826-700817-72297018
England's Iconic Monument	700826-700817-72297926
Ancient, mystical, emotive	700826-700817-72309370
Reconstructed, enigmatic, divisive.	700826-700817-72370345
Large stone circle	700826-700817-72340839
Impressive, ancient, meaningful	700826-700817-72349195
Sadly inaccessible now	700826-700817-72368361
Overrated pinup archaeology	700826-700817-72369639
prehistoric monolithic monument	700826-700817-72369343
Iconic, dull, touristy	700826-700817-72369456
Nationally important monument	700826-700817-72368878
Very underwhelming experience.	700826-700817-72372206
Inspiring Fascinating Magical	700826-700817-72373523
Mysterious, ancestral, spiritual	700826-700817-72373642
Important Beautiful Essential	700826-700817-72378215
A theme park	700826-700817-72385336
Ancient, mystical, interesting	700826-700817-72385705
Neolithic cultural hub	700826-700817-72387171
disaster waiting happen	700826-700817-72387695
Thought provoking mystery	700826-700817-72388225
Iconic, ancient, enigmatic	700826-700817-72392698
Magnificent, awe-inspiring, incredible	700826-700817-72393385

Iconic mystery stones	700826-700817-72397996
Neolithic, first farmers, technology	700826-700817-72411497
Sacred ancestral temple	700826-700817-72435057
overrated archaeological site	700826-700817-72575899
Intriguing, atmospheric, special	700826-700817-72576285
Ancient, mysterious, Intention	700826-700817-72580400
Heritage, Solstices, Connections.	700826-700817-72589738
Cliche, underwhelming, nationalistic	700826-700817-72687609

20 How important do you think Stonehenge is in contemporary culture?



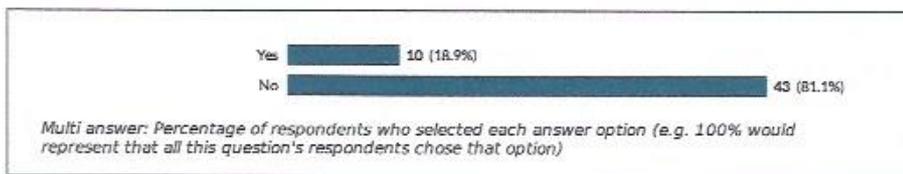
21 How would you describe Stonehenge's relevance to contemporary culture in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

Showing all 47 responses	
Important historical site	700826-700817-71902493
Exaggerated, accessible, popular	700826-700817-71906747
More a tourist visitor spot than cultural	700826-700817-71960209
Constant, old and magical.	700826-700817-71967283
Heritage, educational, spiritual	700826-700817-71967480
Historical party grounds	700826-700817-71968785
Holy sight Worshipped	700826-700817-71979608
Cultural ownership identify	700826-700817-71982367
inspiring, mysterious, historic	700826-700817-72065071
Landmark, connected heritage	700826-700817-72262570

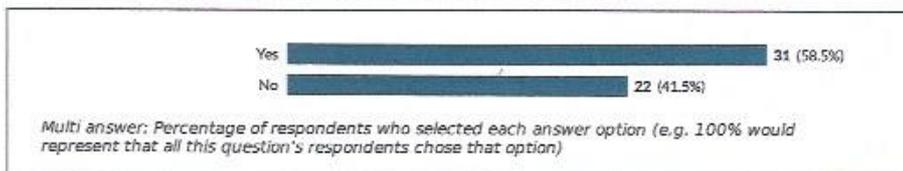
Educational Heritage Archaeological	700826-700817-72276712
Political appropriation (of cultural) heritage	700826-700817-72278377
symbolic, tourist attraction	700826-700817-72281355
Inspires, art archaeology	700826-700817-72287021
Inaccessible Heated	700826-700817-72288702
Intriguing, debatable, tourism	700826-700817-72291300
History, education, inspiration	700826-700817-72291297
Provides an area of focus for some. Archaeologically can understand the significance of this but equally can see from a lay person/ someone not archaeologically minded (uneducated?) how this may come across as just a big pile of stones.	700826-700817-72290974
Inspires modern culture	700826-700817-72292510
Iconic, Historic, Relevant	700826-700817-72297926
Contested, misunderstood, controversial	700826-700817-72309370
Monument, tourism, history	700826-700817-72320345
Important for learning	700826-700817-72340839
Must be respected	700826-700817-72368361
Publicity for history	700826-700817-72369639
link with past	700826-700817-72369343
Money, flexible relevance	700826-700817-72369456
Used in comedy	700826-700817-72368878
Misunderstood by idiots.	700826-700817-72372206
Culture-defining Masterpiece Photogenic	700826-700817-72373523
Spooky curious interesting	700826-700817-72373642
Symbol Idea Conflict	700826-700817-72378215
Tangible heritage commercial	700826-700817-72385336
Spiritual, cultural, archaeological	700826-700817-72385705
Link to ancients	700826-700817-72387171
whats the point	700826-700817-72387695
Famous British heritage	700826-700817-72388225
Unifying, symbolic, shared	700826-700817-72392698

Very relevant	700826-700817-72393385
Popular tourist attraction	700826-700817-72397996
Public interest, high profile	700826-700817-72411497
Misunderstood tourist mysterious	700826-700817-72435057
spinal tap	700826-700817-72575899
Heritage, paganism, solstice	700826-700817-72576285
Privileged, Informative, Heritage	700826-700817-72580400
Archaeology, Discovery, Learning.	700826-700817-72589738
Identity, alternative, political	700826-700817-72687609

22. Do you think that politicians should influence the access of Stonehenge?

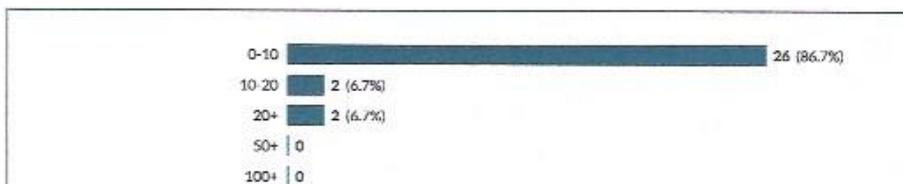


23. Have you ever visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?



23.a How many times have you visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?

23.a.1 Number of times you've visited



Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

- 24 Have you been to visit sites in the landscape that surrounds Stonehenge? (for example, Durrington Walls or the Cursus)

Yes 42 (79.2%)  
No 11 (20.8%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

- 25 Would you like more extensive access to the Stonehenge landscape?

Yes 47 (88.7%)  
No 6 (11.3%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

- 26 Would you like the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is used now?

Yes 25 (47.2%)  
No 28 (52.8%)

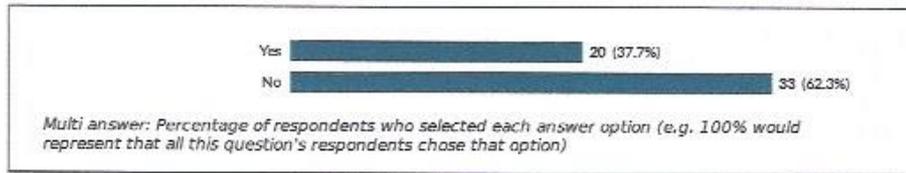
Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

- 27 Would you like public events to happen in the Stonehenge landscape?

Yes 40 (75.5%)  
No 13 (24.5%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

28 Would you like music festivals to happen again in the Stonehenge landscape?



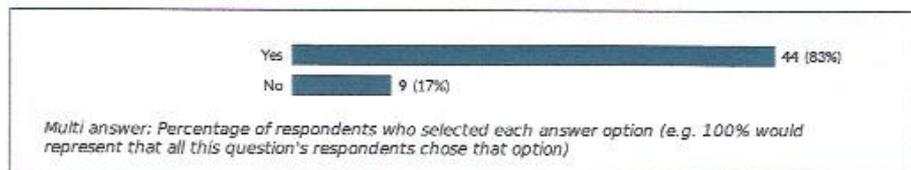
29 Do you have any comments on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape?

Showing all 27 responses

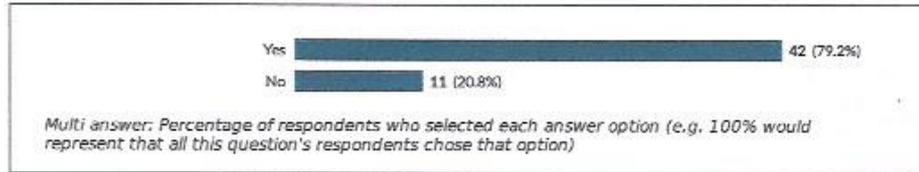
As long as they don't cause significant damage to the site then festivals and events would be great	700826-700817-71902493
In think it is an incredible place but festivals run the chance of destruction, i think if there is a space within the landscape where destruction of archaeology could be kept to a minimum then it would be amazing to have music festivals again	700826-700817-71967480
People would sneak off and probably damage archaeology	700826-700817-71968785
Was sympathetic when younger but now realise the level of damage they do to the landscape and archaeology.	700826-700817-71982367
As it is a place of significance for a variety of people and groups of scientists, people of faith, as well as people just interested in its history/cultural history, festivals could range from themed events to modern-day (e.g. music) festivals, if it is possible to connect the two in any way.	700826-700817-72065071
Not at the stones. But a heritage festival nearby could be fantastic	700826-700817-72262570
No	700826-700817-72276712
I think it would be really cool, not so sure those who see the stonehenge landscape as a landscape of ancestors would be quite so enthusiastic. Music fesitvals can have quite a large footprint, which would require appropriate mitigation	700826-700817-72281355
The Solstice festivals are a great idea but feel exclusionary - feels little is to done to encourage this change of demographic	700826-700817-72288702
I understand the desire to protect the monument and it's surroundings, but i also feel that narratives shouldn't be dominated entirely by academics or archaeologists who are intent on making the landscape around it a living museum. Access should be supervised of course and damage entirely prevented but we also need to have areas whereby interaction with the monument and it's landscape occurs.	700826-700817-72290974
It would need to be very well organised and controlled to ensure no damage	700826-700817-72297018
Too much damage	700826-700817-72300320

Too much damage.	700826-700817-72309370
I think the current land use is as relevant to Stonehenge as any contrivance or theory currently in vogue. But the extent of the prehistoric landscape is vast and that needs to be conveyed to the public especially school children.	700826-700817-72320345
As long as they're not damaging the site	700826-700817-72340839
I think there's potential for festivals in the landscape but they would have to be carefully managed to minimise damage.	700826-700817-72349195
No as not everyone appreciates the importance of the landscape	700826-700817-72368361
With the best will in the world festivals would always increase the potential of harm to the archaeological record	700826-700817-72369639
Large festivals would be likely to cause damage.	700826-700817-72369343
Too destructive to the archaeology present.	700826-700817-72373642
There's a risk of damage to the archaeology and the ecology of the area. Festivals do not respect the vulnerability of the monument and landscape.	700826-700817-72378215
All pagan, Druid and Celtic religious festivals should be allowed to celebrate within the henge as the stones are always treated with respect. Music within the stones would sound fantastic because of the acoustics of the stones.	700826-700817-72385705
I think access needs to be carefully monitored so that we don't erode the landscape yet we should allow people to physically connect to the landscape.	700826-700817-72392698
I'm all for people still continuing to have festivals in that area. However, I would board off the monument so people can't access it during these times. I wouldn't change the landscape in any way as this can upset a lot of people, especially locals.	700826-700817-72393385
Too damaging to WHS	700826-700817-72411497
Events must be pagan first, relevant and respectful. Not a free for all drug fest.	700826-700817-72435057
The monument itself requires protection from festival goers, but the wider landscape could be used.	700826-700817-72589738
Inappropriate	700826-700817-72687609

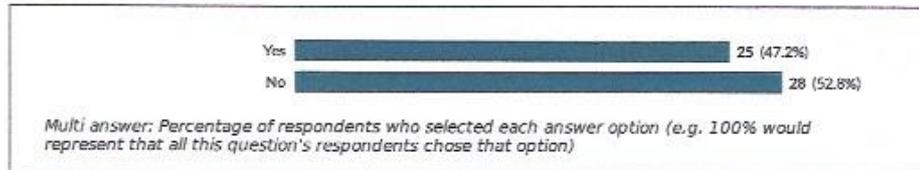
30 Do you think it was a good thing that the A344 closed?



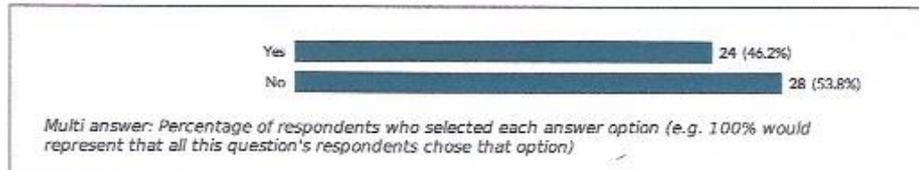
31 Do you think that the A303 should be improved?



32 Do you think that the A303 should be improved with a tunnel?



33 Do you agree with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?



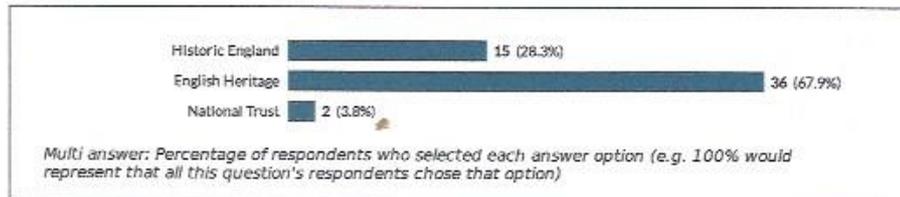
34 Do you have any comments on the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?

Showing all 35 responses	
It may have caused more damage and problems than it solves	700826-700817-71902493
There is a lot of conflicting information on the internet. Lots of sources saying valid points that it's a good thing, lots of sources saying valid points that it's a bad thing. It is often hard to tell what is misinformation as well. It's very hard to decide!	700826-700817-71906747
I think we have to compromise between modern conveniences and important heritage, a tunnel can preserve the landscape while improving roads	700826-700817-71967480
It's disgusting and ruins the entire landscape as well as push our understanding of Stonehenge back, due to rushing this tunnel through which will destroy archaeological artifacts that may or may not be there	700826-700817-71979608
It's a stupid idea	700826-700817-71979642

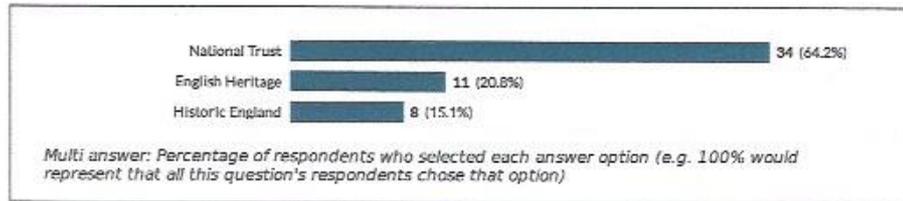
The planned tunnel is too short and I'm worried about light pollution from the portals at the monument and in the wider landscape.	700826-700817-71982367
Taking the road out will improve connection with the landscape and make it easier to travel without so many accidents. Huge benefits on both sides	700826-700817-72262570
I believe the tunnel should be longer and less invasive at the exits	700826-700817-72276712
I think the road should be rerouted	700826-700817-72278377
It's far from perfect, but a reasonable compromise. I grew up near the Devils Punchbowl (Hindhead A3) the difference the tunnel has made there is astounding. Of course the tunnel is only ever a short term fix to our current traffic issues but there does not seem to be any driver to change our current modes of transport.	700826-700817-72281355
As an archaeologist who had worked on the tunnel scheme I can confidently say that it is, has and will be excavated to a very high standard by commercial archaeologists.	700826-700817-72287021
The 'debate' that was started by certain academics was derogatory towards the commercial sector and came off as elitist; this doesn't help progress the scheme or improve impressions around aforementioned academics	700826-700817-72288702
As long as it protects and preserves the site with advice from experts, then I see no problem	700826-700817-72291297
It has been a long term scheme. Is entirely required for future use as well as current use issues and whilst we could debate all day about which elements of a scheme are least/ most damaging, it's not going to improve living/commuting conditions for the current inhabitants. Whilst covid will have seen reduction in traffic, that isn't likely to continue and I feel that this scheme, alongside other major infrastructure schemes should be viewed as investment for future communities and if we can do the excavations sensitively and appropriately, then we also gain increased knowledge of the monument too...which originally was excavated with rudimentary (for now) techniques. Things move on and we should sympathetically engage to try to enhance our knowledge, without entirely destroying monuments.	700826-700817-72290974
It would stop congestion caused by people slowing down to take pictures of it from their cars	700826-700817-72292510
I don't know enough about it to have a strong opinion	700826-700817-72297018
I think it is a necessary evil. I look forward to the road being out of sight.	700826-700817-72309370
It is a waste of money. The theories about the stones will continue to develop and change. The current setting of the stones as viewed from the current road is as important to people today as any theory about its past	700826-700817-72320345
No	700826-700817-72340839
Shouldn't happen	700826-700817-72368361
The tunnel needs to be longer but will be beneficial for the landscape and transport links	700826-700817-72369639
Too short really	700826-700817-72369456

I think it should be longer both entrances well outside the World Heritage Area.	700826-700817-72368878
It is the best solution to a difficult issue. But a shame.	700826-700817-72373523
Good for Commercial Archaeologists, as it keeps them employed, but its bad for heritage in the u.k as a whole.	700826-700817-72373642
Will cause too much irreparable damage to the World Heritage Site both in archaeological and ecological terms. The supposed 'benefits' are not worth the cost.	700826-700817-72378215
The people who can defend it have all signed NDA's	700826-700817-72385336
It will tear right through the heritage landscape and may put deeper archaeological deposits in danger. Why not just move the A303 out of the Stonehenge landscape altogether and create a bypass.	700826-700817-72385705
Salisbury southern ring road is the answer	700826-700817-72387695
A feel a re-routing might be better than a tunnel, but a tunnel is better than no change	700826-700817-72388225
Some argue that the road is now part of the historic landscape but I think removing the road and traffic is a good thing.	700826-700817-72392698
Seems like the best way to improve the road whilst minimising potential damage to archaeology. It also provides a good opportunity for the discovery of new evidence at the tunnel entrances	700826-700817-72397996
Corrupt by inception, design and execution. It is desecration. Redirection of public money to private corporations. Unnecessary. Damaging.	700826-700817-72435057
It may be expensive, but it's necessary.	700826-700817-72589738
Too detrimental to the landscape	700826-700817-72687609

35 Do you know who manages Stonehenge?



36 Do you know who manages the Stonehenge landscape?



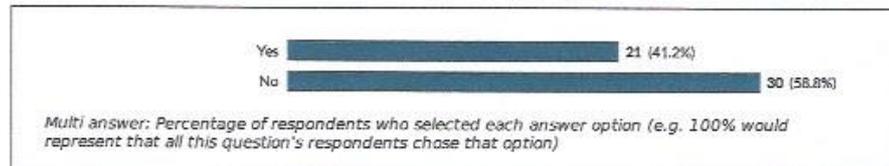
**37** Is there anything else you would like to contribute?

Showing all 17 responses

Taking away the view of Stonehenge from passing cars is a mistake. People like to see it, even if they would never dream of going there specifically. Public money is used to maintain it - revenue from everyone, not just those interested in archaeology. What happens if the wider public stop caring about it?	700826-700817-71982367
No	700826-700817-72276712
Too much focus on the stones that undermines the importance of the landscape. This site is too political as being archetypal of English cultural history. I grew up in the area and the appropriation of the site by varying political and social groups worries me as the site, especially in the 80s became toxic. It was used to divide communities. We couldn't leave the village at the end of June as the A36 was closed with snow gates and a heavy police presence... this site was used, alongside the travelling community to represent everything the Tories hated and little England despised. It was like the scene in chocolate with "travellers (not the word that was used) not welcome" in shops and pubs. The landscape fascinates me and I am myself now an archaeologist, but the stones are a turn off.. I have little interest in them due to my childhood experiences.	700826-700817-72278377
I often come across as jaded (there are multiple contributing factors to the sour taste I'm left with) when talking about Stonehenge which is a shame because I do think the site has its merits and is interesting.	700826-700817-72288702
Although I haven't visited the site, I would love to be able to have better access from all regions of England and the UK, but preserve the site as well . I haven't been able to visit due to only transport that I know of to get there being by car. I would love to visit and get up close to stone henge :)	700826-700817-72291297
Stonehenge is a beautiful place but is far too commercialized and taken over by tourists for it to be appreciated for what  is.	700826-700817-72292510
No	700826-700817-72340839
I'd love to walk amongst the stones but appreciate people are stupid and don't understand how important the whole area is. The road scheme should be stopped.	700826-700817-72368361
Too much emphasis is placed on t stone circle itself, to the detriment of grander monuments such as Avebury.	700826-700817-72369639

When I first visited Stonehenge at the age of 11, there was no charge that I remember, and you could wander right up to the stones. Coming from a Midland town where foreigners were people from the next village, this was the first time I encountered real live Americans, and it was quite a shock to discover they really talked like that, and didn't just put the accent on for films. It was a retired American couple, the wife seemed more amazed that she had just seen daisies for the first time in her life! As a result, for many years I held the erroneous belief that there are no daisies in North America. The last time I went back to Stonehenge was with my Polish lodger in 2004. It was a disappointing visit, as we would have to pay extra to get up to the stones, which we didn't. Overall I much prefer Avebury as a place to visit.	700826-700817-72368878
I have carried out a lot of volunteering at Stonehenge and leading school groups around the landscape. I have included these sessions in my visitor figures.	700826-700817-72373523
Stonehenge and the landscape around is too fragile and too important to be heavily used or built on. It is a unique and important monument that should be open to all but treated with respect.	700826-700817-72378215
No	700826-700817-72385705
Great survey, very mildly similar to my master's degree dissertation survey. Good luck!	700826-700817-72393385
Pagan usage is treated as undesirable and is squeezed out, barely tolerated. Our narrative is excluded. Tourists rule. Lost opportunity for spiritual diplomacy and community celebration. Ie Amesbury Mayday.	700826-700817-72435057
Did you come across a band called CRASS? I remember one of their albums had a booklet which talked of Wally Hope and the festival.	700826-700817-72576285
The removal of the road will ensure future generations will be able to experience the stones and barrows as the architects intended without modern influences being so close and detracting from the experience for those seeking to imagine the fundamental historic atmosphere. This ancient place will finally have the future it deserves!	700826-700817-72589738

38 Would you be interested in being interviewed further for this project?



39 If you answered 'Yes' to the above question, please put your email address in here.

# Updated Survey

(Results for question 33 have been removed for participant privacy)



## Stonehenge: Step into our story (editing)

Showing 89 of 90 responses

Showing all responses

Hiding question 33

With filter q3-does-not-contain-1900 applied

1 I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above in the Participant Agreement Form.

Yes  89 (100%)  
No | 0

2 Can you confirm that you are aged 16 years or older?

Yes  89 (100%)  
No | 0

3 What is your date of birth?

Showing all 89 responses

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08/11/1995	708633-708624-73041222
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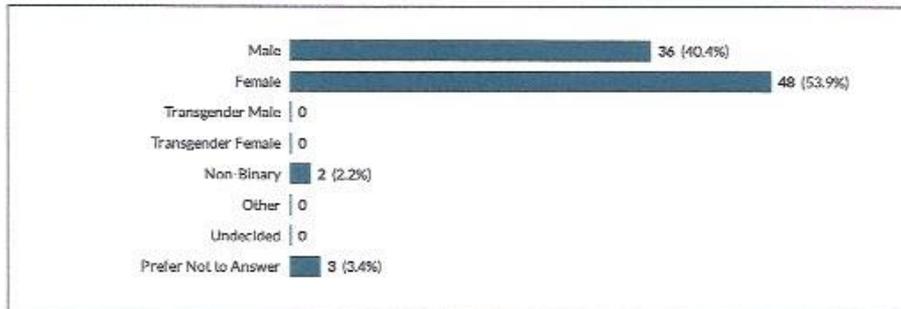
1 / 29

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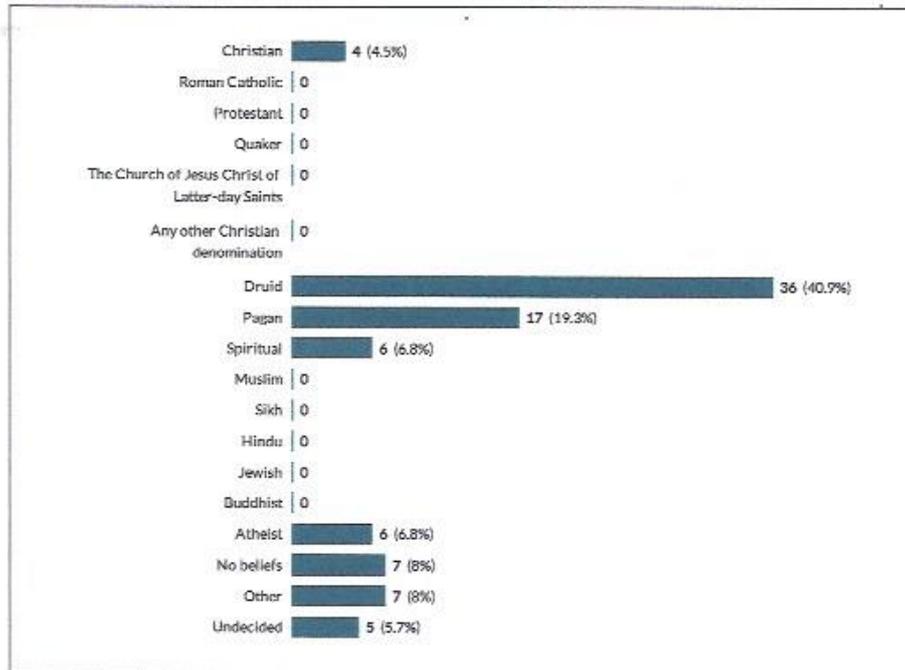
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18/09/1995	708633-708624-75681108
06/11/1973	708633-708624-75681282
30/04/1967	708633-708624-75685783
22/11/1951	708633-708624-75693957
15/09/1967	708633-708624-75699689
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02/04/1963	708633-708624-75773497
19/01/1961	708633-708624-75778959
18/05/1964	708633-708624-75779338
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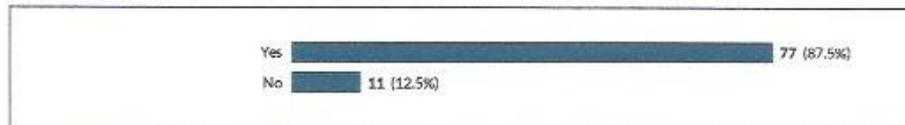
4 Which gender identity do you most identify with?



5 What are your beliefs?

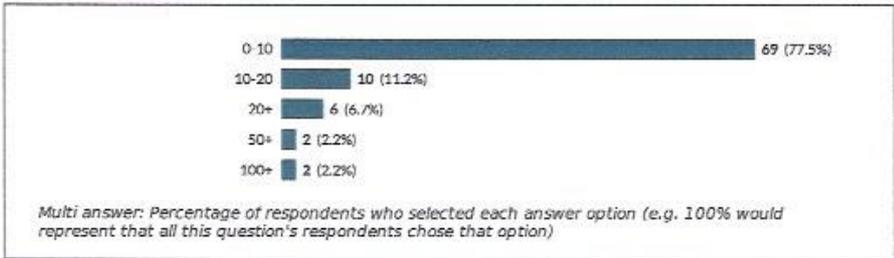


**6** Have you ever visited Stonehenge?

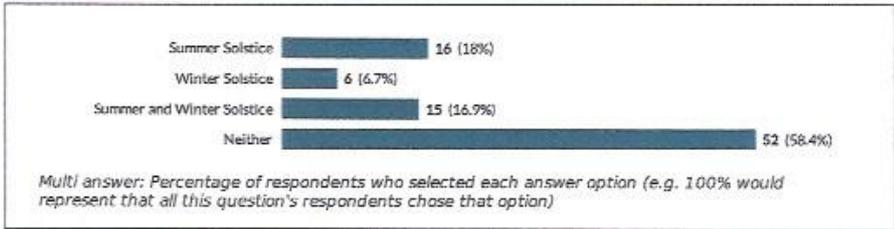


**7** How many times have you visited Stonehenge?

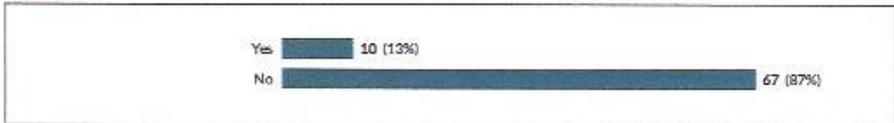
7.1 Number of times you've visited



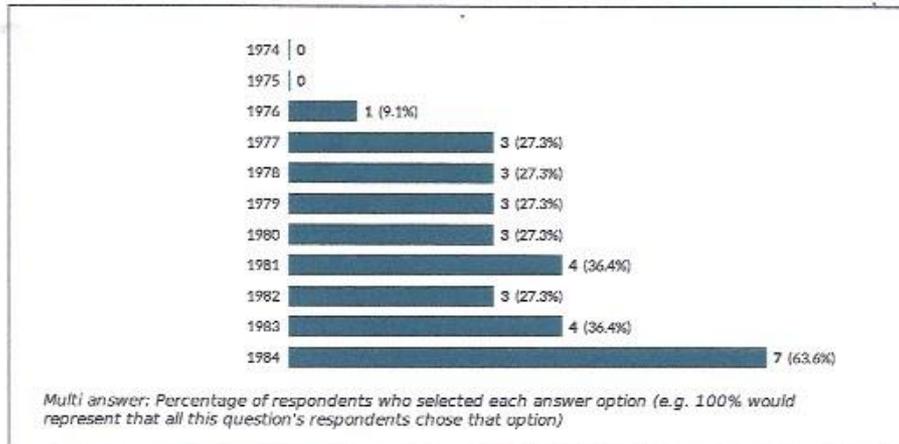
8 Have you ever visited Stonehenge during the Summer and/or Winter Solstice?



9 Did you ever go to any of the Stonehenge Free Festivals before 1986?



10 Which years did you attend the Stonehenge Free Festival? (Please tick each box that is applicable to you)

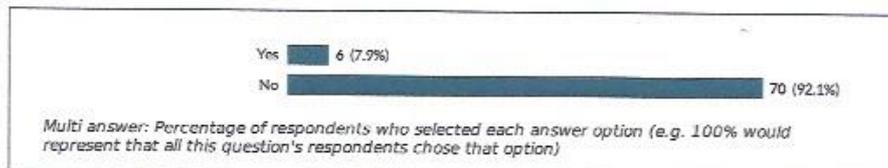


10.a Have you got any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Stonehenge Free Festivals?

Showing all 11 responses

/	708633-708624-72984072
No rules, no hierarchy. Just people doing what was necessary	708633-708624-74484165
We had to camp quite a bit away. We had a phone number to ring and they told you a small camp site to go to. Ours was in a lovely wood by woodhenge. Which i,d never heard of till then. They had a bus to take the children while us adults walked. There was never any distrust or doubt that we would all be reunited at the meeting point by the stones. Every time someone left the camp they handed out any food they had left over and you could walk around the campsites and pop into any tent bus etc and meet lovely genuine people. Even the trips were given out under guarantee lol. We were all there as like minded people. We all left around midnight to do the long walk to the stones and when we got there and the beautiful sun came up it was an experience and a site that will never be forgotten. X. Good luck with your masters. xxxxxx	708633-708624-74527710
For a young child it was amazing like going to another dimension where you could do anything you wanted.	708633-708624-74657890
N/A	708633-708624-75629029
The year I attended the field was wet and muddy, there were zero facilities, the police presence was heavy and hostile and, to make matters worse, The Pop Group arrived on site in the early hours of the morning and decided they needed a loud and uncoordinated sound check that went on for over an hour. In short, it was pretty grim. Did have a brief chat with Sid Rawle though, both of us agreeing that we'd rather be at Avebury.	708633-708624-75723912
No	708633-708624-75727925
Only that I regret being too young to have gone to any!	708633-708624-75728701
No	708633-708624-75751679
Mainly about drugs... Having to step over people on lsd. A guy hey man we need to leave the stones the Druids are here. A bus stopped out came 50 men wearing bowler hats and suits and then proceed to put on Klu Klux Klan like robes. I said" hey man they're not druids! "	708633-708624-75773373
heh	708633-708624-75778959

11 Did you try and attend the 1985 Stonehenge Free Festival? (Which became the Battle of the Beanfield)

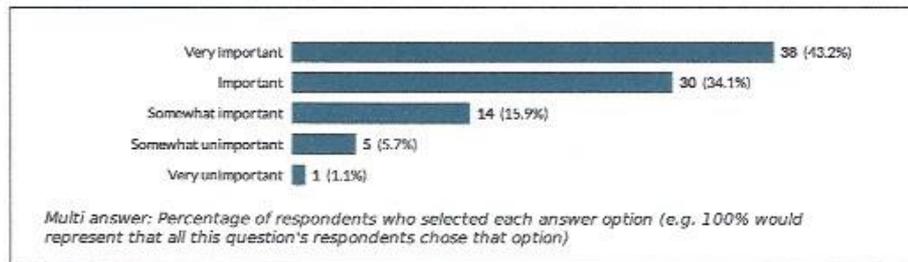


11.a Do you have any experiences or stories that you would like to share from the Battle of the Beanfield?

Showing all 4 responses

Not really knowing what was going on. Bits of euphoria mixed with bits of blind panic...	708633-708624-74475117
Beaten. Shell shocked. ( I still have about six weeks missing from my memory) Not broken.	708633-708624-74484165
Running up behind one of the Police as he bent over and hitting him in the backside with a piece of wood that had a six inch nail through it. Lol he screamed like a pig.	708633 708624 74657890
We were turned away by the Police at Marlborough.	708633-708624-75773497

12 How important is Stonehenge to you personally?



13 How would you describe Stonehenge in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

Showing all 86 responses

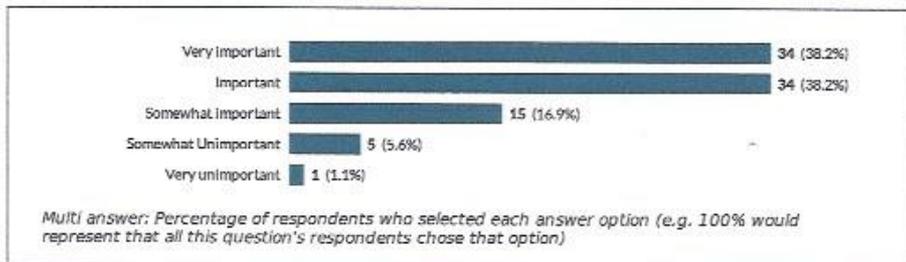
Future Past present	708633 708624 72770946
megalithic iconic global	708633-708624-72950767
gigantic celestial chronocrator	708633 708624 72955495
impressive, over-inflated, thought provoking	708633-708624-72964974
Too far away	708633-708624-72984072
crucible ancestors healing	708633-708624-73023239
internationally important heritage	708633-708624-73041222
powerful, uncanny, contested	708633-708624-73153239

A strange arrangement of stones within a complex funerary landscape	708633-708624-73156772
Archaeology, astronomy, spirituality	708633-708624-73253578
Mystical, landscape, ancestors	708633-708624-73284638
Unimpressive manicured Expensive	708633-708624-73291381
Magical, Spiritual, Healing	708633-708624-73398763
Magical, sacred and precious	708633-708624-73401680
special, significant, spectacular	708633-708624-73444947
Unique, awesome, wonderful	708633-708624-73463223
Megalithic, too busy	708633-708624-73466195
Wonderful prehistoric temple	708633-708624-73557983
Fucking big stones.	708633-708624-74475117
Cultural meetings place	708633-708624-74484165
truly spiritual place	708633-708624-74527710
commercial tourist facility	708633-708624-74564079
Significant, stability, mysterious	708633-708624-74580658
Atmospheric Significant Important	708633-708624-74585159
Ancestors, magical, priceless.	708633-708624-74657890
impressive prehistoric site	708633-708624-75299491
Ancestors. Spiritual. Emotional.	708633-708624-75590246
Mystical Powerful Ancient	708633-708624-75590854
Beautiful, extracting, sacred	708633-708624-75590771
everlasting, renaissance, spiritual	708633-708624-75590893
stately, ancient, magical	708633-708624-75591632
Significant iconic Spiritual	708633-708624-75592423
Ancient. Sacred. Ancestors.	708633-708624-75595417
Ancient wisdom keeper	708633-708624-75594825
Ancient, Legendary, Polarizing	708633-708624-75597891
Historical Ancient Mystical	708633-708624-75597347

Ancestors, heritage, sacred	708633-708624-75599357
Sacred space	708633-708624-75593391
majestic Otherworldly ancient	708633-708624-75606466
Central sacred site	708633-708624-75607383
Impressive, relaxing, beautiful	708633-708624-75609207
Not a henge!	708633-708624-75613860
Beautiful sacred historic	708633-708624-75614494
Powerful, ancient, primal	708633-708624-75620272
Boring and over-hyped	708633-708624-75622709
Liminal, pre druid, welsh	708633-708624-75626973
Ancestry, inspiring, ceremonial.	708633-708624-75629029
prehistoric ritual site	708633-708624-75630483
A power place	708633-708624-75631145
Temple altar celebrate	708633-708624-75632081
sacred ancient historic	708633-708624-75631869
British metempsychosis description	708633-708624-75632378
Magical, heritage, connection	708633-708624-75634148
Peaceful, continuity, truth	708633-708624-75635420
significant, peaceful, historical	708633-708624-75637536
Magic, nature, history	708633-708624-75638392
Numinous Vortex Knowledge	708633-708624-75640512
peace, mystery, safe	708633-708624-75630378
Ancient energy portal	708633-708624-75655302
sacred, legacy, ancestors	708633-708624-75645222
Wonderful, peaceful, happy	708633-708624-75681108
Ancient, connection, spiritual	708633-708624-75681282
Ancient Mysterious Sacred	708633-708624-75685783
Second Spiritual home	708633-708624-75693957
sacred, inspirational, beautiful	708633-708624-75699689
Grounding, mystic, welcoming	708633-708624-75700684
Echo Cathedral	708633-708624-75700746

Eyewashed	
interesting, commercialised, contentious.	708633-708624-75723912
ancient archaeological interest	708633-708624-75726060
old, stone, tourists	708633-708624-75726696
Powerful. Human story	708633-708624-75727925
sacred archeology Place (the capital letter is deliberate - this relates to an animistic interpretation of the meaning of location in a wider landscape)	708633-708624-75728701
Historic, spiritual, sacred	708633-708624-75731332
As a Pagan it is an important and powerful sacred place (albeit much profaned). As an archaeologist, it is a fascinating, unique, and tantalisingly mysterious Neolithic structure.	708633-708624-75734732
Felt no connection	708633-708624-75740426
Heritage temple history	708633-708624-75740628
Sacred, unique, vulnerable	708633-708624-75751679
Ancestral, temple, death	708633-708624-75752962
ancestors, spirits, temple	708633-708624-75773373
Compulsive	708633-708624-75773497
conflicted, claustrophobic, ritualistic	708633-708624-75778959
power, magic, earth	708633-708624-75779338
Symbolic unique awe-inspiring	708633-708624-75779437
Timeless inspirational important	708633-708624-75785184
Far too busy	708633-708624-75787421
Connection Strength Understanding	708633-708624-75792259

14 How important do you think Stonehenge is in contemporary culture?



15 How would you describe Stonehenge's relevance to contemporary culture in three words? (Please note, additional words will not be included in this survey)

Showing all 85 responses	
odd theories brexit	708633-708624-72770946
cultural identity link	708633-708624-72950767
comfortingly durable ancestralmessaging	708633-708624-72955495
politicized; misappropriated; context-dependent	708633-708624-72964974
Not very relevant	708633-708624-72984072
ancestors peace mystery	708633-708624-73023239
internation tourist destination	708633-708624-73041222
Recognisable, Mystery, Antiquity	708633-708624-73153239
It is of relevance to contemporary culture in that it enables us to look at ourselves. It is also useful window into the place of modern archaeology in contemporary culture.	708633-708624-73156772
Druids, solstice, archaeology	708633-708624-73253578
Beliefs, environmental, remembrance	708633-708624-73284638
Tourism controversial landmark	708633-708624-73291381
History, sub cultures, ageless	708633-708624-73398763
Evocative of past	708633-708624-73401680
thought provoking, ancestral	708633-708624-73444947
Our ancestors	708633-708624-73463223
tourist attraction, pseudoscience	708633-708624-73466195
Iconic, Tradition, Ancient.	708633-708624-73557983
Pivot of uk	708633-708624-74475117
Reawakening community spirit	708633-708624-74484165
Tangible spiritual reminder	708633-708624-74527710
Lost its relevance	708633-708624-74564079
Significant, stability, mysterious	708633-708624-74580658
Meaningful Ancestral Inclusive	708633-708624-74585159
Old, boring, what.	708633-708624-74657890
neo pagan centre	708633-708624-75299491
Everlasting	708633-708624-75590854

migraine	
Connection	
Distant, mischaracterized	708633-708624-75590771
emboldening, free, unique	708633-708624-75590893
history, paganism, secrets	708633-708624-75591632
Connection to ancestors	708633-708624-75592423
Culture, Heritage, History.	708633-708624-75595417
Guide, peace-maker, teacher	708633-708624-75594825
Historical, Spiritual, Connection	708633-708624-75597891
Anthropological Spiritual Social	708633-708624-75597347
Nature, society, ingenuity	708633-708624-75599357
Living history	708633-708624-75593391
historic picturesque spiritual	708633-708624-75606466
Spreading peace ethos	708633-708624-75607383
Knowledge, understanding, respect	708633-708624-75609207
Iconic; historic, spiritual	708633-708624-75613860
Historic sacred	708633-708624-75614494
History, ancestors, identity	708633-708624-75620272
Irrelevant. Visit Avebury	708633-708624-75622709
Not important	708633-708624-75626973
Spiritual, historic, engineering.	708633-708624-75629029
popular tourist attraction	708633-708624-75630483
A magical place	708633-708624-75631145
Heritage culture history	708633-708624-75632081
spiritual educational mysterious	708633-708624-75631869
British origin symbol	708633-708624-75632378
Heritage, worship, healing	708633-708624-75634148
Ancient, history, wonder	708633-708624-75635420
historical, ritual, commerce	708633-708624-75637536
Past, Precedent Future	708633-708624-75638392
Spiritual Transformational Educational	708633-708624-75640512

legacy, roots, future	708633-708624-75630378
Human growth development	708633-708624-75655302
history, knowledge, legacy	708633-708624-75645222
Educational, history, path maker	708633-708624-75681108
Historic, tourism, money	708633-708624-75681282
Link with ancestors	708633-708624-75685783
Place of peace	708633-708624-75693957
historical, heritage, spiritual	708633-708624-75699689
Symbolic, historical, old	708633-708624-75700684
Curiosity Touristy Checklist	708633-708624-75700746
Significant tourist income	708633-708624-75723912
window into past	708633-708624-75726060
history, imagination, interest	708633-708624-75726696
Remembrance of ancestors	708633-708624-75727925
Tourist day-out destination	708633-708624-75728701
Confused, lacking, required	708633-708624-75731332
It is THE best known British prehistoric site. The centre of the spiritual counter-culture, of which Paganism is a part.	708633-708624-75734732
Research is key	708633-708624-75740426
Heritage commons indigeneity	708633-708624-75740628
Sacred, unique, vulnerable!	708633-708624-75751679
Memory, culture, time	708633-708624-75752962
As above	708633-708624-75773373
Solstice / Equinox observations	708633-708624-75773497
rave, tension, iconic	708633-708624-75778959
majesty, power, earth	708633-708624-75779338
Symbolic attraction	708633-708624-75779437
Monument bridging generations	708633-708624-75785184
An interesting site	708633-708624-75787421
History Origins Sacred	708633-708624-75792259

16 Do you think that politicians should influence the access of Stonehenge?

Yes 9 (10.2%)  
 No 79 (89.8%)

*Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)*

17 Have you ever visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?

Yes 52 (58.4%)  
 No 37 (41.6%)

*Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)*

17.a How many times have you visited the Stonehenge Visitor Centre at Airman's Cross?

17.a.1 Number of times you've visited

0-10 49 (94.2%)  
 10-20 2 (3.8%)  
 20+ 1 (1.9%)  
 50+ 0  
 100+ 0

*Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)*

18 Have you been to visit sites in the landscape that surrounds Stonehenge? (for example, Durrington Walls or the Cursus)

Yes 63 (70.8%)  
 No 26 (29.2%)

*Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)*

19 Would you like more extensive access to the Stonehenge landscape?

Yes 80 (90.9%)  
No 8 (9.1%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

20 Would you like the Stonehenge landscape to be used in a different way to how it is used now?

Yes 52 (59.1%)  
No 36 (40.9%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

21 Would you like public events to happen in the Stonehenge landscape?

Yes 57 (64.8%)  
No 31 (35.2%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

22 Would you like music festivals to happen again in the Stonehenge landscape?

Yes 33 (38.4%)  
No 53 (61.6%)

Multi answer: Percentage of respondents who selected each answer option (e.g. 100% would represent that all this question's respondents chose that option)

23 Do you have any comments on festivals in the Stonehenge landscape?

Showing all 72 responses

They would be a wonderful addition to our phenomenological experience of 708633-708624-72955495  
[View response](#)

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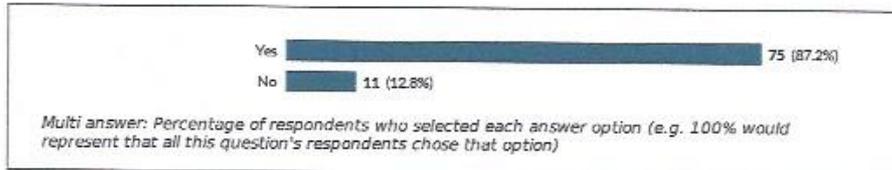
comment	id
no objection to festivals in the landscape per se, but concerns over how they would play out	708633-708624-72964974
/	708633-708624-72984072
Musci festivals now are not at all suitable for such a site. Too loud and too much infrascruture.	708633-708624-73023239
This is a very sacred site and should be regarded as such, even if it's not what everyone comes to the site with in mind.	
The free festivals were a phenomenon but the archaeology is too fragile and the landscape (physical and intangible) is too contested.	708633-708624-73153239
Depending on the scale, music festivals could be a nice idea. However, there are plenty of other locations that would be better suited. The placement of a festival of on any heritage site can have a negative impact on the landscapes, litter and trample being the most obvious. Despite this some small and well managed events would be interesting.	708633-708624-73156772
Stonehenge was a community gathering place in history and if at all possible I'd love to see that continue, as that is what is meant for	708633-708624-73253578
I think it is important to protect the whole Stonehenge landscape against the potential damage or organised mass gatherings	708633-708624-73284638
Largely irrelevant	708633-708624-73291381
They must be eco forward, everyone should respect the land and it's spiritually	708633-708624-73398763
I wish you could touch the stones on normal visitor days	708633-708624-73401680
Risk of damage to archaeology	708633-708624-73417640
not necessary, other venues more appropriate	708633-708624-73444947
I think Stonehenge is a delicate site that needs protecting.	708633-708624-73463223
They should not damage the World Heritage Site	708633-708624-73466195
Too much archaeology here. Other places are more suitable	708633-708624-73557983
Temporary autonomous zone...	708633-708624-74475117
We did nobody any harm	708633-708624-74484165
From what i personally witnessed we were all respectfull and using the site for part of what it was originally intended. I think that bit gets forgotten. Its a place to be celebrated and can be used to remind generations that peace is the key xxxxxx	708633-708624-74527710
I believe small gatherings still happen on the solstices	708633-708624-74564079
Archaeology suggests it was used as a festival area so providing no damage occurs it would seem ok to do so again.	708633-708624-74585159
They brought the magic alive and people together.	708633-708624-74657890
I don't think the infrastructure to support them can be built without damaging the environment	708633-708624-75299491

Should be kept a peaceful place	708633-708624-75590854
My visit to Stonehenge actually converted me to druidry. I felt so different among the stones and listening to the winter solstice ceremony. I would like the religious nature and sanctity to be preserved as well as allowing respectful public access	708633 708624 75590771
the only things i do not like about the festivals is the mess they leave behind	708633-708624-75590893
as long as the historical material is not disturbed, why not? at Glastonbury they also hold a festival	708633 708624 75591632
Any festivals should honour the spiritual nature of the landscape, which is deserving of honour, care and respect.	708633-708624-75592423
I would prefer to preserve the landscape for quiet enjoyment	708633 708624-75595417
On the one hand, I would really like to join druid celebrations in Stonehenge, but on the other hand I would like the place to stay as natural and unaffected by people as possible, considering its historic and cultural value.	708633-708624-75594825
I'm concerned that people who do not hold Stonehenge in as much regard as those who view it in a spiritual light might harm the stones if giving unfettered access to it.	708633-708624-75597891
For some, Stonehenge relates to their spiritual practice & experience. To that end, accessibility is paramount within the understanding that events do not lead to the degradation of the site or its surroundings. There is surely a mutually conducive arrangement that can be made to allow greater access while maintaining & preserving the integrity of the site.	708633-708624-75597347
This land is sacred and should be preserved	708633 708624-75599357
Provided they are respectful & relevant.	708633-708624-75605471
As long as the (spirit of) place is respected and protected	708633 708624-75593391
On sites as close as possible but not disturbing the ancient remains or sanctity of it.	708633-708624-75607383
I think the area should be protected because there are maybe ancient artefacts or human settlements that could be damages by a large amount of people.	708633-708624-75609207
I'm not a fan. It's a great backdrop, and I appreciate it's probably always been a place for communal gatherings. I just worry about the impact on the landscape.	708633-708624-75613860
I think it's important that the site be well cared for and treated respectfully, including being used as a festival site, so long as attendees are held responsible for clean up and care.	708633 708624-75614494
I think they should be closely monitored for preservation purposes.	708633 708624 75620272
Pointless. Utterly pointless.	708633-708624-75622709
Too much risk of damage and loss of sanctity.	708633 708624 75629029
The land around Stonehenge is an important wildlife and plant area. This	708633 708624 75630403

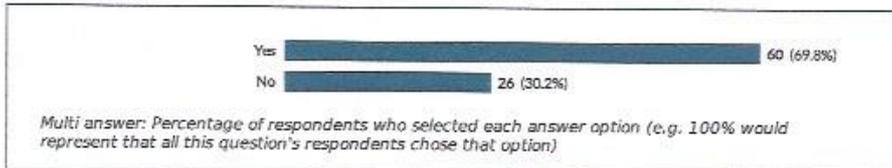
The land round Stonehenge is an important nature and prehist area, this may get damaged/disrupted by festivals	708633-708624-75630402
Open publicly to pagan/Druid events and historical features not touchable by public	708633-708624-75632081
I think festivals are ok as long as they are held responsibly and do not harm the land and structures.	708633-708624-75631869
The above have to be tempered with absolute reverence for the sites, landscapes and history. Crass advertising and corporate events would damage the archaeology.so events would be very small scale and relevent to the Stonehenge Landscape story. The access I would favour would be a protective walkway from Durrington Walls to the Bluestonhenge, adjacent to the Avenue, to the stones, then to the Cursus, the Cuckoo Stone and back via Woodhenge. Allow people to feel the journey of the Ancients.	708633-708624-75632378
Nothing that can potentially damage the landscape.	708633-708624-75634148
They should be done very carefully, to not destroy the place	708633-708624-75638392
Intimate festivals of managed numbers to protect the site.	708633-708624-75640512
Festivals are ok, but could modify negatively the landscape.	708633-708624-75630378
It is a spiritual site and needs to be respected and safe guarded	708633-708624-75655302
I think festivals would be wonderful. Especially to our community to get together and be happy and share with each other	708633-708624-75681108
Festivals for the purpose of making money should not be allowed. But people should be allowed to access, and celebrate the site without causing harm to it.	708633-708624-75681282
Its an ancient site and should be treated with respect. Festivals of any kind shouldn't be held there, in order to protect the stones and preserve it for future generations.	708633-708624-75685783
Should be controlled	708633-708624-75693957
i don't see that they would do any harm to the area in any way	708633-708624-75699689
The area gets quite a bit of traffic as is.	708633-708624-75700746
I think an ancient sacred site is an inappropriate venue for a street party.	708633-708624-75723912
The landscape needs to be respected and protected not used and abused	708633-708624-75726060
Access to be able to hold rituals and ceremonies as well as festivals, although something like the Mercian festival would be perfect.	708633-708624-75727925
Any wider use must be sensitive to the needs of the landscape and not make a mess of the ground or what lies beneath it.	708633-708624-75728701
As long as they treat the area respectfully I see no issue with having festivals near the stones or on the landscape.	708633-708624-75731332
Any new music festival would need to be a not-for-profit event but would have to carefully guard against damage to the archaeological landscape.	708633-708624-75734732
Not a problem if respectful and stones are protected	708633-708624-75740426
Not in the current form of commercial music festivals that just happen to	708633-708624-75740628

be at Stonehenge, they should be done differently so that it is part of an overall stonehenge experience	
Intrusive, filthy, noisy.	708633-708624-75751679
Yes Durrington Walls was and is the place of celebrations and festivals.	708633-708624-75773373
In adjacent fields I wouldn't have an issue.	708633-708624-75773497
What, exactly, is the Stonehenge landscape? What circumference? Keep it all at Worthy farm.	708633-708624-75778959
Music festivals would attract many genuine pagans but also a lot of people who are just there for the 'craic'. Damage to the land would no doubt result, disrespect for the stones and I'd guess large amounts of litter.	708633-708624-75779437
So long as they do no damage	708633-708624-75785184
Too many people looking for a party to make it in any way a spiritual experience.	708633-708624-75787421

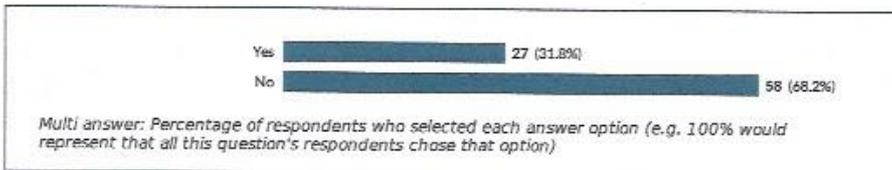
24. Do you think it was a good thing that the A344 closed?



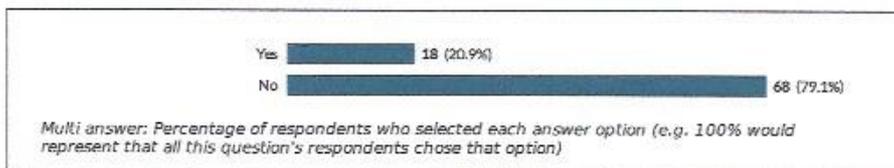
25. Do you think that the A303 should be improved?



26. Do you think that the A303 should be improved with a tunnel?



27 Do you agree with the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?



28 Do you have any comments on the Stonehenge Tunnel Scheme?

Showing all 60 responses

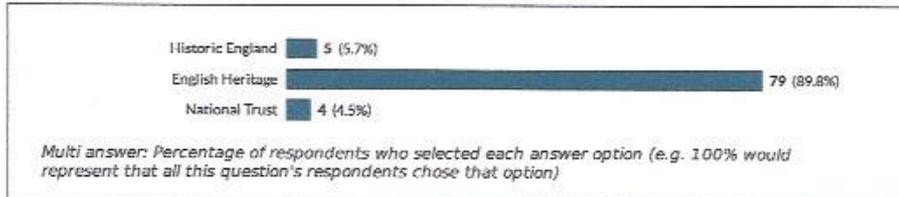
Not really fussed	708633-708624-72770946
deeply worrying in its implications	708633-708624-72955495
there is no ideal solution - i guess tunnel scheme is an adequate compromise. I like the idea of the experience of visiting the stones being devoid of intrusive traffic, but equally I'll miss the A303 glimpse as you drive past - always adds interest to the journey!	708633-708624-72964974
It's a good idea	708633-708624-72984072
I have concerns about the alignments of the entrances, as solar movements are critical to the site and light emissions are a major problem.	708633-708624-73023239
Should be the long tunnel that was agreed but never implemented.	708633-708624-73153239
Ideally it could be longer. But the present situation desperately needs improving. Provided the remains are recorded effectively, which they will be, then this may be the best chance we have to improve it.	708633-708624-73156772
Although I agree in principle that the road is too close to the stones I am totally against destroying more of the potential archaeology to remove it from view. I am aware that extensive pre development archaeology investigation is being undertaken but the nature of the potential archaeology could mean that important discoveries could be missed.	708633-708624-73284638
Important landmark, marking halfway to London, will be invisible.	708633-708624-73291381
I think it's outrageous! Destroying ancient, beautiful and essential wild land.	708633-708624-73398763
It would impair the midwinter sun set	708633-708624-73401680
expensive	708633-708624-73444947
No	708633-708624-73463223
I would rather they divert the A303 away from Stonehenge and make it a dual carriageway. The tunnel is a poor solution in every way.	708633-708624-73466195
Proposed tunnel is too short	708633-708624-73557983

Just shut the damn road and get people to walk..	708633-708624-74475117
The original charter gifting Stonehenge to the public said the ground should not be disturbed,	708633-708624-74484165
It's the wrong scheme for today. It may have been ok 20years ago as a deep long bore tunnel	708633-708624-74580658
It will destroy archaeology which could be of great importance.	708633-708624-74585159
Desecration of a sacred site.	708633-708624-74657890
It's much too short. A longer tunnel would probably avoid disturbing the archaeological heritage	708633-708624-75299491
Should be kept as it is; no tunnel. If they make a tunnel they are potentially destroying archeological evidence tied to the site	708633-708624-75590854
It is not respecting the historical importance of the Stonehenge site. It is a political move, not an ecological or conservation motivation.	708633-708624-75592423
I am against the tunnel construction as it is located too close to the ancient site and, considering the fact that the Stonehenge landscape isn't completely researched yet, the tunnel construction may cause horrific harm to possible artifacts under ground.	708633-708624-75594825
Tunnels are typically, in my experience fairly stable. If the land above the tunnel could be reclaimed as grassland/nature, a tunnel would be wonderful.	708633-708624-75597891
This is defiling our heritage	708633-708624-75599357
I am not British, but I find it deeply offensive & disrespectful. Would they burrow through the Vatican crypts?	708633-708624-75605471
Don't disturb the landscape	708633-708624-75593391
Too short, too intrusive, too close	708633-708624-75607383
I think create a tunnel un a place where could be more archeological area is invasive. Also, why a tunnel could be placed in a locación where isn't a hill or mountain?	708633-708624-75609207
Much as I will miss seeing SH as I drive past, I like the idea of hiding the road. I would though extend the entrance and exit to the tunnel beyond the current plan. Take them outside the immediate landscape.	708633-708624-75613860
I think if they want to "improve" the roads around the Stonehenge site, they need to listen to the people who view and use it as a sacred site. Let the pagans & the Druids set the expectations, not modern convenience.	708633-708624-75614494
I'll conceived, inappropriate and damaging.	708633-708624-75629029
There is too much important archaeology that will be destroyed by the tunnel, and in general we should be discouraging car travel in general not increasing road schemes	708633-708624-75630483
As long as preserved the natural beauty of the land and not encroach further on Stonehenge	708633-708624-75632081
The A303 should be straightened, taking it below Amesbury, away from the site area	708633-708624-75632378

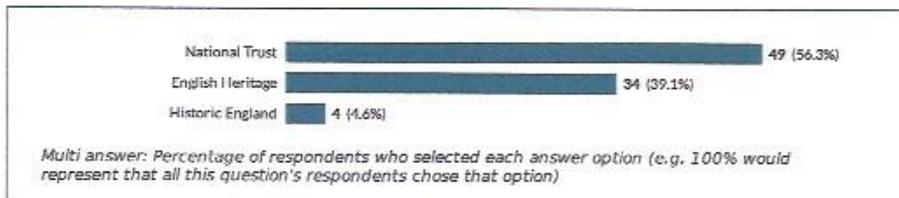
the unique area.	
Not 100% convinced it won't damage the stones or the landscape, but fingers crossed	708633-708624-75634148
I don't know the project	708633-708624-75638392
It would disturb the non physical energies of this sacred site. This site was gifted by our ancestors and is to be valued as a sacred place.	708633-708624-75640512
too invasive.	708633-708624-75630378
Very risky in the long term	708633-708624-75655302
Just leave it the way it is.	708633-708624-75681108
It will cause irreversible damage	708633-708624-75685783
it is a tremendous amount of money to spend when the country is already in more than enough trouble as it is	708633-708624-75699689
Traffic should be re routed above ground to the south, outside the World Heritage Site. A much cheaper option causing less disruption during building and doing less environmental and archaeological damage by largely following existing roads.	708633-708624-75723912
There is plenty of room to build a new road away from ancient monuments round about - so build one away from the henge!	708633-708624-75726060
The area is a ritual landscape and it is sacrosanct and should not be disturbed.	708633-708624-75727925
It would be preferable to something worse. I am suspicious of all schemes that assume road 'improvement' (ie widening) to be a means of improving traffic flow, pollution or anything else - these problems often stem from overuse of the existing infrastructure and will ultimately be addressed only by reducing the amount of traffic, not pandering to it.	708633-708624-75728701
As long as they dig deep and do not disturb the upper areas of the landscape, then a tunnel will enable the landscape to return to a more normal setting. Animals will be able to roam without hindrance from road traffic.	708633-708624-75731332
A longer deep bore tunnel should have been agreed.	708633-708624-75734732
Although it has been great for archaeological finds it has disturbed many of the ancestor's who have been at peace for thousands of years.	708633-708624-75740426
We should be moving away from road transport in order to meet our co2 budget, not facilitating more traffic on our roads	708633-708624-75740628
Ill-thought out, destructive of archaeology - a disaster!	708633-708624-75751679
A desecration	708633-708624-75752962
The tunnel should start and finish outside the Stonehenge landscape.	708633-708624-75773373
It will take away the only free view most will have.	708633-708624-75773497
too short, or too tunnelled... proposed to be too quickly excavated...	708633-708624-75778959
I drive past there specifically to see Stonehenge. I don't feel it should be hidden.	708633-708624-75785184

Risky	708633-708624-75787421
It would be less intrusive	708633-708624-75792259

29 Do you know who manages Stonehenge?



30 Do you know who manages the Stonehenge landscape?



31 Is there anything else you would like to contribute?

Showing all 50 responses

Access to Stonehenge should be made far more accessible in terms of price of admission. It should be far more reasonable. Far more money should be spent on outreach in order to expand the range of activities offered and to make access, especially to school children, easier.	708633-708624-72955495
Interesting survey	708633-708624-72984072
I have been at various times in my life, as a child when we could go right up to the stones, in a private ceremony at dawn, and at the summer solstice, and a final visit with the more recent access of the distance perimeter. This last time was awful, devoid of a sense of place, I felt like we were being herded. It was really not good. I appreciate there are a vast amount of visitors, but the sense of meaning is so deeply significant for many and should be encouraged. I recognise too that many have sociopolitical meaning of freedoms and sense of identity all mixed up with access to the stones. It is indeed a very powerful symbol of sovereignty. (If you haven't yet, I suggest reading Nick Hayes' 'the bok of trespass'. I hope you find it illuminating about land access and social structures connected	708633-708624-73023239

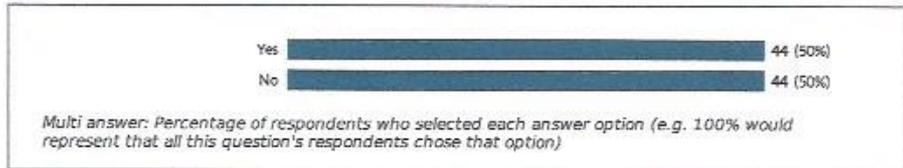
to the land in the UK.	
Closing the A342 was a pain for us locals but it has made for an enhanced experience of the Stonehenge landscape seen from the north. Having better access and experience of space from the south would be amazing.	708633-708624-73153239
I visited Stonehenge during a sunrise in March 2007 and it was one of the most memorable things I did as a tourist. I was fortunate enough to purchase a tour that allowed me to go inside the stones and touch the stones, accomplishing a lifelong dream. I was in my early 20s then and still carry that feeling forward when recalling the magic of that trip today, approaching my 40s.	708633-708624-73253578
I like the new visitor route to the stones as you get to appreciate more of the landscape then previously when you arrived near to the stones.	708633-708624-73284638
Regularly driving past S. with foreign students of heritage they were always unimpressed. Much smaller and less imposing than they expected. Often thought it was a model beside the road.	708633-708624-73291381
Stonehenge should be protected at all cost and groups who see it as sacred land should be respected and let their voice be heard. Any development that is not centred around the conservation of the land should be stopped immediately.	708633-708624-73398763
there should be access to the stones themselves	708633-708624-73444947
No	708633-708624-73463223
Festivals are too limited a view of the potential for the landscape. It's also an important habitat for plants, birds and other wildlife.	708633-708624-73557983
Shutting it away in a visitors centre diminishes the importance of the freedom behind this wonderful place	708633-708624-74527710
If we forget our culture, history and origins we cease to exist as a people. The further we move from an agrarian lifestyle the more damage we do to the world, ourselves and nature.	708633-708624-74657890
I would very much like routine public access to the monument to be restored, rather than having to book tickets to be allowed to enter it	708633-708624-75299491
Stonehenge is a unique place with ancient history and cultural value. It still remains a mystery, yet its importance can hardly be underrated. I vote against any constructions that may harm the landscape and change it forever. Living in the time when ecological catastrophe is near at hand, we should first of all appreciate our ancestors' heritage, recognize and protect it. It would have been a great miracle if anyone these days had constructed something like Stonehenge. There is still so much to observe and discover, and we cannot allow another great archaeological site be harmed. Constructions like Stonehenge are, though ancient, are extremely fragile, and one irresponsible action can wipe them off the Earth's surface, like it happened with the two enormous Buddha statues in Afganistan. Government must protect, not undermine the heritage of its country.	708633-708624-75594825
Nothing, thanks.	708633-708624-75597891
This land has been a sacred spot for longer than the country that manages it has existed it should be protected	708633-708624-75599357

Stonehenge should be accessible & unrestricted as a place of pilgrimage. Disinterested bureaucrats should not hold the keys to what little remains of our ancient holy sites. They should also not be allowed to defile them in the name of progress.	708633-708624-75605471
Very pleased it is now a World Heritage Site, let's keep it that way. Thank you for doing this research.	708633-708624-75593391
For ceremonial occasions members of official druid organisations only, it's a bucket list circus at the moment and a fashion rather than faith	708633-708624-75607383
Nope; just hope the survey goes well!	708633-708624-75613860
Ancient historical sites have been abused far more than they should. Preservation takes a backseat to modern convenience. To better understand our past and how people lived and survived on the land we now inhabit, we need the sites that to remain to continue to remain. It is hard to preserve them when things like highways and airports are built close to them. Look at the restoration and preservation steps the team at Pueblo Grande in Phoenix, Arizona had to figure out and implement to keep this vital ruin at the heart of the city. Daily air travel slowly wears away at the mound. Past improper handling of the site also made it difficult for more recent researchers to be sure of their findings. Learn from the mistakes of others - listen to those who would preserve your history - your ancient history.	708633-708624-75614494
I realise this is part of your work, however there are many more important and exciting places than Stonehenge. I think you may be reading far too much into it. Mind you, if Stonehenge focuses the attention, the other sites are left to get on with it, with their local pagans, wiccans, druids (and you left Wiccan off your list of religions btw). SS at Stonehenge is about as spiritual as a tea party with the local vicar. It's just an excuse for a party.	708633-708624-75622709
Stonehenge isn't the be all and end all. There are lots of other sites with better access and dragon energy ley lines	708633-708624-75626973
I believe that access should be free at appropriate times to those attending for spiritual purposes, outside of the horror of the solstices, which are detrimental to those who truly view the site as spiritually significant.	708633-708624-75629029
I think that we should concentrate more on the of the wildlife rich area around Stonehenge rather than looking to increase access o the area. I think the living breathing landscape is being forgotten about when really this is more important than the actual stones (important historical artefact that these are)	708633-708624-75630483
Stonehenge should be accessible to those in the faith up close but only seen to visitors from distance and kept clean and safe	708633-708624-75632081
The Stonehenge Landscape needs to be presented as a whole, and the Stonehenge site as just part of that whole. This will enable the general population to understand the objections to the work proposed in the area.	708633-708624-75632378
I consider being able to visit Stonehenge a gift to mankind. It is a sacred site and should be treated as such.	708633-708624-75634148
No	708633-708624-75638392
Stonehenge has qualities unseen by the human eyes, yet they are palpable to anyone who takes the time to be still. It is not a place for traffic and	708633-708624-75640512

to anyone who takes the time to be still. It is this a place for work and busyness. My partner and I celebrated a hand-fasting there in 2017 and it would be wonderful if ancient rituals such as this were promoted. I'm from New Zealand and would greatly appreciate greater access.	
This is a sacred site as much as any cathedral or church and should be respected as such.	708633-708624-75655302
I have visited pre and post the new visitor center and I feel alot has been taken away from this amazing site. The last time I visited it was upsetting as it was so obviously aimed at and all about commerciality, restriction of free movement and tourist foot fall. I can remember parking in the dark on the drove and being able to visit on the Winter solstice with many others, all of whom showed love and respect to the stones and its site.	708633 708624 75681282
i think that the stones should be more open for peaceful spiritual observations and visitors and pilgrims	708633-708624-75699689
I only ever went once, but it was intoxicating and enchanting.	708633-708624-75700684
Worldwide, Stonehenge is a place on people's lists, a curiosity without real personal meaning. For pagans it has meaning, but what that meaning is, is individual and muddled, and will likely have little to do with what the original users felt.	708633-708624-75700746
For some years in the late 1990s I attended the Stonehenge access meetings chaired by English Heritage. It was clear that with so many competing voices requiring such different engagements with the same site, it is likely to remain contentious for the foreseeable future. The anger of some in the Druid and Pagan communities expressed towards archaeologists and visitors at the henge have also served to drive a significant wedge between the Druid and Pagan communities and the archaeological communities to the detriment of both, but primarily of the former, since the latter have official recognition.	708633-708624-75723912
It puzzles and frustrates me why modern planning does not protect ancient monuments. Planning should not be permitted within a certain distance of any ancient monument - including major roadworks.	708633-708624-75726060
Access to the stones should be returned English Heritage use Stonehenge as a purely money making cash cow. This is wrong. Stonehenge was given to the people and the people should be able to access the sacred stones.	708633 708624 75727925
I sat on the stones as a child and it saddens me my own children have not been able to have the same experience. It makes me angry to think that this is largely a result of the Thatcher Govt's hatred of travellers, which while shocking in itself has had an impact on all of us who have any connection to the Stonehenge landscape.	708633-708624-75728701
Stonehenge is a truly special site, not the only site of prehistoric significance in the area. It should be maintained, and access should be free to everyone. History is something that should be free for all to learn, charging a premium for an open area is almost laughable.	708633-708624-75731332
A large part of my PhD thesis explores Pagan contestation. It's available from BAR under the title of Contested Heritage	708633-708624-75734732
Yes, do you think the stones should be returned to the Preseli Hills given the proof an original stone circle existed? I question whv they were taken?	708633 708624 75740426

This may be why I have felt more of a connection with Avebury than Stonehenge. Now I know why. It was not their original place.	
The site should be managed to encourage use as a contemporary temple connecting people with the environment today not just as a museum piece	708633-708624-75740628
Stonehenge is a unique sacred space. The archaeology of the site is of global importance and is extremely vulnerable.	708633-708624-75751679
Stonehenge needs to be a sacred and special site to honour ancestors.	708633-708624-75773373
I am fortunate enough to go for private ceremony, but we also go for open access, I have been enthralled with it since a boy, metmy wife there and were hand fasted there.	708633-708624-75773497
Stonehenge wants to be left alone, to pilgrims and isolated rituals, not a new mega venue.	708633-708624-75778959
It's ours, not for development or monetising	708633-708624-75785184
I visited the stones as a child when it was possible to have full access. Although memorable, the site does need protecting, sadly.	708633-708624-75792259

32 Would you be interested in being interviewed further for this project?



## **Appendix C – Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews**

### **Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interview Questions (blank)**

1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?
2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?
3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?
4. Why is Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?
5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?
6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?
7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?
8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?
9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?

## **Email Invitation Template for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews**

Dear participant,

Firstly, thank you for taking part in the JISC survey 'Stonehenge: Step into our story', it got an excellent response and is proving to be an informative data set.

You are being contacted as you expressed an interest in being interviewed further for this MRes project. Over 60 participants were interested but only 20, including yourself, were chosen.

To take part in the interviews, please see the attached document for the questions. All you need to do is fill it out with your responses and email it back to me at *tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk*

The deadline for this is **Friday, the 5<sup>th</sup> of June at 6.30pm**

If you have any questions, please feel free to email me. I look forward to reading your responses.

Best wishes,

Tabby

Tabitha Grist Parker  
Postgrad - Stonehenge's Modern Social History  
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology  
Bournemouth University  
UK

## Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews Data Set

### Participant 2

#### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

I have always loved Stonehenge, in a totally illogical and un-academic way, since a very young child. I first went aged 10 with friends, when you could still go right up to it. Since then it has been a place of wonder. Not an enormous research interest of mine, and definitely no more than occasional documentaries and books. But the spirit of the place has long been significant to me. I then went later when I could circumambulate far away from the stones and I was totally disappointed. Not a shred of magic or meaning from that dull and lifeless experience. But then in 2016 when pregnant I went to the summer solstice and wept when I first touched the stones. Later in 2018 my family and I went in at dawn for a personal experience for my 40<sup>th</sup>. This was part of a long-wished for 'tour' of sacred sites of south west England; Glastonbury, Avebury and Tintagel. I felt that Glastonbury was the heart of the land, and Stonehenge was the solar plexus, radiating magic out to the world. The jackdaws were there, it felt utterly magical again. So deeply healing and wondrous.

#### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

As expressed above, I've been only four times and the proximity to the stones has been different each time. The solstice was for me like meeting a long lost relative. So a part of my concepts of magic, ancestors, sense of land and place it is to me. I felt so calm and at utter peace, even though I was very tired. There is a massive presence there, that is easy to connect to, if there are fewer people, or who are more connected to the sense of place. Alas, mass tourism is not this. People can often be unprepared for the experience of sacred sites. Solstice didn't feel like that. Nor did the personal moment in the stones, although the 'guide' kept shouting to not touch the stone and threatening people with eviction (even though people were clearly very respectful of the rules.) It was very off putting. Especially when he said the jackdaws were blackbirds. I gently corrected him. I just wanted him to shut up. But I realized he was 'just doing his job', but his apparent lack of magical awareness and reverence was marked.

#### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

Perhaps 'mental health' is too much of a catch-all here for me as I've never been there specifically because of my mental health, but I can answer about my sense of wellbeing.

I am a Druid and have a proclivity for sacred sites. So in a way it's really important for me to go occasionally, to many other sites too, not just Stonehenge. It is a very powerful moment, when I do go, which in its own way creates enormous mental shift, from 'normal' life to 'sacred' life, with accompanying memories, which can keep my cup running over for a very long time. In short, the stones have given me humility, love, compassion and a sense of belonging. All good things. My current PhD is looking at archaeotherapy in sites. So this is something I am looking at developing for wellbeing, ancestral connection and reconnection to what we have lost in our cultural disconnect from land and people.

#### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

Good question. I've no idea, really. Perhaps because Avebury is actually people's homes in the village so it's easier to have a totally dedicated landscape like Stonehenge for English heritage to have for its own, without disturbing residents? Perhaps because it appeals to architectural fashions, better than undressed stones? Perhaps also because Avebury is more 'like the rest' of the circles, albeit enormous and within a vast complex landscape, in that it has more in common with other sites (like Long Meg and Castlerigg near where I grew up, in Cumbria) and therefore is potentially shared as a to-go place? Stonehenge is just so different. So unique. What comes first, a sense of magic or the magic humans place upon a place over time? Media frenzy? Funding? You name it!

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

I am torn. In many ways I wish there just wasn't a road there at all, so that the landscape can remain untouched. But it's there, so we have to do something about it. As both a driver on that terrible road and a worshipper at Stonehenge I see the sorrow from both sides. I hate the traffic, just as much as I hate the idea of excavating the landscape. But it needs to be done. As a field archaeologist, I have dug many human remains, and have felt the honour of handling our ancestors, from many, many eras and sites. I do not see that those buried here at Stonehenge are any more 'sacred' than anyone else. I believe that remains will be treated with the honour and respect they deserve. Plus, that road needs to be widened and hidden, it really does.

### **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

I'd keep very quiet and let the land speak.

Once the person has experienced it for themselves and if they have questions, I'd fill them in. But we need to move away from thinking that Stonehenge is anything but a sacred site, first and foremost. Then it is an historic site. But before all, it is a place of worship, so that comes first.

### **7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

No, I don't think so. It is a fascinating place. I thought the documentary about the Welsh stones was a bit of a stretch and rather jumping the gun a bit. But I do understand the 'market' as it were.

And about its importance... who judges that? If we give something importance it has importance. Like money, for instance. It's only important because we all think it is. It is just an invention by humans. Just like Stonehenge at the end of the day. If we all stopped being interested in it overnight then does it still retain its 'importance'? It is important to Druids because of its sacred nature. It is important to archaeologists because it tells us so much about the world in its history. Also because each of those archaeologists need it for their own personal stories in some way. Importance is subjective, is what I'm trying to say. Personally subjective and culturally subjective, in that it helps define edges, boundaries of sense of self and other. Living and dying, unwell and healed, here and there.

**8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

Place IS living.

**9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

Yes. I am an animist so for me all places are sacred, even the rubbish dump and the coal mine, the places that people often think are 'profane'. They are still manifestations of a living world, living beneath and around the human impact. A site like Stonehenge is first and foremost a place in the living landscape. Then it is living (albeit slowly!) stones, who are awake and alive. Rock-time is so utterly slow compared to human time. But they are alive. Then there are the human remains, the living flowers, bacteria, worms, plants, grasses, jackdaws, sparrows.... all is alive, with life and cycles of death and rebirth. The Genius Loci of the place is hard to hear and feel when surrounded by unprepared tourists, but it's there.

It's a very special sacred site, who is constantly giving. It's a very generous Genius Loci, who loves healing, loves people, loves community. It sits in the shadows and in the sunbeams, so can't be seen with the naked eye. People think you have to dig to find it, but you don't. It's there, unseen, more a feeling than a material being. But it's there. If it were a colour it'd change all the time, from darkest browns to bright yellow of the rising midwinter sun. It feels like time and space merge and swirl around you, touching on the cold stones one moment and then dancing in the air in front of your face the next. It's everywhere, elemental, earthy and solar all at once. Present and very real, perhaps more than you or I!

## **Participant 14**

### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

When I was a Child and first saw a Documentary of stone henge I believed it was part of the Legends of King Arthur and and part of the Round Table and later throught it was tied into the the Story of the final battle of King Arthur and was a gate way to Avalon

### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

Its over whelming when you first see the stone pillers up close for the first time but brings a calmness when seeing them up close

### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

Yes as it has stood the test of time even as the world around it grows and develops into new things it is good to be reminded of the past

### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

It stands alone and captures peoples hearts and imagination across the world and has been a fixture for as long as people remember

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

Really sad that people chose to save money in development that to keep History for we are going to lose more than we will ever gain

### **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

A sight to be seen that has stood the test of time for many millennia with a rich ever evolving history was it used for Druid Rituals or a Grave for a Forgotten King or Battle did UFOs use it for a Landing Zone or is it the centre of Magical energy crossing lay lines no one realy knows but its an adventure to find out

### **7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

Stone Henge will always be a focus Point as we are still learning new things about it and there are some things we may never know but its always worth hearing what people have to say about it for the more we know the more we learn I honestly believe that the more we discuss it the more we find out

### **8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

I see Stone Henge both as a place and a living thing as a place its a thing of wonder and for the modern Druids a place of worship srouded by nature to me it gives off a vibe of calm and serenity

**9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

From a young age I always believed stone henge was linked to King Arthur and Avalon and has its own Sprite that draws people to it each year and holds a magic all of its own and grows and changes with in each person who visits it.

## **Participant 31**

### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

It's an ancient relationship not bound by time or space. It is like the veils between the past and present become very thin and enable experiences not possible elsewhere. When I am physically there it strengthens the memories, I have from previous incarnations and the ceremonies performed there. In this lifetime it is very special as my partner and I held a traditional Handfasting Ceremony there.

### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

I feel many different things according to what I have come seeking. My intention and my own state of consciousness determines what I experience there. For example, I had a hand-fasting there in 2017 and I very much felt the energies of the ancient tribes who had gathered for that event. I returned a few weeks later to experience Summer Solstice at Stonehenge and this time I was more aware of the connection to the cosmic forces because I was opening to a connection between Earth and the Cosmos.

### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

Absolutely. It is like a reservoir of Peace, the Stones holding the beautiful meditations, mantra, prayers, dance, song that millions of people have anchored there.

### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

I cannot say why that would be, it makes no sense to me. Avebury is also incredibly sacred and powerful.

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

An unwise concept to undermine any sacred place on Earth. Stonehenge is a place of worship, an outdoor organic temple.

### **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

As a sacred site of immense potential to activate cellular memories of previous lifetimes on Earth. As a place to commune with unseen ancient ancestors and also with Gaia Herself. In New Zealand we consider the Stone People to be our original ancestors. Stone is akin to the bones of the Humans, which also store information.

### **7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

The sacredness has been forgotten, it has become a place of commercial exploit.

### **8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

As a living library of consciousness.

**9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

Most certainly! Stonehenge has a palpable formula of vibrational frequencies that many people can easily attune to simply by being open to that formula in their mind, body and spirit.

## **Participant 38**

### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

I have visited the site once, back in 2019. I find the history of that landscape fascinating. I have felt more moved by less famous sites, in part because of the crowds, in part because I've seen representations of Stonehenge so often that I had a good idea what to expect going into it.

### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

Not as much as I thought. The stones are impressive and the interpretive signs and recordings help one appreciate them. But the crowds dilute some of the atmosphere of ancient mystery.

### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

I'm very glad I visited, it certainly provoked some contemplation, but it wasn't lifechanging.

### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

Larger stones in a tighter grouping, with no obvious modern buildings close by. It makes for a more impressive and mysterious image.

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

Reducing the vehicular traffic in sight of the monument would be a good thing.

### **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

The short version: Stonehenge appears as concentric circles of stones, some standing over 20 feet tall. The worn and lichen-covered surfaces suggest the antiquity of the monumental pillars. The location we think of as Stonehenge was a place of regional importance for several thousand years and by different cultures. The large stones were actually a late addition, dragged some 20 miles across the plain. The smaller stones came from 150 miles away. Some of the stones marked sunrises and sunsets at certain times of the year; but what happened here can only be speculated. The site was probably a regional ritual center, possibly important on the continent. The site was probably not in regular use by the Iron Age, and it was known but not regularly used in the Middle Ages. Interest in and speculation about Stonehenge increased in the last couple of hundred years. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, various neopagan groups claim to hold Stonehenge as an important holy site.

### **7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

What attracted people from hundreds of miles for spiritual purposes now attracts people worldwide for the sake of curiosity. The cacophony of modern tourists drowns out

whatever ghosts and echoes the stones retain. It means different things to different folks. I think the ongoing research is important for working out the monument's past, but has little bearing to many visitors.

**8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

A place, with a shifting meaning.

**9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

I have not spent enough time there to determine the nature of the place. But I expect any spirituality is dilute and unfocused, much like any other tourist spot visited by the curious rather than the devoted. I felt something similar at Westminster, and my son commented on the same at Glastonbury.

## **Participant 46**

### **1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?**

To me Stonehenge is of historical interest rather than spiritual interest. I don't, for example, consider it to be my church or temple, so while I am interested in it and its origins and what it may have been used for it isn't any more spiritually important to me than other sites.

### **2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?**

It very much depends on the amount of people there. I have never felt inclined to go to Stonehenge at the solstices because it seems to me that the people there at those times are, with some exceptions, largely looking for a party rather than a spiritual experience. I did, however, go to the site late in the evening a few days after 9/11 and felt entirely different – the immediate days after 9/11 were tense, and I felt calmed by standing gazing at the stones when it was quiet.

### **3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?**

See answer to question 2 above. At that one time yes, it certainly had a positive effect. At other times it depends on the circumstance; prosaically speaking, it's often a marker on the journey to a pleasant holiday destination, which is definitely a positive. I have also visited Stonehenge with an American friend, and it was very pleasing to witness her excitement at seeing such a significant piece of history. So, apart from the one time, nothing spiritual.

### **4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?**

It's a mystery to me. Personally speaking, I think the Avebury site is even more intriguing. However, druids started turning up at Stonehenge some decades ago and brought media attention with them. Possibly Stonehenge is a bit more obvious, being on a well-known holiday route, and perhaps it's considered more impressive as it was obviously a construction of some kind, as opposed to merely being an (albeit well-placed) arrangement of rocks.

### **5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?**

I don't feel comfortable with disturbing the landscape around Stonehenge. I don't feel that the tunnel is needed in any form.

### **6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?**

I would describe it as an ancient, pre-Roman site that had a purpose which has yet to be determined. I would say that it is part of a landscape that has a good deal of tumuli, other sites (e.g. Woodhenge) and so forth and that the whole area is historically of interest. I would say that some people seem to have an obsession about it that seems beyond its actual significance. I would say that, unfortunately but because of good reasons, it is no longer possible to walk among the stones except under strict conditions.

Whilst I am a druid, I would not claim it as a druid site – the connection that the druid revivalists of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries made with ancient druids was spurious at best.

**7. Do you think that Stonehenge’s public profile eclipses its’ importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?**

I do think that it eclipses its importance – not that I know its ACTUAL importance. The United Kingdom has so many ancient sites with a mysterious history that the sharp focus on Stonehenge seems out of proportion. I don’t think we have lost the meaning of Stonehenge because I don’t think we KNOW its meaning.

**8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?**

I think it is a place rather than a living being. I do, however, believe that places used for spiritual purposes have a residual “feel” – churches, temples, stone circles etc. have a sense of place, a sense of “other” that is created and developed by the people that use them.

**9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?**

See my answer to 8 above. Yes, I do think it has a sense of genius loci. In this it is no different to a great many other spiritual places. When I DO feel that presence of the spirits – see my answer to question 2 - I would describe it as a sense of being in the presence of others, many long dead, a sense of long history where the many, many visitors have left a palpable signature.

## Thematic coding analysis example for Public Perceptions of Stonehenge Survey Interviews

### Participant 2

1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?

I have always loved Stonehenge, in a totally illogical and un-academic way, since a very young child. I first went aged 10 with friends, when you could still go right up to it. Since then it has been a place of wonder. Not an enormous research interest of mine, and definitely no more than occasional documentaries and books. But the spirit of the place has long been significant to me. I then went later when I could circumambulate far away from the stones and I was totally disappointed. Not a shred of magic or meaning from that dull and lifeless experience. But then in 2016 when pregnant I went to the summer solstice and wept when I first touched the stones. Later in 2018 my family and I went in at dawn for a personal experience for my 40<sup>th</sup>. This was part of a long-wished for 'tour' of sacred sites of south west England; Glastonbury, Avebury and Tintagel. I felt that Glastonbury was the heart of the land, and Stonehenge was the solar plexus, radiating magic out to the world. The jackdaws were there, it felt utterly magical again. So deeply healing and wondrous.

2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?

As expressed above, I've been only four times and the proximity to the stones has been different each time. The solstice was for me like meeting a long lost relative. So a part of my concepts of magic, ancestors, sense of land and place it is to me. I felt so calm and at utter peace, even though I was very tired. There is a massive presence there, that is easy to connect to, if there are fewer people, or who are more connected to the sense of place. Alas, mass tourism is not this. People can often be unprepared for the experience of sacred sites. Solstice didn't feel like that. Nor did the personal moment in the stones, although the 'guide' kept shouting to not touch the stone and threatening people with eviction (even though people were clearly very respectful of the rules.) It was very off putting. Especially when he said the jackdaws were blackbirds. I gently corrected him. I just wanted him to shut up. But I realised he was 'just doing his job', but his apparent lack of magical awareness and reverence was marked.

3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?

Perhaps 'mental health' is too much of a catch-all here for me as I've never been there specifically because of my mental health, but I can answer about my sense of wellbeing.

I am a Druid and have a proclivity for sacred sites. So in a way it's really important for me to go occasionally, to many other sites too, not just Stonehenge. It is a very powerful moment, when I do go, which in its own way creates enormous mental shift, from 'normal' life to 'sacred' life, with accompanying memories, which can keep my cup running over for a very long time.

In short, the stones have given me humility, love, compassion and a sense of belonging. All good things.

My current PhD is looking at archaeotherapy in sites. So this is something I am looking at developing for wellbeing, ancestral connection and reconnection to what we have lost in our cultural disconnect from land and people.

## **Appendix D – Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews**

### **Experiences of Stonehenge Interview Questions (blank)**

1. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?
2. How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?
3. Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?
4. Why is Stonehenge a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?
5. What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?
6. How would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?
7. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?
8. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?
9. Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?

## Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews Participant Information Sheet



### Participant Information Sheet

#### The title of the research project

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

#### Researcher

Tabby (Tabitha) Grist Parker, postgraduate Master of Research student

#### Invitation to take part

You are being invited to take part in a research project about the modern social history of Stonehenge. Before you decide whether you would like to be involved, it is important that you understand why the research is being carried out and what your role will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you would like more information or if there is anything that does not make sense, do ask us.

#### What is the purpose of the project?

This postgraduate research project focuses on Stonehenge's modern social history from 1900 to present by discussing key events such as the handover of Stonehenge to the nation, the Stonehenge Free Festivals, the Battle of the Beanfield, creation of English Heritage and Solstice gatherings. The duration of this project is 10 months and will include primary research in the form of an online survey and interviews as well as an extensive literature review. It aims to tell Stonehenge's story using a multivocal approach, including many voices in the narrative to give an unbiased view, open for interpretation. Stonehenge's role throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a crucible for social change and a contested landscape will be explored through prominent social issues like freedom to roam, classism and public access. It will look at how these issues have shaped today's Stonehenge. The project aims to be an accessible introduction to Stonehenge's

modern social history for those who wish to know more about the monument's role in society.

### **Why have I been chosen?**

The primary purpose of the interviews for this research project is to understand the social context of Stonehenge to individuals. We are looking to recruit up to 15 interview participants, who must be over the age of 16 and have connections to Stonehenge. For example, they might have grown up in the local area, have produced work about the monument or have attended the free festivals. You have been chosen as a potential participant because we thought that you would have some interesting opinions and stories about Stonehenge and would like to contribute to this project.

### **Do I have to take part?**

It is completely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a participant agreement form. We want you to understand what participation involves, before you make a decision on whether to participate.

If you or any family member have an on-going relationship with BU or the research team, e.g. as a member of staff, as student or other service user, your decision on whether to take part (or continue to take part) will not affect this relationship in any way.

### **Can I change my mind about taking part?**

Yes, you can stop participating in study activities at any time and without giving a reason.

### **If I change my mind, what happens to my information?**

If you decide to withdraw from the study, we will not collect any further information from or about you. Your data will be erased and not used in the research project.

### **What would taking part involve?**

Taking part in this research project would involve a short interview about Stonehenge, their experiences and opinions. The interview will be based on a set of questions, tailored to the individual. Due to the ongoing COVID 19 pandemic and UK lockdown, the interview will take place over Zoom, by phone or via email. If these options are not accessible to you, you will have the option of receiving the interview questions by post, which can then be filled in and returned to the researcher.

### **What are the advantages and possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?**

Whilst there are no immediate benefits to you participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will be of interest to you as it allows you the opportunity to share your personal narrative regarding Stonehenge and contribute to an account of Stonehenge's modern social history.

Whilst we do not anticipate any risks to you in taking part in this study, you will be encouraged not to incriminate yourself if disclosing any illegal or unprosecuted illegal activity during the interview. If you feel uncomfortable discussing any question during the course of the interview we can stop and come back to it or you can skip the question entirely.

### **What type of information will be sought from me and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research project's objectives?**

The interview will be about Stonehenge and your personal narrative, including experiences, stories and opinions. We want to know about your relationship with Stonehenge, it's an opportunity to tell us about your involvement with Stonehenge's modern social history. As mentioned previously, this is so we can better understand the social context of Stonehenge to individuals.

These are some examples of possible questions that the researcher could ask you:

10. Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?
11. Do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipse its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?
12. Do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?

### **Will I be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?**

The interview will be recorded if taking place via Zoom or over the phone. The recordings taken will be audio only, Zoom interviews will not be videoed. The audio recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and the transcription of the recordings by the researcher so that they can later be used for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. These recordings will be for the sole purpose of transcription and analysis and will be deleted immediately after completion of the interview transcript. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings. They will not be included in the research output.

### **How will my information be managed?**

Bournemouth University (BU) is the organisation with overall responsibility for this study and the Data Controller of your personal information, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it appropriately. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest, as part of our core function as a university.

Undertaking this research study involves collecting and/or generating information about you. We manage research data strictly in accordance with:

- Ethical requirements; and
- Current data protection laws. These control use of information about identifiable individuals, but do not apply to anonymous research data: “anonymous” means that we have either removed or not collected any pieces of data or links to other data which identify a specific person as the subject or source of a research result.

BU’s [Research Participant Privacy Notice](#) sets out more information about how we fulfil our responsibilities as a data controller and about your rights as an individual under the data protection legislation. We ask you to read this Notice so that you can fully understand the basis on which we will process your personal information.

Research data will be used only for the purposes of the study or related uses identified in the Privacy Notice or this Information Sheet. To safeguard your rights in relation to your personal information, we will use the minimum personally-identifiable information possible and control access to that data as described below.

### *Publication*

You will not be able to be identified in any external reports or publications about the research without your specific consent. Otherwise your information will only be included in these materials in an anonymous form, i.e. you will not be identifiable.

Research results may be published after the completion of the thesis, this is not yet definite.

### *Security and access controls*

BU will hold the information we collect about you in hard copy in a secure location and on a BU password protected secure network where held electronically.

Personal information which has not been anonymised will be accessed and used only by appropriate, authorised individuals and when this is necessary for the purposes of the research or another purpose identified in the Privacy Notice. This may include giving access to BU staff or others responsible for monitoring and/or audit of the study, who need to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations.

Unless you have given prior permission for your name to be included for the study, the data will be pseudonymised or anonymised before being included in the thesis. You will not therefore be able to be personally identified from the data.

### *Sharing your personal information with third parties*

Aside from the postgraduate researcher and supervisors working on the research project, your personal information will not be shared in any form with any external organisation. Third parties will not be able to access the data. Necessary works, such as transcription, will be carried out by the postgraduate researcher.

### *Further use of your information*

The information collected about you may be used in an anonymous form to support other research projects in the future and access to it in this form will not be restricted. It will not be possible for you to be identified from this data. To enable this use, anonymised data will be added to BU's online Research [Data Repository: this is](#) a central location where data is stored, which is accessible to the public.

### *Keeping your information if you withdraw from the study*

If you withdraw from active participation in the study we will keep information which we have already collected from or about you, if this has on-going relevance or value to the study. This may include your personal identifiable information. As explained above, your legal rights to access, change, delete or move this information are limited as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. However if you have concerns about how this will affect you personally, you can raise these with the research team when you withdraw from the study.

You can find out more about your rights in relation to your data and how to raise queries or complaints in our Privacy Notice.

### *Retention of research data*

**Project governance documentation**, including copies of signed **participant agreements**: we keep this documentation for a long period after completion of the research, so that we have records of how we conducted the research and who took part. The only personal information in this documentation will be your name and signature, and we will not be able to link this to any anonymised research results.

Research results:

As described above, during the course of the study we will anonymise the information we have collected about you as an individual. This means that we will not hold your personal information in identifiable form after we have completed the research activities unless you have given express permission for us to use your name in published research outputs.

You can find more specific information about retention periods for personal information in our Privacy Notice.

We keep anonymised research data indefinitely, so that it can be used for other research as described above.

### **Contact for further information**

If you have any questions or would like further information, please contact Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk) or Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of

Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269,  
ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk

*In case of complaints*

Any concerns about the study should be directed to Professor Timothy Darvill or Dr Eileen Wilkes. If your concerns have not been answered by the afore name people, you should contact Professor Tian Tian Zhang, Bournemouth University by email to [researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:researchgovernance@bournemouth.ac.uk).

**Finally**

If you decide to take part, you will be given a copy of the participant information sheet and a signed participant agreement form to keep.

Thank you for considering to take part in this research project.

# Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews Participant Agreement Form (blank)

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



## Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (36295, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant Privacy Notice which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).
I understand that taking part in the research will include the following activity/activities as part of the research:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• being interviewed about my personal experiences and opinions of Stonehenge</li><li>• being audio recorded during the project (if interviewed over Zoom or by phone)</li><li>• my words will be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs without using my real name, unless I give permission for my name to be used.</li></ul>

I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study <b>except</b> where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.	
I understand that my data may be included in an anonymised form within a dataset to be archived at BU's Online Research Data Repository.	
I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.	
	<b>Initial box to agree</b>
<b>I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)</b>	

**I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.**

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature

Once a Participant has signed, **please sign 1 copy** and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

## Experiences of Stonehenge Interview Participant Agreement Forms

Presented here in alphabetical order, some participant information has been redacted for participant privacy.

### Participant Agreement Form – Interviewee 1

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



#### Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk

To be completed prior to data collection activity

#### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (36295, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">Privacy Notice</a> which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).
I understand that taking part in the research will include the following activity/activities as part of the research: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• being interviewed about my personal experiences and opinions of Stonehenge</li><li>• being audio recorded during the project (if interviewed over Zoom or by phone)</li><li>• my words will be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs without using my real name, unless I give permission for my name to be used.</li></ul>
I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study <b>except</b> where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.
I understand that my data may be included in an anonymised form within a dataset to be archived at BU's Online Research Data Repository.



## Participant Agreement Form – Interviewee 2

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



### Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536,  
[tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269,  
[ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

#### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (36295, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">Privacy Notice</a> which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).
I understand that taking part in the research will include the following activity/activities as part of the research:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• being interviewed about my personal experiences and opinions of Stonehenge</li><li>• being audio recorded during the project (if interviewed over Zoom or by phone)</li><li>• my words will be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs without using my real name, unless I give permission for my name to be used.</li></ul>
I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study <b>except</b> where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.
I understand that my data may be included in an anonymised form within a dataset to be archived at BU's Online Research Data Repository.

Understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.

	Initial box to agree
I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)	

I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.

 (BLOCK CAPITALS)	<u>08 May 2021</u> Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Si 
<u>TABITHA GRIST PARKER</u> Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	<u>08 May 2021</u> Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	<u>Tabitha</u> Signature

Once a Participant has signed, please sign 1 copy and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

# Participant Agreement Form – Interviewee 3

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



## Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

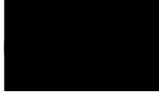
### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (36295, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant Privacy Notice which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).
I understand that taking part in the research will include the following activity/activities as part of the research:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• being interviewed about my personal experiences and opinions of Stonehenge</li><li>• being audio recorded during the project (if interviewed over Zoom or by phone)</li><li>• my words will be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs without using my real name, unless I give permission for my name to be used.</li></ul>

I understand that, if I withdraw from the study, I will also be able to withdraw my data from further use in the study <b>except</b> where my data has been anonymised (as I cannot be identified) or it will be harmful to the project to have my data removed.	
I understand that my data may be included in an anonymised form within a dataset to be archived at BU's Online Research Data Repository.	
I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.	
	Initial box to agree
I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)	

I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.

	05/05/21	
Name of participant (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	
TABITHA GRIST PARKER	05/05/21	Tabby Grist Parker
Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature

Once a Participant has signed, **please sign 1 copy** and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

# Participant Agreement Form – Interviewee 4

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



## Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (36295, version 1) and have been given access to the BU Research Participant <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">Privacy Notice</a> which sets out how we collect and use personal information ( <a href="https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy">https://www1.bournemouth.ac.uk/about/governance/access-information/data-protection-privacy</a> ).
I have had an opportunity to ask questions.
I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop participating in research activities at any time without giving a reason and I am free to decline to answer any particular question(s).
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I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.	
	Initial box to agree
I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)	

I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.

<u>[REDACTED]</u>	<u>15/05/2021</u>	<u>[REDACTED]</u>
(BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	
<u>TABITHA GRIST PARKER</u>	<u>15/05/2021</u>	<u>Tabitha Grist Parker</u>
Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature

Once a Participant has signed, please sign 1 copy and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

## Participant Agreement Form – Interviewee 5

Ref & Version: 1/TGP  
Ethics ID number: 36295  
Date: 19/02/21



### Participant Agreement Form

Full title of project:

Step into our Story: Modern Social Histories of Stonehenge, told by those who lived it

Name, position and contact details of researcher:

Tabitha Grist Parker, MRes Archaeology, [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Name, position and contact details of supervisor:

Professor Timothy Darvill (Professor of Archaeology), Bournemouth University, 01202 965536, [tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tdarvill@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Dr Eileen Wilkes (Deputy Head of Archaeology and Anthropology), Bournemouth University, 01202 961269, [ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:ewilkes@bournemouth.ac.uk)

To be completed prior to data collection activity

#### Section A: Agreement to participate in the study

You should only agree to participate in the study if you agree with all of the statements in this table and accept that participating will involve the listed activities.

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I understand that my data may be used in an anonymised form by the research team to support other research projects in the future, including future publications, reports or presentations.	
	<b>Initial box to agree</b>
<b>I consent to take part in the project on the basis set out above (Section A)</b>	

**I confirm my agreement to take part in the project on the basis set out above.**

	24/05/21	
Name of participant (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature
TABITHA GRIST PARKER	24/05/21	Tabby Grist Parker
Name of researcher (BLOCK CAPITALS)	Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Signature

Once a Participant has signed, **please sign 1 copy** and take 2 photocopies:

- Original kept in the local investigator's file
- 1 copy to be kept by the participant (including a copy of PI Sheet)

## **Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews Interview Transcripts**

Some information has been redacted from the Experiences of Stonehenge interview transcripts to protect the participants' privacy.

### **Transcript 1 – Interviewee 1**

Interview Details:

Interviewer:

Tabitha Grist Parker (T)

Interviewee:

Interviewee 1

Date:

23rd June 2021

Location:

In person, socially distanced, outside and in accordance with the UK Covid guidelines at the time of the interview

Duration of interview:

51 minutes, 43 seconds

Please note, this has been edited for clarity where necessary. There was construction happening further down the road, so it was sometimes hard to hear what Chris was saying. This interview does contain drug references, swearing and 2 slurs.

#### **The Interview:**

T: So [question one], 'Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?'

Interviewee 1: It's a big part of my life in my prime, you know it's where I met the people who I was looking to meet, it's where I grew up really you know – I matured there. I also became (laughs) quite immature there as well, it was a positive and negative effect on it in a lot of ways. But overall it was a positive effect, it changed my life.

T: For the better?

Interviewee 1: For the better, yeah. It opened me up.

T: Yeah. That's cool. Um, yeah. [question two] How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge? Like, what would you describe like your emotions? Like maybe back then or when you go?

Interviewee 1: The stones itself I found when there's a lot of people there and there was the druids there and Sid Rawle and his tribe. I didn't find any magic at all, I found it dead, I found it used. I found it like a shopping mall, like a desiccated temple you know?

T: Okay, yeah. Sort of like commercial?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, there was no energy there. When I was actually at the gatherings in the fields in the festivals. That was a totally different matter. But the people who I were with initially, were drawn there by Stonehenge. Later on the festival developed...

T: Yeah

Interviewee 1: But initially in the early days in the in the 70s. Late 60s, we were there for the stones. I never really got much from the stones but I did viewing them in the whole area. The plain itself, the hard chalk ground, the clouds, the weather systems. That's the spiritual effect of it, the whole area had a bigger spiritual effect on me than just the stones because I knew that the stones have been rearranged and knocked about figured out for millennia. So I didn't really have that spiritual awakening from it.

T: From the stones but from the landscape around them?

Interviewee 1: But from the landscape around them yes, and I've spent a lot of time you know, wandering around there and sat on those barrows as well, you know the round barrows. And during winter I used to go at the winter solstice as well, and well I went the spring and autumn ones as well, when I was younger. And the changing of the landscape and the changing of the climate and the changing of all it, that's the magic of it you know?

T: Yeah

Interviewee 1: The stones themselves are kind of just a signpost? You know? There's no sort of great... I've been round places where there's wells –

T: Like, holy wells?

Interviewee 1: Yes Yeah. And you actually do get some solid sense in there and uh I find Glastonbury Tor dead but the well there, the chalice well is, I find something from that. So I do get a spiritual feeling in places and some of the stone circles on Dartmoor, there's something about them as well. Yeah.

T: Definitely, that's really interesting so next question is [question 3] do you think it [Stonehenge] has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing like, do you feel like happy and sort of like well within yourself when you're in the Stonehenge landscape?

Interviewee 1: The landscape oh yeah. Definitely. We feel real. You feel part of life. You feel part of the landscape.

T: Yeah, definitely. I think it's that sort of sense of like, it feels very old, like something ancient.

Interviewee 1: Yeah, it's continuous.

T: Yeah. So [question 4] Stonehenge always seems to come up in in the media. And like, why do you think it's like a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury? Because it seems to get a lot of press compared to Avebury.

Interviewee 1: I think just because of the structure itself. Its monolithic structure. There isn't anything like anywhere else in the world, there's plenty of standing stones all over the world –

My loud son here [Interviewee 1's son pulls up blasting 'Proud Mary'] (both laugh)

T: That's really cool, um what do you reckon about What do you reckon about the Stonehenge tunnel development? Like the A303 and that lot? [question 5]

Interviewee 1: It's gonna be destructive to the archaeology but also it will take the cars away you know?

T: Yeah

Interviewee 1: I don't think they've – I think they could have done a better job on it – it seems like a bit of a compromise to me you know

T: Um yeah, but it removes the cars and will that make the landscape more interesting? – Hiya, you alright? [to Interviewee 1's son]

[quick chat between Interviewee 1, T and Interviewee 1's son]

Interviewee 1's son: I remember when I was very very little, sitting on the stones.

T: Yeah. How would you explain Stonehenge in its history, someone who has never been like, if you could say in a nutshell, like Stonehenge is this? [question 6] What would you say? It's a bit of a question isn't it. It's quite hard to describe.

Interviewee 1: Yeah well I could try and say so it's the British pyramids, but you know, it's more than that isn't it. [long pause] It's alien to anything that exists in this country, at the moment, it's um it is a time signifier. It is that link. You know, there's - there's nothing like it. You know it's silhouette is incomparable and it's – it give me a sense of continuity – it's that time between the ancient past and the people and as we are now – and the future.

T: Yeah, would you say it's kind of ageless then in that respect? Or do you think it's set in its time?

Interviewee 1: I think the idea of it is ageless. It's what people do with it. Well, that's all part of the it -all part of the change.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: But um being romantic I would prefer to just leave it alone. So I would prefer not to let people in it at all. Yeah. You know, priests, hippies, anybody? Just leave it? Some guy go around and cut the grass or put some sheep on it, that'll do it.

T: It's a bit manicured, isn't it? I do find that weird with the cutting the grass thing. It's just like, just see what happens. Just leave it maybe? Yeah, definitely. [question 7] Do you think the Stonehenge's public profile eclipses it's important. Like, because, because it's always been talked about, do you think we sort of lose the meaning of what actually

is? Like it's all it's always in the news and stuff, but it is a stone circle at the end of it. What do you reckon?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, yes, people use it as a symbol for all sorts of things. Using it as a symbol of oppression and control with a barbed wire fence and that. Everyone can jump on a bandwagon and use it as a label. Yeah. Which its meaning to me is beyond that. It's politicised isn't it? I mean, it always has. I mean the druids took it over didn't they? You know, they weren't around 5000 years ago.

T: Yeah. I mean, yeah, it's been around for 5000 years, hasn't it? But I think recently, you're definitely starting to see some patterns of like, people claiming it as their own and stuff

Interviewee 1: They have been doing that for 5000 years! I mean it was a wood before that, and there's Wood henge down the road as well, the whole area has been claimed and reclaimed. The military have got it now.

T: Um, yeah, these last two questions are sort of interlinked. But have you heard a genius loci? Yeah. Yeah. You know, like that sort of sense of like, everything has its own being/

Interviewee 1: Yeah.

T: Um, [question 8], so do you see Stonehenge as a living thing? Or like a place?

Interviewee 1: I see the landscape as a place. The stones itself is a marker.

T: A sort of a marker for that landscape?

Interviewee 1: Yeah and a marker for a festive place, to enjoy, to mourn.

T: Okay. So it's sort of like it's, it's the same thing, but rather than being a living thing, it's a marker in a landscape?

Interviewee 1: When people want to express themselves, tribally. Tribally, let's stick to that. They look for some place where they can mingle, you know, and possibly add to as well and add their own voice to you know, add their own label to as well. And Stonehenge has become like that over the years.

T: Yeah

Interviewee 1: You know, from protest groups, to Druids to Sid Rawles and his hippies which was all about land reclamation. You know, taking the land back to the people. Not communism, but uh –

T: And what did he do? I've come across him before.

Interviewee 1: there's quite a bit about him in that book [HC lent me a book on the Stonehenge Free Festivals]

T: Yeah, I'll have a look through.

Interviewee 1: I've met him a few times, he is one of these guys. Some people call him charismatic. I called him an arrogant fat pig. He was very dominating and loved attention. He loved the sound of his own voice. And he loved organising people. And he wanted to basically - he believed that the land belonged to everybody and you should be able to use it as you wish.

T: Okay. Yeah.

Interviewee 1: Within reason. I mean, there is far - for sure – he didn't advocate taking over farms, lots of farms and lots of government councils. And lots and lots of spare land. Which we could give that to the people. And John Lennon bought him an island. And him and a group of friends went up there and survived the winter! But packed it in because of various quarrels.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: And him and a guy called Ube Dwyo [audio unclear, this name could be misspelt]. They went and formed the Windsor Free Festivals. And a guy called Wally Hope. And after the Windsor Free Festivals, he decided to go to Stonehenge to follow up on the peoples' meeting place. Yeah. And Sid came along a year later, and basically took it over.

T: Okay. So Wally Hope was actually the one that started the Stonehenge free festivals?

Interviewee 1: Yeah and his ashes – do you know about Wally Hope?

T: Yeah, where did his ashes actually go?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, someone's still got them actually, and they're being passed down through the generations. The last I saw of them was some sort Steampunk guy who had them.

T: Oh okay, that's quite nice though if he's still going to all the festivals.

Interviewee 1: Yeah, ah he would have been there yesterday, in his little box. I don't think there's much left in the box, actually. But yeah, that was always a focal point.

T: That's very cool.

Interviewee 1: And it was also of course, Celtic ritual, mumbo jumbo. I was initiated as a witch. Quite a while back. And I got fed up of all that. After a few types of LSD and magic mushrooms and all that sort of stuff. I got quite cynical about it. But I've always believed in the sort of spiritual magic, but not so much in mystic. It's fine. It was Sid and his cohorts – they really liked a ritual, a good ritual. And they really liked a hierarchy.

T: That's interesting, because it sort of seems like the whole point of the Stonehenge free festivals was to, you know, basically be like, bun Thatcher [slang for forget that, i.e., forget Thatcher], we're going to go do our own thing. And it's not meant to have a hierarchy, you know, but it seems like it turned into one?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, well interesting things happened. Sid's voice is very loud amongst a small group of his, but the people who actually got things done was the Convoy. Sid went to Tipi Valley [alternative commune in Wales, still going today, set up in 1975. See bibliography for further details]. And he set up Tipi Valley. Sid never sets anything up, Sid always takes over things over basically. Sid's always with the press, Sid's always organising. But he'll take over something that's going ahead. And he - a group of them, travel round in buses. Rather than just going all together because they lived in the same area and travelled together. And in the 70s, there was the first free festivals, the Albion fairs. There was quite a movement of this spirituality which came out the hippies you know, British hippies, American hippies, you know, looking back in life past for some meaning, you know?

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: Trying to get some spiritual awakening through gatherings of people, through music and drugs were involved in it an awful lot. Bit of marijuana, bit of LSD. Nothing heavy you know? But the um, the festival itself, at Stonehenge – that came from boys in London coming out and bringing stages, because they wanted to play music.

T: Okay, cool, yeah.

Interviewee 1: And with them, came other guys as well. Er, Bumpy and a few mates of mine who had trucks you know, and mechanics and they were into – doing things. Making sculptures, creating things, they were into creating happenings and er – more diversity you know? Anything that came into their head, they'd try to do it. Um, I'm not explaining it too well.

T: A sort of creative hub? Like where things are going on, you could do things?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, yeah.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 1: Um, that attracted a lot of people, a lot of bands came, a lot of different stages came as well. And we decided, at the end of this phase, all the knowledge people, creative people, basically got together. And said, now we'll go to the next festival. So that's how the Convoy started. There was always political elements, there's always people who were trying to make it political. Some of the voices you hear on YouTube, some of the older guys – they were there but they never took traction because most of the people just wanted to um – 'Wow!' experience something new and find themselves. You didn't want that [the politics]. And it's the same as well, a lot of people trying to push the spirituality out there as well, you know? But it was so divergent, what do you mean by that? Like yeah, we dig the stones. And the landscape is fine, we can get that. But we don't really want to you're your procession, you know, and we don't really want to be dictated by your rhythms and your rituals, you know.

T: Hmm, so it was sort of like a group of people coming together, but everyone has different ideas. And some people wanted to be political, and some didn't. And was that like, did it cause arguments like? Did it mean people fractured off?

Interviewee 1: No, there was no arguments, it just meant the people – there were so many of us, it just meant that for once, the people who had the loudest voice and dressed up louder, came off the worst. For once.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: Which was because people saw them for what they were. And that's the magic of the place, that's fantastic. It doesn't usually happen – it usually happens the other way around – and the people generally got on. A lot of magic happened like that. People coming together like that - the Convoy happened. A group of people. So a group of buses came out and lined up. Just through word of mouth. And suddenly there was 200 buses there. It was anywhere we were going. And it was like, well, we've been invited to Greenham Common [Women's Peace Camp at RAF Greenham Common, Berkshire, to protest the nuclear weapons being stored there]. So that's a bit political, but it'll be a laugh, won't it? So we all went to Greenham Common. And that was the first sort of Convoy.

T: Yeah, and then was it like?

Interviewee 1: Well that wasn't – there was people who put 'Peace Convoy' on the trucks and did things like that.

T: Was it a Peace Convoy? Or was it just called the Convoy? I couldn't work that out.

It was all a laugh, all a laugh. We all did it – all right, you know, you want to name us, okay.

T: Yeah, like, whatever.

Interviewee 1: You want to give us a reason for doing this? Okay, go make it up. Do you want you want. We had reporters down there and you know, we had a game called Gun Convoy [audio unclear, think this is what Hairy Chris said] so we had t shirts made, Gun Convoy written on it, stuff like that.

T: Cool.

Interviewee 1: Trouble is, we was all taking things as a laugh but the fact was the government wasn't. They thought we were something else, they thought we were a bunch of anarchists, you know. They needed us to be trashed. Some of the rhetoric you hear coming out of the Chief Constable in Wiltshire at the time was appalling.

T: Okay, um was that sort of around the time of the White Elephant Fairs? Would you say?

Interviewee 1: Yeah! The White Elephant Fairs, yeah. From the 70s onwards.

T: Yeah, just wanted to check that.

Interviewee 1: Yeah all that built up. All that built up to 1984. It started about 1972. There was people at Stonehenge at 1972.

T: So when did it finish at Stonehenge? Because there was the Battle of the Beanfield wasn't there?

Interviewee 1: It finished in 1984 at Nostell Priory [The Peace Convoy got ambushed by the police there in 1984]. That's where most people were. Sid and his cohorts had given up a few years before. Because they realised that it was too much for them, it was too big for them.

T: It'd become too much of a big thing?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, they were very good taking over small groups. But the people who basically organised it was the Convoy. Because we had the vehicles. And we had the stalls. And we arranged water runs, stage lighting, fuel. We gave a lot of it away – made a lot of money on drugs - but we gave it all away. Put it all back. Tires and things like that, gave it away. There's no organisation as such.

T: Mhm, it was just the focus of we're gonna put on a festival here? Let's get it done and then move on?

Interviewee 1: It was like, ah it's June, let's go to Stonehenge. The last ones was the Convoy, before that it was usually a question of - before 1982 it was generally Sid who went and took the ground [for the free festival]. Followed by the lads from London, who had all the stages, and Southampton. They had all the stuff. After that, it was the lads from London, who started to winter together. You know, we'd do the festivals and then we go back to the cities and towns. But after about 1982/1983 we wintered together. It became more of an entity. One tribe.

T: So 1972-1984 wasn't it? Was the Stonehenge festivals. And then it was the Battle of the Beanfield. And then it was like that thing of like, managed access, after that, but not for a while.

Interviewee 1: Well they didn't have the numbers and didn't know what they were doing. From the 80s, it was prescribed that they didn't want us there, they tried to do everything to not let us in. But in 1983 every, we just drove straight on. You know, early morning and things. Got them unawares. Just drove straight on to the land. Which was the 1<sup>st</sup> of June I think?

T: So early, as the summer solstice is around the 21<sup>st</sup>.

Interviewee 1: Yeah early, we took it early, because we were self-contained by then. And the same in '74. '75 they – Sid was always a negotiator. With English Heritage, and used to be the National Trust [Stonehenge] but English Heritage took it over, one they took it over, they realised they can make some bloody money out of it.

T: Yeah. But at the time, it was part of the government now it's a charity, isn't it?

Interviewee 1: Yeah. National Trust couldn't be bothered. And the government couldn't be bothered, as long as they kept it [the free festivals] away from Windsor Great Park.

T: Where the Queen is right.

Interviewee 1: Yeah oh yeah, you'll get a good history out of it from that book [HC lent me a book on the free festivals].

T: Yeah, I'll have a read. It's hard to find sources for the free festivals. So [question nine] was basically like genius loci - do you reckon Stonehenge has its' own sense of it? Because we kind of covered it, didn't we, with the stones where you said they didn't have any sort of magic.

Interviewee 1: Not to me, no. But to a lot of people, it does. The landscape does.

T: So it's a distinction between the stones and the Stonehenge landscape?

Interviewee 1: Stonehenge is part of it, you could call it the centre of it. But if you go and sit on those mounds, the round mounds up there. And you look over towards Larkhill. And then you look at the stones, and past them as well, and you can see the mounds, you can see for quite a while. The sky is immense, and the plain. That's where you can feel something, you know?

T: Yeah, that's cool. I think the landscape is so interesting, isn't it, you can get so much from it around the stones.

Interviewee 1: A few years ago, six years ago, I went over there. And we ended up in this carpark miles away from it, and they herded us all into a long column, walked about a mile to Stonehenge and when we got there, I ran off. I ran off towards the mounds. And these coppers [security] came chasing after me, they were so angry. You know, what are they talking about?: 'get back in here'. So, all that's gone [the feelings HC had in the Stonehenge landscape]. When it's taken over like that, you've lost it completely. I think everyone should forget about it for 1000 years.

T: Yeah. Do you think the time of the free festivals was a combination of everything? A different time? Obviously, it's changed a lot, but do you think it [the free festivals] could happen again?

Interviewee 1: Oh, yeah. Yeah. I think if people could get it together, and put a few festivals on, I think all this control nonsense would disappear. Because the government – they realised it wasn't such a threat. But it's been turned into something now, it's control freak now you know?

T: Interesting. Stonehenge is a controlled environment now isn't it? Compared to back then. Yeah. Is there anything else you wanted to add? Like anything come to mind?

Interviewee 1: No, I don't think so. If we hadn't gone up - we went up north, the Convoy went up north in 1984 after Stonehenge. Um because there was a big festival in Cumbria. And we stayed at a place called Pickup Bank and we had a festival there. Because we had marquees and generators, we just put up a festival. And they liked us up there, so we thought we'd do it for them because there's nothing going on there.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: So we used to go quite far up north and give them something.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: But they didn't particularly like us [the police] because of the minor strike was going on at the time. up there.

T: Oh yeah, at the time, there was a lot of police presence there.

Interviewee 1: Yeah, there was loads and loads of police presence. And it was Thames Valley police who don't like the Convoy. Never liked us. And it was a good excuse for them to capture us basically. And they ushered us into – I'll tell you a little story –

T: Yeah go for it.

Interviewee 1: I was at Pickup Bank, and I come back to Bath, got a train back to sort some stuff out. And I went back up, near Bury – and I got there and Caz had gone. The main Convoy had gone up to this festival in Cumbria. And there was a couple of lads there n I said where they gone? And they said they've gone up to Cumbria but we've heard now that they're on their way down to Nostell Priory. The miners had invited us down there.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: So I didn't know where the Convoy was. So I went to the police station cos I thought, if anyone know what's going on the police will, cos they keep checking up on us. So I went to Hebden bridge, right. And there was a small gathering of people there. Because there was people all over the place, not just the Convoy. And this guy said he was a counsellor. And he says, I know where they are. I said, Come with me. And we jumped into a car. We drove up to this route. And we came across the Convoy who were just parked up and I told Roger who was in the lead coach and as high as a kite, that this guy was a counsellor; and he'd help us get through the traffic system into Nostell Priory. So I just said, yeah, so I jumped in the car with this counsellor, who I later found out wasn't he was Special Branch [police] but never mind.

T: Ah that's a shame isn't it?!

(both laugh)

Interviewee 1: I had taken a lot of mushrooms that day, so had everyone else mind. All over the place. He was very nice.

T: Yeah, he's gotta be though, that's his job innit?

Interviewee 1: So, following this guy in his car. The Convoy drove right through Sheffield straight to Nostell Priory where the gates was wide open. The gates were open, we drove straight in. And the gates close behind us. And we were walled basically. And there was 700 police camped outside cos of the miner's strike. They didn't want a confrontation with us. And we didn't want a confrontation with them. So they said when you going to pack up and we said we'd pack up on the Wednesday after the festival finished. So that's fine. And we were going to do this. But apparently Thatcher and her lot – you don't back down from these people, so they were ordered to go in there and trash it. So, the next day they came in and they broke everything, all the buses, they arrested us all. They arrested me for criminal or antisocial behaviour – it was abusive language or something like that. They held us for 2 days in Leeds and

Sheffield, Doncaster, all the police stations. And took a few guys out who had warrants against them. And then they let us go because they had to and we had a lot of people fighting our case, and we went back to Nostell Priory. All the vehicles smashed to smithereens. And there was a lot of guys who come out there said to help us – but they weren't. They'd just come out to rob us basically. Because the word went around the Convoy is finished. So all these little pikeys came out to help themselves. So we fixed up the vehicles as much as we could. And we went to a place called Killamarsh, which is just outside Sheffield, and known by the Convoy. And then from there, we gained a bit of strength because then we moved to Hay-on-Wye.

T: Oh, yeah. So you were sort of working your way back down to this area?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, yeah. Well we wanted somewhere safe.

T: Yeah for sure, and out of the way of the miner's strike.

Interviewee 1: Yeah, and that was about November [Hay-on-Wye]. Then I came back down to [REDACTED] and built a Bender [tent with hazel poles and canvas tarp].

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: And a lot of the lads went to Spain, France – had enough of it basically and went off.

T: Yeah. So that was 1984? Before the Battle of the Beanfield? So that wasn't Convoy?

Interviewee 1: Nah, the boys who came out of the Beanfield, there was one or two lads there. But it was mainly the stages from London guys, and things like that.

They didn't have the experience and they didn't have the weight. Had a big convoy, but it was all young kids basically. In the Convoy, there was guys of about 40, I was about 30. They were all about my age, even 50, 60.

T: So you were older, whereas like the Beanfield was much younger people coming down from London and stuff?

Interviewee 1: And a different mentality as well. As it developed, there was a lot of hard drugs, a lot of speed, a lot of early um, early rave scenes. And that element was at the Beanfield who got trashed. There was some nice guys at the Beanfield, there was Phil. But Phil was always um, he was never really, he was with us, in the Convoy circle, but he didn't really travel with us.

T: So he just went to the festivals?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, and there was a lot of other groups like that as well, you know? We went to all the festivals, the hardcore of it throughout the year, cos we kept getting invited to these places. Because we had marquees and we had lorries and we could do water runs and so on. We had stalls and things, we had food, wholefood stores, everything from beer to rice, you know. Rum, tobacco, to LSD, you know.

T: Yeah, the whole set up basically?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, lighting, music, everything.

T: So it was a different group at the Beanfield?

Interviewee 1: Yeah.

T: Yeah, I think it's a very interesting part of the history of Stonehenge because you can see how it begins to change, with barriers going up and everything.

Interviewee 1: We wouldn't have taken that route. You don't take that route out from London.

T: Which one? The Beanfield one?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, they all got into a convoy and drove out from London, in one direct route straight to Stonehenge. When we come out from Salisbury Grove, at the um

—

T: Drivers' path?

Interviewee 1: Yeah we used to camp up there for the winter. We came out of it, few at a time, at night, and we got there, you know? Two o'clock in the morning, three o'clock in the morning, and from different directions. We didn't come from London. They had a convoy all together. And 30 miles away from, 40 miles away from Stonehenge. Saying, look, we're going to take the stones, all these young kids, we're going to take the stones. And, in front of them, they had this massive police presence, they weren't gonna let them through. That's not the way you do it.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: They [police] tried to stop us getting into Greenham Common. You just go round them. You go round. We have walkie talkies on the Convoy. We had outriders. We had guys on motorbikes, guys in jeeps. We were organised. We had maps, we'd planned it.

T: So you'd dissipate basically? Like, for Stonehenge, you'd all take the smaller roads and go like 2 at a time? Then all meet there.

Interviewee 1: At night.

T: Okay, that's was really interesting. That's cool, from what I've read, it always seems like, it's the 'Peace Convoy' at the Beanfield, but if it was someone completely different, that might explain why it went wrong?

Interviewee 1: It was, if they'd got there and set up. Well, the remnants of the Convoy would have taken it over again. But they would've got taken over by gangsters. The Hells Angels [motorbike gang, known for violent behaviour] tried to take us over, we basically fought them off. We didn't have to fight them off. We sat down with them. And we talked and they agreed to back off – that's experienced people there [in the Convoy], people that have been travelling all over the world and spent you know, years living in [audio unintelligible, presume HC is talking about hippie communes] and they had a lot of connection with the spiritual side of it.

T: Well there's like the hippie trails in the 60s and stuff coming off the back of that isn't there?

Interviewee 1: Yeah, the one thing about the Beanfield, was that there was some guys like that there. But the main lot, I feel sorry for them. I mean, there were young women and young men with young kids.

T: Yeah, exactly.

Interviewee 1: The kids in the Convoy were 13, 14, 15, you know. I mean they'd been on the Convoy, the kids in the Beanfield, but they weren't the core. Alex was our leader.

T: Alex?

Interviewee 1: He's dead now. He never admitted to being the leader but he was the man. We used to get together and he had a massive bender. And he controlled all the drugs. Not just drugs, jewellery, anything. Buy anything and sell anything, and then he'd give it all away. And then there was Spider and Pikey Pete and Tai Chi. And I worked with Tai Chi. And it was a sort of like, oh, where should we go? Now? You know? And people would come up with different ideas. And it was sort of, okay, we'll do that then. Gone find out how many vehicles, who's coming, how many vehicles need attention, what about petrol what about water? We need to do a water run first. We just can't turn up there without any water. Big jerry cans of water, to come on the back of the flatbeds. Get all the tarps up and everything. All take it down. all at the same time. Who needs fuel? Get everyone fuelled up - engines worked on, yeah?

T: So it was a very organized system of setting up these free festivals?

Interviewee 1: Yeah.

T: Because you're basically holed up in that area. Once you're there, you're there.

Interviewee 1: Yeah. We'd decide where to go after the party had finished. We keep it very very quiet, like there wasn't anybody trying to actually organise it, but a lot of people thought they was organising it. Sid [Sid Rawles] did, but he wasn't [chuckles]. Sid did in the early part of it. I mean - we had to deal with the gangsters - Sid got caught by some gangsters coming out of Stonehenge because he basically put it out that he was the King of the Convoy.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 1: And the Convoy came down and trashed all these ice cream vans which was selling smack [heroin]. So yeah we did things like that.

T: Yeah, because I'd heard other stuff was allowed but smack, absolutely not. Like it's not gonna come into the free festivals.

Interviewee 1: Yeah you don't sell hard drugs, and that's it. You don't really sell much, right. And if you are selling something you keep it bloody quiet. We didn't like all that. There was a lot of guys taking hard drugs, they'd been some addicts there, I knew some

addicts. They didn't go around selling it you know you're always gonna get addicts, but it's when the elements came out the cities and the gangsters came in and tried to use it as a marketplace, yeah. So we trashed them. Sid because he was brandishing his name all over the place, he got cornered by these - these guys who'd shown up with sawn-off shotguns at the road, and managed to get away from them. We got some guys came in and raided a tent which was knocking out cocaine. And they got trashed with that. You know? Things like that, we pleased ourselves.

T: Yeah. I think that might be everything, I've done the questions and we've chatted about it. And you're okay to just have Chris, isn't it?

Interviewee 1: Yeah – put Hairy Chris if you put it out there.

T: Sure, well these interviews for my thesis, I'm keeping, you know, first names, because of drug use and stuff like that.

## **Transcript 2 – Interviewee 2**

Interview Details:

Interviewer:

Tabitha Grist Parker (T)

Interviewee:

Interviewee 2

Date:

8th May 2021

Location:

In person, socially distanced and in accordance with the UK Covid guidelines at the time of the interview

Duration of interview:

35 minutes, 19 seconds

Please note, this has been edited for clarity

### **The Interview:**

T: Okay, so starting with the participant questions [question one] so can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge? Does it hold an important place in your life?

Interviewee 2: No, I don't think it does. It was always, an interesting bit of British history.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: But I think I only got involved with Stonehenge by accident rather than design. You know, if I'd been living in a different part of the country, I'd probably might have seen it once. But of course, living down here. I've seen it quite regularly.

T: Okay, cool. And whereabouts did you live at the time?

Interviewee 2: Well, pretty much where we're living now. Sort of just south of [REDACTED] I suppose. Though my parents had a cottage a bit further along the A303, a place called [REDACTED], so we used to pass Stonehenge in the car, on the way down there. That was, you know, before it was 'fenced in' for want of a better term. So you were pleased to it, I mean, partly because you knew you were almost at the cottage so you could get out of the car!

T: Yeah, I've found like, it's a sort of destination marker for a lot of people, you know, halfway between places.

Interviewee 2: Yeah, you know where you are.

T: Yeah. [question two] How do you feel when you're at Stonehenge? I don't know, when was the last time you were there?

Interviewee 2: I mean, I've been past it quite a few times recently. I keep meaning to actually go and have a look, you know, with the new visitor centre now, just to see what they've got. The last time I went to the stones was for work [Jim worked for the BBC], probably about '97, I suppose. When they sort of, let us in with the cameras to prove that there wasn't anybody else there so we could walk around. So it was interesting.

T: Was that for Solstice time?

Interviewee 2; Yeah, that was for Solstice time, you know, when they were doing er - yes, it was prior to them allowing anybody there over Solstice, I now know they open it on Solstice to let people in. But at the time, I think due partly to the problems they'd had with the free festival, etc. It was just all shut. But they let us go there to prove that it was shut. So the idea being that anybody who saw the news would see that they would not be allowed to go.

T: Yeah, definitely. Um, [question three] do you think being that has a positive effect on your mental well-being, like being in the countryside?

Interviewee 2: Er - I do like, Neolithic stuff. You know, we went up to the Orkneys quite recently, and went round a lot of the famous ones there. And we have a long barrel quite close to us. So I find it of interest that it is so old. But how much of an affinity to it? Not really, I don't think.

T: Okay, so [question four], why do you think Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?

Interviewee 2: Urm, well –

T: Well if you think that.

Interviewee 2: Well it possibly is, because partly because of all the trouble they had back in the 80s. And you know, bad news is good for the media. So they always feel that there might be a repeat of that. And I think it's, you know, it has become the major focal point for a lot of people over and above Avebury. I mean, I like Avebury myself, I suppose it's slightly spoilt by the fact that you've got a road going right through the middle of it, whereas Stonehenge is actually off the road. But they're both pretty spectacular.

T: Yeah. No, it's cool.

Interviewee 2: It also has to be said there's not really anything else that I'm aware of that is like Stonehenge. You know, you have other stone circles and things. But, you know, Stonehenge seems to be complete with its' cross lintels and things. There doesn't really seem to be anything else in the world like it - that I'm aware of, anyway.

T: Yeah, [question five], what do you think about the Stonehenge tunnel development?

Interviewee 2: Er – I personally think it's quite a good idea. Just because that is an awful bottleneck there. And even though it'd be nice for there to be less traffic there, I can't realistically see that happening.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And I think a tunnel would be quite good. Okay, it might damage some of it. But if you don't dig it, you won't know will you really? They can do the archaeological surveys while they're doing it. So, I think it'd be the lesser of two evils really.

T: Okay. And also, you'll get the landscape, hopefully.

Interviewee 2: Yeah yeah, you should get a fantastic landscape.

T: Okay, cool. So [question six] how would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been? Like, if you could do it in a nutshell.

Interviewee 2: Um, I would just say how old it is, in that it's, you know, 3000 years ago, and there's not, there's very little else about it. That you know, of a similar age in the world if you see what I mean. And it's fascinating, but people don't really - there's lots of guesses as to why it was built, and who built it, and so on and so forth. But the bottom line is, nobody really knows. So it's an enigma. You know, people are always interested in mysteries.

T: Yeah, definitely.

Interviewee 2: And it's a spectacular landscape. So if you haven't seen it, you know, it is worth going to see. Even if you're not at all interested, it's, you know, I think you'd be hard pushed to walk away saying that's boring.

T: Yeah (laughs)

Interviewee 2: Yeah. But the second time, not the first!

T: So it's a bit similar to question four. But [question seven] do you think that Stonehenge's public profile sort of eclipses its importance? Like, do we lose the meaning because it's always being discussed?

Interviewee 2: Err - yes, difficult one to answer really. I mean, Stonehenge was, for a long time, up until the second world war - people weren't really that interested in it, you know, there wasn't a public interest. You know, they knew it was there; but they thought it was all just something old and not very interesting. All the sort of publicity is really come in in the last 40 years, I suppose.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And it is very important, because it is so old. But the trouble is with modern ages is to rather flatten, you know, anything and make it new. You know, I mean, this is the problem with the bypass, is that it might damage it. But I think on the whole it'd be better to have it than not have it. And at Stonehenge it's quite important really.

T: Yeah. So these last two questions, it's to do with genius loci, like, you know, when you walk into a house it has its own character. So [question eight] do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?

Interviewee 2: Err – I think it's slightly a living thing, because you can go there er - I remember being there seeing dawn on Solstice day. And it was very spectacular, partly because I don't often see dawn anyway.

T: Yeah

(both laugh)

Interviewee 2: But you know it was a perfect midsummer's morning, you know, with the mist and this golden glow on the stones. It was - you know, you can see why people get very excited about it. But um -

T: Yeah, so you're sort of in-between it being a landmark and a place of its own?

Interviewee 2: Yeah.

Yeah, say so. So in between being a landmark, so please say

T: Yeah, that's cool. So, last question from the participant questions [question nine] do you think that Stonehenge has its' own sense of genius loci? Like how would you describe it?

[pause in conversation]

T: It's quite tricky.

Interviewee 2: Well, I like to think of it as a - as a point that travels through time really, there's always this thing, this will have the same reaction in the future as in the past, so it is a nice erm just a chance to think of things in a longer-term scale. You know, I'm quite keen on astronomy and looking at stars, you're quite often looking at things that, you know, are sort of several hundred - the light you're seeing happened several hundred years ago.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And Stonehenge is a bit the same. It makes you aware of the shortness of your existence compared to what you're looking at.

T: Yeah, that's cool. So seeing this place that's so old makes you think, actually, we're not that significant in the whole scheme of things.

Interviewee 2: Yeah exactly.

T: There's quite a lot happening with astrology at the moment and Stonehenge. So yeah, so that was all my questions. And then, yeah, I don't know if you want to say sort of like, what was your role in sort of Stonehenge's modern social history?

Interviewee 2: Right, so with Stonehenge, I went to one of the free festivals. I went to several free festivals. But the one the first one I remember was '75.

And on the way to it, we got arrested by the police, I was on a motorbike, which unfortunately, wasn't wildly legal. And we got arrested by the police. And we were detained. They had a porta cabin hut. And we got strip searched in front of all the women police officers, who all thought this was highly amusing. And they then basically, at dawn, they threw us out. And that was the time I actually saw dawn at Stonehenge.

So that was the first time. I've been to – probably - when was the next one? It was probably '77. I went to the '77 one. Mainly, to meet a friend who we were picking up to go off and do something else. And so I stayed for the night before.

T: Okay

Interviewee 2: I mean the Stonehenge Festivals were quite good fun but they were totally anarchic. It was just people sitting in a field really, nothing was organised.

T: Yeah

Interviewee 2: It was just quite a nice meeting place that you would meet friends from all over the country, especially if you went regularly. So you'd see somebody come down from Wales, and you were in London, you could meet in the middle in Stonehenge, you could fairly guarantee that you were likely to see them. So it was a nice meeting place.

It was very peaceful, really. And it was youthful. We were all making a lot of noise and what have you.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: I then got a bit involved with the Peace Convoy.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 2: And uh, I'm trying to remember the order of it all. Because I was with them quite a few times over the years - over about three or four years. But the one I remember with Stonehenge was – I think they'd been banned from having a free festival there in '84.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And in '85, a whole load of people had got together in what they call the Peace Convoy, and it was about 100 battered old vehicles from all the, you know, because it was very fashionable at the time to be living in a battered old vehicle.

T: And like, go round the free festivals?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, you'd have a summer of doing free festivals basically. And er, I think it was Mrs. Thatcher who decided that these people were very definitely, sort of anti-establishment and were flouting the law deliberately. And they made this thing that it was damaging the stones, so nobody was going to be allowed there. So they put in a police cordon. And er, they stopped, and we went down to film it. At the time, I was actually a dispatch rider, so I was on a motorbike. And I can remember going - I had to

meet the film crew at Stonehenge itself, which of course, it was a five mile exclusion zone so you had to go through all these roadblocks. And the police were being incredibly obstreperous. You know, they were stopping me - searching everything. And I had to prove that - I had all the passes.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: You know, but they were not happy. And quite often, they wouldn't let me through and I'd have to contact a senior officer and they'd say, 'yes, let this person through'. And um, I met the film crew, and then came back, and they did exactly the same again. So they'd seen me five minutes earlier, you know, and I'd then spend 20 minutes trying to get through.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: The problem was – the Wiltshire police force at the time were regarded as being very – for want of a better phrase - thuggish.

They had a reputation with the local police forces as being - they were all hard boys if you see what I mean. And I think a lot of that had stemmed from the previous year which had been the Miners' Strike.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: So they'd all been up, having big punch ups in the coal fields, and the miners disliked the Wiltshire police, pretty much as much as they disliked the Met.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And the Wiltshire police really weren't very pleasant. They were certainly hard work for me, and I was in theory 'on their side' if you see what I mean [as part of the BBC].

T: Yeah, cos you were working?

Interviewee 2: I was working, yeah. Anyway, I got the first - in those days tape - and I had to take it to what we call a feed point, which is like a microwave link in a place called Inkpen, which is near Swindon somewhere.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: So I'm sort of headed off on the bike, drop it off. The thing I remember about that was it was the first time I'd ever come across a mobile phone; was at Inkpen. So I remember ringing [REDACTED] up and saying 'did you know, I'm in the middle of a field!'

(both laugh)

Interviewee 2: And using that mobile phone, I was able to find out where the crew was, because of course, they'd been moving. And I was told that they were on a bit of the 303 which I knew where it was. So I headed back down there. And you come down, because 303 then was a different route that they bypassed it basically - put in dual

carriageway next to it, the old 303 came down to a roundabout. And I was coming back down to this roundabout, because I knew the crew was about half a mile off this roundabout.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: And I was coming down to it to turn right. And there's a big field on the left, ginormous field. And I could see all these – for want of a better term – ‘hippie’ buses hurtling around with lots of police chasing them. So I stopped and looked over the hedge. And you could see this sort of mayhem that was going on, you know, there were lots of police in unmarked boiler suits. Which as far as I knew was illegal, because they're supposed to have their rankings and numbers on but they certainly didn't.

T: So was that illegal at the time? Were they supposed to have them on the outside?

Interviewee 2: I think it was, I think they were meant to have them on for the Miners' Strikes.

T: The Miners' Strikes?

Interviewee 2: Yeah. You know, but they were obviously not going to do that. Yeah, they were, you know, chasing the vehicles and trying to smash the window screens. And you could see basically all these hippies driving around not knowing what on earth to do, because they couldn't get out. So just driving around and around in this field, and there was an ITN crew [other news channel at the time] who were there. And I thought they must be getting fabulous pictures. So I hurtled back to where I'm supposed to be, which actually turned out to be the police mobile headquarters, which was about half a mile down the road, which is where my film crew was at. And I said to them, you know, this is what's happening up the road, you've got to get the picture up there, ITN are there.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: The snag being we had a very, I gotta say, a B-team crew, they were sort of a lash-up crew. And one of them was senior management, who was just there for a day out basically. And the police said, ‘No, it's far too dangerous for you to go up there’. So they weren't going up there. They didn't go up there. So all the footage you see of the Battle of the Beanfield was all shot by ITN.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: We were filming them arresting odd people and slinging them in Black Mariahs or whatever and bringing them down to us where they were charging them. Strip searching and charging them with us if you see what I mean. But the actual - what we needed to have filmed was actually up at the Beanfield.

T: Okay, so the police were saying it's too dangerous for you to go and film it.

Interviewee 2: They just didn't want us to film it. No, they did not want us filming. Because they knew exactly what they were doing. Because the trouble is - the police - I'm not saying they do it now. But at the time, they were quite prepared to be a lot more violent if there wasn't a camera there.

T: Okay, so if they weren't being held accountable, it'd be a lot more violent.

Interviewee 2: Yeah. I mean, I don't think they realised that at the beanfield that ITN were there. Because they were filming through the hedge sort of thing. I don't think they would have done some of the things they did. Because it ended up. I mean, there was - I think I'm write in saying this - there was there was a tourist camper van, driving down to Exeter, who got pulled in by the police because he was part of the Convoy. And he got all his windows smashed and it took something like 10 years for him to get compensation. Because the police wouldn't admit, they were saying well 'who did it' but of course none of them had numbers and they were saying 'well they would have all had numbers' but of course they didn't.

T: Okay. Interesting. I was gonna ask about the - so I read about there being a lot of headwounds from truncheons. Could you confirm that was what happened? What were you seeing? In terms of injuries?

Interviewee 2: Er, it's difficult to say, because most of the stuff I saw, certainly at the beanfield was the vehicles all whizzing round. Then the police trying to smash their way into the windows. Um, I did see a couple of people who had been pulled out. But they were just being held on the ground. This is all happening, you know, a couple of hundred yards away. I was more interested in just trying to look at the pictures really. I was thinking from a news point of view 'How good is this?' And it was bloody good! So yeah, I didn't really want to hang around too long. Because I wanted to get our film crew back.

T: Okay, So from what you saw, they were being restrained, and then -

Interviewee 2: Carted off. From what I saw. Yes. But I mean, I was only there, you know, probably at the most about three or four minutes. Because although it was fascinating to stay, I didn't have any way of recording any of that. And I wanted to get our film crew down so they could record it.

T: So were you a runner? What did you do?

Interviewee 2: I was a dispatch rider, so what I did was I would take the film - I say film it was video cassette to somewhere where they could get it to London. So we had a micro link in Inkpen.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: But I was looking at my diary because we went back the next day. Er, yeah, we met in that pub on the roundabout in Amesbury. And we just did more filming of the Convoy. You know, because a lot of them were made to walk as they impounded the vehicles.

T: Yeah. Where did they impound them? Or where were they released from?

Interviewee 2: Well, they didn't release very many of them. It was down in Southampton, I think. Because they said anything that had MOT failure would not be allowed out. And of course, out of 100 vehicles, I think they allowed 2 to leave. And that caused an awful lot of problems because they then allowed - there was big court

cases about it, because they were then allowed access to repair them. But of course, they couldn't repair them immediately. And they had to repair them in the pound. So you ended up with all sorts of people living in hedgerows and squats and God knows what, all the way round, trying to get into repair their vehicles. And they were - they decided, I can't say what they did at that point.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: Because I was trying to think - that they then possibly went on to Lytes Cary.

T: Near Glastonbury?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, it's not far from Glastonbury, it between Glastonbury and Yeovil. Which is National Trust property and they go on there illegally, and they got moved off there.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 2: And I was sent down to go with them basically, to find out where they'd go next. And we headed down into Dorset. And we were followed down by vanloads of riot police, making sure they left the county. We then arrived at the Dorset border to be met by vanloads of Dorset riot police who didn't want them going into Dorset. At this point um, the police were not happy us [BBC] being there. This is about 10 o'clock at night. And the police moved us off. Going, oh it's far too dangerous. You know, with the fairly obvious thing that they were going to beat the hell out of them - is what they were going to do. And at that point Paddy Ashdown arrived.

T: Okay, so Paddy Ashdown is an MP?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, he was MP for Yeovil at the time, he might have been leader of the Lib Dems even, he was leader of the Lib Dems, but whether he was leader of the Lib Dems then - I'm not sure. And he saved their bacon. He said, 'this is not a police state - these gentlemen filming are going to film with me and we are going to talk to these people'. And at that point the police all back down because they really can't be seen, you know, it's the first time I've been very impressed by a politician. You know, he'd come out to look after people weren't really his constituencies but happened to be in his constituency. But you know, they were going to get a real wrong end of the stick from the police. And he felt that these people didn't deserve it.

T: Yeah. So - did you live with the Convoy?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, well after that, we went on to Stoney Cross, which is down in the New Forest. And they ended up staying there for a specified length of time, I don't know, it there might have been a week or two. And it was it was obvious that they were going to get moved off there. And we decided we would live with them. So we hired a camper van and went and stayed with them. Sure enough, there was a huge police raid one morning. I mean it was, it was amazing. It was a bit like watching almost cowboys and Indians. So you have this huge line of policemen, lot of them on horseback, all galloping across. And yeah, again, smashed loads of vehicles and arrested people - well, they couldn't really arrest everybody. Because they hadn't really broken the law.

T: Yeah, okay.

Interviewee 2: But they impounded the vehicles. And that's when they all decided to walk to Glastonbury. Which again, the police didn't really want because you had, you know, several 100 people all just walking down the road. But, um, the police hadn't thought about what they were gonna do.

T: Yeah, so it wasn't decisive. It was just sort of –

Interviewee 2: Well, the bottom line was, I think the political will at the time, was they just wanted this trouble removed, but they didn't really want to solve it. They just wanted removed, because prior to that, kind of 10 years before, they'd had a similar problem at the Windsor Free Festival. I'd gone to the - what I was going to say the first Windsor free festival, but the second one was the one where they had a riot and the police moved in and so on and so forth. But the government then gave them a place to have a free festival, which was near Shrivenham. I can't remember the name of it. So they had a free festival there. And that's what I think most of the people wanted with the Stonehenge one. In fact, I'm sure they did. They said, you know, okay, we can't go to Stonehenge. Let us have somewhere where we can go. But basically, they, you know, they [the government] weren't prepared to do that.

T: Yeah, okay.

Interviewee 2: So, they had this problem. I mean, the Convoy problem went on for *years*. They [the Convoy] all walked to Glastonbury, but it has to be said that it caused Glastonbury a lot of grief over the years. And I know Eavis [Michael Eavis, co-creator of Glastonbury Festival] did treat them very well. But it did cause a lot of problems.

T: Yeah, so who were you working for at the time? Were you BBC?

Interviewee 2: Yeah. BBC. BBC TV news.

T: So were you sort of doing a documentary on it [the Peace Convoy and Stonehenge Free Festivals] or was it just interesting? [for the news]

Interviewee 2: No that was it, 9 o'clock news. I mean, I say nine, it would have been all three bulletins. Which is why, you know, why they needed a dispatch rider because I could get the film very quickly to wherever it needed to be got to.

T: Yeah. So after the Battle of the Beanfield, it was sort of following them [the Peace Convoy] around and seeing what other news you could get out of it?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, basically, like we went back the next day and did interviews at the Salisbury Police Station um yeah, yeah we went to Stonehenge. I think we did a bit on Stonehenge again.

T: Cool.

[pause in conversation]

Interviewee 2: Trouble is, you are looking at, what is it, 35 years ago now. But it's interesting, I've notice in my diary I've written how unpleasant the police are. Which is

– I had a lot of dealings with the police, you know, we're always dealing with the police. And on the whole I got on quite well with them, but some of them - they were just out to be - they didn't want us there because they felt like we weren't there then they could sort it out [the issues they were having with the free festivalgoers].

T: Yeah. Off camera. Would you say – so I've kind of talked about it before, when I did some presentations and I said that it looked like the police used similar tactics at the Battle of the Beanfield as they did at the Miners' Strikes.

Interviewee 2: Oh very much so!

T: Very much so? So you would say that they definitely did? So for the Miners' Strikes, would police from all over the country go up to those?

Interviewee 2: Oh yes, yeah. I mean the Miners' Strikes were 1000s of police. But you've got to think there was an awful lot of miners. But yes, very similar tactics. Yeah, cos I did the Miners' Strike, well the whole year of it. And there's nothing the police like more than winding the miners up. They all used to wave their pay packets at them. Because of course, they were all on overtime and getting paid fantastic sums of money.

T: Cool. But the same sort of intimidation tactics were used?

Interviewee 2: Er, yes, but probably, I would say more with the Beanfield. Because basically the Beanfield was only, you know, 100 youth or so basically. Okay they're problematic – but with the miners, you had some very big, hefty miners and loads of them who, you know, you weren't going to pick a fight with - but picking a fight with, you know, a six stone hippie when you're dressed in full riot gear. Not really much of a contest! (Jim laughs) Who weren't there to fight anyway! But of course the miners were quite happy to – you know, if you had a go at them, they were certainly going to have a go at you.

T: Yeah, because I read that er where the Battle of the Beanfield was, they were trying to escape?

Interviewee 2: Yeah, they were trying to escape! They were trying to get away.

T: Okay, that's interesting. So it's sort of that thing of like, bullying the hippies, because they're easy to bully.

Interviewee 2: They wanted to make the example of them because they didn't want a huge number of youth coming out of cities to sit next to their farming fields, basically.

T: Yeah. That's very interesting.

Interviewee 2: Yes, you know, that Thatcher had brought in that assembly thing, wasn't it, that you weren't supposed to have more than six people together.

T: Was it more than six people? Something to do with big social groups?

Interviewee 2: I would, I would really check that. Yeah, cos it's like, all these things. It was all a long time ago, because I was thinking, you know, her dealings with the IRA.

She had quite, you know, the idea of how to stop things. But she often didn't think what the end result was, if you see what I mean.

T: Okay, um I think it's that sort of thing of like, looking at it now, there was a lot of factors coming in, like the IRA, the miners, the hippies.

Interviewee 2: Yeah because you think, she'd been blown up six months before [the Brighton Hotel bombing, 12 October 1984]. And she felt that, you know, the Convoy was very anarchic. They were all rushing around breaking every law going to a certain standard. I mean, okay, in a youthful, you know, slightly ditzy way for one of a better term. You know, they weren't like the IRA who had goals. Or even the miners who had a goal if you see what I mean. You know, all they wanted to do was go and sit in a field and listen to music and dance or whatever. But it's just that, they didn't look like Tory voters.

T: Yeah. And that sort of suppression of –

Interviewee 2: They were a minority, right? You know, they were a small minority who wanted to live a different lifestyle from everybody else. And everybody else didn't really want them doing it on their doorstep.

T: So like NIMBY? [Not In My Back Yard]

Interviewee 2: Basically, yeah, yeah. Though as I was saying, when they'd had a similar thing with the Windsor free festival that had been under a Labour government, who'd given them somewhere to do it. Which basically diffused the problem, whereas with the Tories, they had that problem for years.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 2: Because they never, you know, they just weren't prepared to try and solve it. They just wanted to stop it. And they did dump a lot of it really on Michael Eavis, you know.

T: Yeah, have you got anything else you want to add?

Interviewee 2: Add in just my normal fee.

T: Yeah. 100 grand?

(both laugh)

T: Right, I'll stop it there.

### **Transcript 3 – Interviewee 3**

Interviewer:  
Tabitha Grist Parker (T)

Interview participant:  
Interviewee 3

Date:  
5th May 2021

Location:  
Online, via Zoom

Duration of interview:  
46 minutes, 17 seconds

#### **The Interview:**

Interviewee 3: So I grew up around 14 miles away from Stonehenge, erm which was on the main A36 so most people associate the 303 with Stonehenge which is obviously (clears throat) the main dual carriageway.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: But of course most people would approach Stonehenge cross-country and particularly in the 70s and 80s so the A36 which is the main road then down to erm so from Warminster, Westbury, Warminster then down to Salisbury. The other route then is if you go up through the back of Devizes, and then drop down into Stonehenge that way.

T: Yep.

Interviewee 3: So where I was living, you know until really um, er, the issues that came up with the Travelling community. I mean Stonehenge was somewhere my parents went to on the solstice, it was somewhere that we went to - very occasionally I think um once there started to be a charge for going um although in recent years my parents are members of English Heritage and National Trust – once the charge came in they were quite reluctant to go and so we used to go to Avebury. Um where I grew up there's an Iron Age Hillfort so we used to spend a lot of time up there. So archaeology and particularly Wessex Neolithic archaeology is something that's sort of um, you kind of grew up with, it's like osmosis really.

T: Yeah, yeah (agreeing).

Interviewee 3: And as you know I'm studying Neolithic Archaeology on Orkney so you see the flipside of it. So it was something I was aware of, it was something that people talked a lot about, it was somewhere that I could never, even from quite a young age, understand the attraction because it was so small! (Interviewee 3 laughs)

(T and Interviewee 3 both laugh)

T: Yeah. (laughing)

Interviewee 3: And you couldn't go close to it, I mean at that time, it was roped off. I mean obviously it's different now. (clears throat) And so hence why we used to go to Avebury, that was our go-to place because there you were completely surrounded by the stones, I mean they were massive, you know, although they're not as precisely cut as Stonehenge, they're huge, absolutely huge and there's so many of them. So even from a young age Stonehenge was somewhere that was not really on my radar, it was somewhere I was aware of and there was always a sense of disappointment! (laughs)

(T and Interviewee 3 both laugh)

Interviewee 3: And that was kind of my early memories of it. Because then, because I've always been quite involved in Glastonbury Festivals and from 2000 until 2010 I lived about a mile and a half from Pilton. So I was quite aware of the Traveller link with Glastonbury and the fallout really of the Battle of the Beanfield is where Michael Eavis then gets involved with Stonehenge and the Travellers and of course that all went pear-shaped! (laughs)

(T and Interviewee 3 both laugh)

T: Yeah! Definitely.

Interviewee 3: So my foundation was this, there was this place that was special, but was quite disappointing and was you know, having been to Avebury, having been to Bratton Camp, having been to all these other sites where there was no charge, you could have a picnic, you could run all over it as a kid, we'd spend our days rolling down the henges at Avebury, which again, you're not allowed to do now.. (laughs)

T: Anymore, yeah. (laughs)

Interviewee 3: Yeah, so why was this place so special? So that was my sort of , I think the point of reference is someone who is very lucky, very privileged to have all these wonderful sites, so I could not understand what made Stonehenge so different, and made it so special that it had to be roped off and kept away and protected. Um and then obviously when the Travelling community, when all of that kind of kicked off, depending on the side of your politics, how you view it and the reasons for it; but speaking as a 10-11 year old...

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: ...suddenly all these people, you know, we had snow gates erected on the A36, so there were certain times in May going into June where it was really difficult to get anywhere. So all the side roads would be gated and the farmers would put out tractors and bales and the main roads, certainly around the solstice, there were police cordons.

T: Yeah definitely.

Interviewee 3: And then gradually what happened at the time was that the travellers were prevented from even getting close, so depending on the direction they were travelling from, a lot of them were diverted into my hometown which was [REDACTED].

T: Yep, [REDACTED] yeah.

Interviewee 3: And then they were put up on the White Horse so the White Horse and the hills, that's the kind of local name for it. So you have the Iron Age Hillfort, that has a White Horse underneath it.

T: Yep.

Interviewee 3: And the um, sort of where the Hillfort is, is sort of demarked with a fence, so you know, there's open access to it but it's just fenced off so the cars obviously didn't get beached in the ditches.

T: Yeah, definitely.

Interviewee 3: So basically, the flat area that was to the side of the camp, er was where the police sort of corralled all of the Travellers, and you know, we used to, my dad still does, go up there walking the dogs, something we did most days. So there's that novelty factor then obviously of going up and seeing what the Hippies were doing, and it just sort of dawned on me that, it was only a couple of years, only those 3, 4 years where it was particularly tense at the time. Um, as I got older, I realised that people were very hostile to the Travelling community and you'd hear them being called all the names that you'd associate with Travellers. And it was kind of like, have you seen Chocolat?

T: Yeah, I actually love that film.

Interviewee 3: It was like that, where people literally put posters up in the windows, so you had these people beached on the top of these hills, miles from anywhere with no public toilets and they weren't allowed to go in the shops.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: So people were having to go in (into town) to use the public toilets to get water and to wash and so again they were being shouted at and called all sorts by the locals who did not want these people thieving and dog muck and all these stereotypes.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: And I remember just chatting to a few of the Travellers' kids and you know, they were fine? (laughs) You know, you'd kinda get chatting and my overriding (sighs) – you know, when I think of Stonehenge, I think of these people and I think of how archaeology in general, but particularly Stonehenge, gets appropriated. And I think my Stonehenge is a conflict site, it is a site of conflict, you've got at the time the Tory government and Tory policies and images of the Battle of the Beanfield, the Miner's Strike, all kind of merging of this sort of repressive government. Again speaking as a child, [REDACTED] anyway! (laughs)

T: Yay!

(Interviewee 3 and T laugh)

Interviewee 3: You've got an oppressive government who I couldn't understand why they were targeting these groups of people and why Stonehenge was central to this. What was so important about these stones that people couldn't go there? What was so important about those stones that they had a ring of police around them? That our road had to be closed, that I couldn't go into Warminster, that we couldn't take the dogs for a walk up the hills.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: Why was it? And of course, at the end of the day, it wasn't about the stones themselves, it was about the whole political...

T: Political situation, yeah.

Interviewee 3: ...um happenings at the time, social crises that was going on with Thatcher's reforms, you know, the Travelling community were being targeted generally, but because this was a mass gathering it was deemed illegal, and they were using all the excuses of drugs and various other illegal activities as a way of breaking it up...

T: Yeah definitely.

Interviewee 3: ...Um and then so when I then went on when I was older to do history and humanities at A-level, I-I just didn't want to know about Stonehenge, I just didn't want to...understand it. To me it was such a – you know I just thought why, you know, why was this place being used as an excuse to treat people – and it became not just about the Travelling community, it became about anybody, you know lower class, working class, marginalised groups – you know, why was this place of such importance that people in power were willing to destroy people's lives to stop them getting there.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: And I know that's a very simplistic view but it's sort of something that you know, it impacted me in a way that my life was restricted...

T: Yeah definitely.

Interviewee 3: You know, we couldn't go shopping in Warminster, we couldn't go down to the seaside if we wanted to go at the weekend, we couldn't walk our dogs along a place without police being there. And I mean, because my dad is a bit of a scruffy hippy, he actually got arrested because the police thought *he* was a Traveller!!

(Interviewee 3 and T laugh, but in an incredulous way)

T: No way! That's awful. That is awful.

Interviewee 3: Yeah..so funny now, but not funny at the time!

(Interviewee 3 laughs)

T: Oh my gosh, I'm so sorry!

Interviewee 3: Yeah, you know, cus it's funny because you know, one of my lecturers [REDACTED] and I had this conversation with him and he could not understand my perspective. And course his work at Stonehenge, with [REDACTED] is quite ground-breaking in many respects and I have no, I'm just like, oh okay (obviously disinterested).

T: Yeah, no honestly, I think- I'm actually, I'm quite local as well, so I'm in Bath.

Interviewee 3: Oh yeah, yeah.

T: Yeah, and actually we had a really similar childhood, cos I got into archaeology because of visiting castles and hillforts around us, visiting Avebury, you know.

Interviewee 3: Yeah.

T: But we had that sort of thing, yeah where I never visited Stonehenge until I went with uni, because it was just one of those things, where – you have to pay for it, and you know, why is it so special compared to Avebury? And you know, I prefer Avebury too, because it's got such a nice feel to it, you can wander around, you can touch things, touch the stones.

Interviewee 3: Yeah, I mean, you're in my stomping ground, two of my kids were born in Bath and I used to work as a community nurse, before I moved up to Orkney, and I was based in Trowbridge and a patch out in Marlborough, so of course I'd be out past Silbury hill and West Kennet long barrow and out in that area. And it's something which, you know, it's so visible in the landscape, it's part of your life, your points of reference because it's just there. And that strikes quite a discord when you go to Stonehenge, when you live locally, you know, the fact that it's – it's weird actually because I work for Historic Scotland actually, I work at [REDACTED] and it's kind of the flipside in that you know, we get coaches and coaches of Cruiseship passengers, walking round the ring of Brodgar and then again, they have to pay to go into Skara Brae. And you think, why are you here?

(Interviewee 3 and T both laugh)

Interviewee 3: Which is ridiculous, because of course, the first time I came to Orkney was to see Skara Brae. – And it's a bit like that [Stonehenge] because I used to drive down the road that they covered over, to get to Marlborough, cos I used to have to get to Amesbury, so I cut across that way.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: And um, used to drive up and go why? Why are you all here? What are we selling these people? This idea of Englishness, Britishness, and then you start going down the routes of (sighs) nationalism, and then the stones become appropriated for a different thing (sighs).

T: Yeah, that's really interesting because I've seen that come up as well. It's that sort of thing of pushing people out of Stonehenge, and local people as well, like in Bath we have this thing called the Discovery Card, so you can get into the Roman Baths for free and other museums and its great – but they don't have that for Stonehenge [that I know

of] and I think as a local person you should get in for free [local as in, Amesbury, surrounding area etc.].

Interviewee 3: Not here either, I mean we've talked about locals here, they don't do local discounts for local people to get in. Most local people are positive about archaeology up here, a lot of Orcadians gravitate towards the Norse and the Vikings, and of course Maes Howe has this really weird narrative, it's more the Norse narrative. But most people are really really positive and I think that they've not – I mean the cruise ships and the tourists they get frustrated with, which is totally understandable – but I don't think they've had something similar, where you've got this appropriation for somebody else's political agenda, whether that be a nationalist agenda or a Conservative agenda trying to force through social changes in the 80s. So it's really complicated isn't it? I've done essays myself about complex identity and associating your identities with place, it's not straightforward.

T: No definitely, it's important to see that archaeology is being appropriated for other people's gain.

Interviewee 3: Yeah, definitely, I mean we joke up here about Skara Brae, because it's flat, you can hire scooters, I mean I call it the National Trust of Orkney, as you get a certain demographic of people, older with mobility issues, sit in the café, wander round the replica house, then they realise it's a 5-10 minute walk to the site and go back inside. And so, cruise ships themselves are a particular demographic, um and it's that kind of thing are people there for the heritage or because it's somewhere to go and there's a coffee shop?

(Interviewee 3 laughs)

(T laughs)

T: I think sometimes people see that with Stonehenge as well, a nice little tick box, and I volunteer there as well, so you want it to be the best experience but a lot of people only visit once and then it's ticked off and done

Interviewee 3: I think it's – what's always struck me as weird, I mean I haven't been since the visitor centre opened, but you've got this weird spread of Stonehenge artefacts. So it's that spread-out nature, the artefacts and the site being somewhat disassociated.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: Obviously I don't know what it's like know because I haven't been, but I mean we study it a lot, because of comparisons with up here and I'm fascinated by the landscape, the Cursus, Durrington walls, all of that, and the riverside project, but the stones themselves, I had to read [REDACTED] article about the stone circle in Wales, you know and I can't help but start off on a negative thing.

(Interviewee 3 laughs)

T: Yeah I know, that came out and I was like, I'm not too sure, about the stone circle in Wales so (clicks tongue) but then I've got Tim Darvill as my supervisor so I'm probably a bit biased!

(both laugh)

Interviewee 3: You have to be careful who you upset don't you! (laughs) But then [REDACTED] wasn't too impressed, when I tried to explain about the political side, he was like 'but it's such a fascinating site!'

T: Yeah, but then you know, he didn't grow up there, didn't have the same experiences, so I can understand why you'd be negative about it. So shall we run through the participant questions? We've covered quite a lot of them, but it'd be useful to get a bit more information.

Interviewee 3: Yeah, sure.

T: Okay, [question one] so number one was 'Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?' So obviously we've talked a lot about it but would you say it was a sort of focal point or?

Interviewee 3: No, it's not a focal point at all. Unless it comes up in conversation in which case obviously very opinionated about it.

(Interviewee 3 laughs)

T: Yeah..no that's fine, yeah.

Interviewee 3: If somebody says to me describe the archaeology of Wiltshire I'll always start at Avebury.

T: Yeah, I always think of um, that road to Marlborough and everything that's off there, not really Stonehenge.

Interviewee 3: Yeah.

T: Cool, so, [question 2] how do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?

Interviewee 3: Yeah so I haven't been there for a long time, the last time I drove by was about three years ago – and everytime I drive by I always think, God it's so small!

(both laugh)

T: That's fair enough. I think – I get people being like, oh is that it? And I'm like, yep, that's it.

(T and Interviewee 3 discuss Stonehenge ticket prices, difficult to hear because of background noise)

Interviewee 3: You have to weigh it up with what you're getting for your money, I mean I can't comment on the visitor centre so I don't know if it's worth it but you used to be able to sit in a layby and look at it! From the road! (laughs)

T: Yep, so question three [question three] was 'Do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?', I'd imagine probably not?

Interviewee 3: Umm, no. I mean I go to Avebury, and that was always like my happy place when I used to live just outside Devizes. That was my go-to place because you could just wander and you know.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: Um do you know, if you park where the Red Lion is, and where the trees and the roots are? [Interviewee 3 is referring to the Beech trees at Avebury, also known as the 'Mythic Trees' that inspired J.R.R. Tolkien's Lord of the Rings].

T: Yeah, the trees and the roots? Love that bit.

Interviewee 3: I would just sit under that tree. I mean the sense of wellbeing I got at Avebury, it's just not something I would ever get at Stonehenge.

T: Yeah, that makes total sense. I think Avebury, same with the trees and the roots, it's just so special.

Interviewee 3: Yeah.

T: Um, 'why do you think [question four] Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?'

Interviewee 3: I think it's – again I think it's about identity, I think it's been appropriated to fit a narrative, you know, nobody cares that there's a main A road that goes through Avebury, and nobody's talking about diverting that road. Um even though the lorries that go through there are quite astonishing. Um you know, it's the world heritage site, obviously encompasses a massive amount of mileage, but I don't know really, I don't understand it. I just think it fits some kind of narrative, that you know, whether it's because the pinnacle of nationalistic actual Britons building skills, which let's face it, wasn't a lot compared to what else was going on in the rest of the world at the time (laughs). But also the mystery, how did they get the lintels up there?

T: Yeah I think as I go on with this research, there's a definite nationalistic element to this and it's scary.

Interviewee 3: Yeah.

T: [question 5] 'What do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?'

Interviewee 3: (sighs) Er, I don't really care either way to be honest, I just think for the money they're going to spend, what benefit will it bring? Because if you're paying 20 quid [Stonehenge ticket price] it just means you're not going to hear the noise. The road as itself isn't going to do anymore damage and it just feels to me this more about EH and the NT and the government trying to protect it and keep it and take away more ownership of it. The road is a nightmare anyway and has been and people do slow down, but they slow down at the roundabouts, you know they slow down because there's now a KFC up the hill.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 3: People don't necessarily slow down anymore there [at the view of Stonehenge] than they do at any of the other points. I don't, it doesn't bother me either way, just seems to be a waste of money. I'm not concerned about the archaeology too much if the tunnel goes ahead, because people will do a good job. They will have to do a good job to excavate. So to me, because of my view on Stonehenge anyway, I just think it's a storm in a teacup! (laughs)

T: Yeah fair enough! I mean it's one of those things, is it ever going to happen?

Interviewee 3: I mean I feel like that about Skara Brae, there's going to be a point where you're going to have to stop spending money on sea defences. Do you get to a point where you think it might be time to start excavating other sites in the area?

T: That's so interesting yeah. Um [question six] 'how would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been'?

Interviewee 3: Um I would say, it probably won't meet your expectations. Um and the landscape around Stonehenge is more interesting than the stones themselves.

T: Yeah, fair enough. I think there's so much more to see, you know, I've volunteered at the Roman Baths before and people come here and do Stonehenge and Roman Baths and think they've done this part [of the country].

(both laugh)

Interviewee 3: Yeah, it's the same here! (laughs)

T: Yeah, [question seven] 'do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? Do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?'

Interviewee 3: Probably, yeah cos I actively avoid it, but Durrington Walls, I'll be like ooh! So I think people don't realise it's more than the standing stones, um because it's not so visible in the landscape, the problem with it, is it's the most visible monument in that landscape where people can identify what it is. Again with Orkney, you've got lots of different monuments, Ring of Brodgar, Ness of Brodgar, lots of tombs, all within a really small area. And so, you've got a lot more in the landscape for people to try and understand how they all fit together. The problem with Stonehenge, being on the cusp with the Bronze Age, how does that landscape fit together? And that's a really difficult narrative to give to people. People look at the standing stones and go Stone Age.

(both laugh)

T: Yeah! So the final two questions are a bit wacky, it's because I'm always interested in um, Ancient Monuments and how people interact with them but [questions eight] 'do you see Stonehenge as a living being or a place?'

Interviewee 3: I think because I'm so jaded I see it as a place, whereas other Monuments I would see as having agency and having a life. But, to me, Stonehenge doesn't have that. Whereas Kennet long barrow, Avebury and even the White Horse, that speaks to me because of my experiences growing up round there. But Stonehenge has always seemed distant and not welcoming and 'don't touch'.

T: Yeah, and then the final one was [question nine] ‘do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it?’

Interviewee 3: In a wider context yes, if you look at the landscape, I mean what was going on there and the stuff that Mike Parker Pearson talks about, landscapes of the living and landscapes of the dead. Again I mean, I think if you just walked off the street you might not understand that context, but if you look at the deeper meaning, how that landscape was, yeah, people were coming from all over the UK for some reason. People built them as a result of going there. I mean yes, I would say it has that but doesn’t for me no. (laughs)

T: Yeah it’s a hard thing, like Stoney Littleton near me, has its own sense, like a person, it’s odd to personify them but it just feels like it’s got a freedom; whereas Stonehenge does feel quite closed off.

Interviewee 3: Yeah.

T: That’s all my questions, have you got anything else you’d like to add?

Interviewee 3: Nope I think that’s everything, I’ve rambled on, given my very jaded opinion on things!

(both laugh)

T: That’s okay! No it’s really interesting.

## **Transcript 4 – Interviewee 4**

Interview Details:

Interviewer:

Tabitha Grist Parker (T)

Interviewee:

Interviewee 4

Date:

14th May 2021

Location:

Online, via Zoom

Duration of interview:

54 minutes, 28 seconds

Please note, this transcript has been edited for clarity where necessary.

### **The Interview:**

T: So we can start with setting the scene if you want?

Interviewee 4: Sounds good.

T: So [question one], ‘Can you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge, does it hold an important place in your life?’ So how have you experienced Stonehenge over the years?

Interviewee 4: Well, first time I went to Stonehenge, I was about two years old, back in the very early 70s with my parents who were a bit hippy but just really nice laidback country folk, I remember these huge, huge things set up against the sun, as the sun went down in the background, and it was amazing, that’s actually my earliest memory as a kid.

T: Really, oh wow.

Interviewee 4: And I’d go up there regularly with my granny who was pretty much the village witch, the cunning woman, who taught me all I knew about magic, as a kid I thought it was a wonderful place to go, to feel the energy because you could feel that tingle when you’re coming into the area, like a concentrated prayer, it brings off a euphoria, you don’t need drugs you just get this wonderful natural high. And then you go there and you see people being so respectful as they would be in a church, and as you grow older, you realise that it is somewhere special, not just somewhere that feels wonderful but it’s somewhere you’ve got to be respectful, you’ve got to have your best manners on as well, and you’ve got to be grateful too. And then obviously, I got a bit older, about seven and my granny really formally started my training in witchcraft as a pellar and my basic dedication, and I remember going up there as well for the dedication and to me it was the centre of the earth, it was all that felt holy, everything. Think how a devout Mormon feels about their temple, to me it was the same feeling,

coming home, somewhere at peace, where if the world got crap, I could come back to. And I'd be safe then.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: And over the years, when I've been in nasty situations, as a soldier or different parts of the world, I've still got that image of Stonehenge and I can meditate on it and bring back that feeling and that security and those good times.

T: Yeah, would say it's a sort of talisman then, like something you carry with you, that image.

Interviewee 4: That's the perfect word for it, yep. As Pagans, visions, memories, vision quests are something very powerful, very special, and they're things that we build on throughout our lives and something we pass onto the kids and to other people.

T: Yeah. No, that's brilliant. So it definitely holds a special place in your-

Interviewee 4: Definitely. It's unique and all the places I've ever been, I've been round most of the world, there's only one continent I haven't been to, and yeah, that's the place I come home to. And I've asked for some of my ashes to be sprinkled in there when I die.

T: Yeah, amazing. That's really cool, so yeah, you've sort of covered it but [question two] 'how do you feel when you're at Stonehenge?' I don't know when was the last time you went, but does it have this sort of certain feeling, like even its' enclosed and everything, do you still feel that it's special?

Interviewee 4: Oh God yeah. To be honest, I understand that enclosing it is necessary to preserve it -that's not a big issue to me – as long as we're allowed to attend the Solstices and special occasions. I've been up there, [REDACTED] my wife has come with me, and we've said to people look we're Pagans and said a couple of things so that they know we're genuine and they've been as good as gold letting us go over and touch the stones and come back again.

T: Wow.

Interviewee 4: It's all about give and take and being respectful and to be honest, English Heritage are doing a really good job.

T: Cool, that's great. Yeah, no, that sounds really cool, it's good to have a sort of positive experience because you always have the tabloids –

(both laugh)

T: – And you're like, well a lot of people don't do that!

(both laugh)

T: - And you know, you've said enclosing it is necessary and as we've seen at Avebury and Stoney Littleton, like it is, yeah! You can't like, let everyone have a go.

Interviewee 4: Yeah.

T: So [question three], ‘do you think that being there has a positive effect on your mental wellbeing?’

Interviewee 4: Absolutely, so when I came back when I was wounded [Mark was wounded as a soldier], it was one of the first places I went to. I was, a bit of a state, not PTSD exactly, but pretty shocked, pretty shaken up and err [indistinguishable audio] so yeah I went up there regularly and spent as much time as I could, not just with the stones but around the area, and in nature generally, Salisbury Plain is beautiful [indistinguishable audio], in its’ pristine glory so yeah I’d hike up there um I’d start off by the [indistinguishable audio], a little army camp on the Warminster road and I’d hike across the Plains, so that I was approaching Stonehenge from the far side of the Avon, I’d wade through the Avon and then come up the slopes and into it. So for me it was a ritual almost, coming through the cleansing water, seeing it against the sun, getting up there, releasing all the pain, all the frustration, all the shit and then coming back again. And going through the water it was like a barrier between the worlds, the mundane modern world and the world of magic and ritual.

T: Yeah, so it was sort of like, a pilgrimage at that time for you to go –

Interviewee 4: Yeah, that’s the perfect word for it.

T: Um, so [question four], was ‘why do you think is Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury?’

Interviewee 4: I think – it’s better known, because you’ve got the road passing by it and it’s been on the news so many times and there’s just so much history with the press up there that it takes their precedence. I’ve noticed that they have certain ‘buzzwords’ and er, they use that [Stonehenge] particularly, as a ‘symbol’ as an ‘emblem’ of all Pagans, but they will for the [indistinguishable audio], just want a quiet place to go to tap into the power, they don’t want crowds around them. It’s er, - I think a different sort of people go for a different reason. I think it’s Stonehenge, it’s touristic, you get everyone from all over the world up there um wanting to take photos and things, whereas with Avebury you just come down this quiet little road into the countryside and apart from couple of shops, it’s pretty much as it always has been.

T: Yeah, no I think that’s a good point, because I don’t see many sort of obvious ‘tourists’ at Avebury as I do at Stonehenge.

Interviewee 4: Yeah, no you won’t.

T: It’s definitely lesser travelled.

Interviewee 4: I think as well for the tourists Stonehenge is something you see in the history books and they’ve always known about.

T: Yeah that’s a good point, what did you say about Avebury, it’s a quieter place for Pagans to congregate?

Interviewee 4: Yes, it’s somewhere as well where you can freely be Pagan, you can wear your robes, you can have your body paint on you, have your altar set up without a

load of tourists coming over [indistinguishable audio] trying to get selfies with you while you're working a ritual.

T: Yeah that's really cool. Yeah so [questions five] was 'what do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development?

Interviewee 4: I'm in two minds about it, to be honest, if it's carefully done first, the archaeologists are allowed in, it's done slowly with respect - it'll actually be a big improvement in the landscape and in future it'll definitely help to preserve Stonehenge and the areas around it, so I'm quite for it, but with a couple of caveats.

T: Yeah so that they respect the land and take their time.

Interviewee 4: Yes.

T: Yeah, I think, obviously I can't state my own opinion, but I think if they do it respectfully it should be okay. It'd be so nice to see it with just grass around it.

Interviewee 4: That would be amazing, I can't wait to see it.

T: I really hope it goes ahead.

Interviewee 4: Yeah I think the problem is a lot of people in the Pagan world are dreamers, they're looking for an idyll, they've got a romantic view of it all, rather than a pragmatic view, though not a bad thing, it isn't good when it comes to decision-making.

T: Yeah, I think it's really nice to look at Stonehenge through rose-tinted glasses, but how will it benefit in the long run? If it was completely enclosed, you could have wildflower meadows on that side or something.

Interviewee 4: That would be beautiful.

T: Yeah I think it might be really exciting! And they might find some interesting stuff! I mean otherwise you won't be able to touch it with a bargepole [the archaeology].

Interviewee 4: Yeah, my old tutor would be rolling in his grave to get up there now!

(both laugh)

T: Yeah, it could be really exciting but it's interesting you say there's this romantic view within the pagan society, and you completely get why but then it's funny cos Avebury also has a road running through the middle!

Interviewee 4: Yeah exactly!

T: Yeah, no one's said anything about that!

(both laugh)

T: Yeah, so [question six] was how would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been? Like, if you could explain it in a nutshell what would you pull out of Stonehenge's history?

Interviewee 4: I think I'd start them off with saying that first of all that it's a prehistoric, megalithic site, the stones are from different places in the UK, we believe it's reconstructed, literally take them through the historical aspect. Then I'd give them the pagan view that it's a centre of power, aligned with the stars, that the solstice occurs with the sun coming over, that there's earth energies, there's air energies, there's solar energies that they mix in a unique vortex and if you're open – your mind, you can feel it. I'd explain what it does to me, how different pagan groups use it and how people abuse it and why it's now preserved in such a way, you can't just walk up to it [Stonehenge].

...to be honest I could go on about it for the next five hours! But there's the edited highlights! You know if the person's a pagan or just an ordinary person, you can give a different spin to it.

T: Yeah exactly, that's the thing, everyone has their own spin on Stonehenge. So [question seven] 'do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? So do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge because it is continually dissected and discussed?'

Interviewee 4: I don't think we do. I actually think that because it's so high profile that it owes a lot of its preservation to that. You know the authorities see it as somewhere important from the financial aspect which is pants but at the same time that aspect ensures that it's protected, that it's looked after as best as it can.

T: Yeah, that's a really good point. So because it's always in the media and it's got this power to bring in a lot of money and tourism that's why it's so protected.

Interviewee 4: Definitely.

T: Interesting...yeah I think that's a good point because you could be really cynical and be like oh it's just a money-maker! But you forget that it's in the best possible hands and is being protected.

Interviewee 4: Yes and people forget that Cadw and English heritage aren't well funded, they need to make a bit of money to do what they do.

T: Definitely, a lot of people forget that English Heritage is a charity now.

Interviewee 4: Absolutely.

T: Yeah, so [question eight] Do you see Stonehenge as a living being, so it's own thing or a place?

Interviewee 4: Good question. Um as a Pellar, in Cornwall we believe in an energy called 'Sprawle' [unsure of spelling]. It's the earth energy, the blood of the dragon, the mystic strain that comes through the pagan that gives us our power, that we work with the healing etc. And a certain [audio undecipherable] that we call a sleeping dragon, the image of an adder is used a lot in Cornwall as it's good and ill...but for me everything on the land, everywhere in this country is alive, from the smallest blade of grass to the living tree. Each has its own spirit we call it a genus loci and each is different. If you look after the spirit of a place, it'll look after you, your life will flourish, you get a good

energy for it. Treat it exactly as you would treat a dragon, that's my image of Stonehenge and Avebury as sleeping dragons.

T: So places and beings with a lot of power.

Interviewee 4: Yes, and you've got the flag of Wessex as well, which is a red dragon.

T: Yeah, definitely, and you've got George and the Dragon as well, which is meant to be based around Stonehenge isn't it?

Interviewee 4: Yes, he was actually Romano-Syrian I think.

T: Cool, yeah I think um it depends what you believe in, because I think a lot of people see it as a place [Stonehenge] but then if you think about genius loci and having its own aura and own sense of being then it's like a living thing in the landscape as well.

Interviewee 4: Yes, lots of people talk about legends of Brownies and Hobgoblins and things [reference to old English folklore, these are faeryfolk] but what they're actually talking about is the genius loci...recently I've got a little altar for the genius loci, and I always put an offering on for the full moon and the dark moon and when I put the dark moon offering out, I could feel its energy pointing me in the direction of a nice little patch of horse mushrooms which were delicious! So it's little things like that!

T: So sort of the giving, and giving back?

Interviewee 4: Yes, symbiosis.

T: Yeah so the next question actually was [question nine] Do you think that Stonehenge has its own sense of genius loci? How would you describe it? So you've described it as a sleeping dragon?

Interviewee 4: Yes, yes definitely. Uh yeah absolutely it's got it's own genius loci, I actually do see it-visualise it as a dragon.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: People in the past have tried to say okay that stone's a tail that one etc etc but to me it's not so much yes it looks like a dragon but that there's a dragon in the heart of it which with ritual and enchantment you can call up and you can tap into the energy of it and use that energy for whatever you want to use it for.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: Energy is energy, if you use it for good or ill that's up to you not up to the energy.

T: That's really cool, is that a common belief held by the Pagan Community?

Interviewee 4: Oh yes. You'll find Wiccans are the ones who talk about black and white magic but with Pellars, Cunning men, the vast majority of Pagans it's just energy.

T: Fab um, so the other thing I was going to ask you, obviously as a child you grew up going there [Stonehenge] and visiting with your parents and stuff. I wanted to ask did you go to the Battle of the Beanfield, were you there?

Interviewee 4: Yes. Yes I was actually there.

T: Okay, cool, so would you like to talk about that? You don't have to.

Interviewee 4: Yes, absolutely.

T: That'd be great! I know, for me, from reading about it, and I've done a couple of presentations on it, I literally start by saying – look I am a 90s child! (Both laugh), so it's quite removed from me, you know. So I think it's really interesting but I also understand that you know, seeing the pictures and stuff, it was also really horrific. So if you want to stop at any point or you want to cut stuff out let me know.

Interviewee 4: I'm a soldier! (Laughs)

T: Okay, so obviously you're local so did you go to the free festivals? Was it something you went to?

Interviewee 4: Very much so. I mean we tended to go for the day, go back home for a quick sleep and then pop back up again. I was only a kid when it happened but I remembered a lovely day, we were just minding our own business, chilling out and then all of a sudden the police turned up. And they weren't that heavy-handed at first but as people were laid back and not doing what they asked and what they wanted they got a bit heavy-handed and eventually somebody threw a punch and er – I remember one of them coming over near us so like the other kids I grabbed a saucepan and hit him in the bollocks rather hard with it.

(Laughs)

T: Oof that must have really hurt.

Interviewee 4: Oh yeah, it had soup in it so must have scalded his uniform.

T: Ooh ouch!

Interviewee 4: But there you go!

T: So were they- so they became aggressive because you [the free festivalgoers] wouldn't move basically?

Interviewee 4: Yeah, yeah. I mean on our side of it, it was look we're not causing any harm, we've got a right to freedom of expression, we always tidy up after ourselves, we don't leave any rubbish or cans or anything at all around, we're not harming any crops so we're doing absolutely no harm but in the mind of the police oh they're all drug addicts! They're scum! Dropouts! Criminals! Of course because a lot of people preferred to be on the road, they were demonised.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: And I think there's always been this thing with travelling people, with the Romani particularly more than others – that just because they live an alternative lifestyle they're pure evil. But their morals are just the same as anyone else, in fact probably higher than most peoples'. They don't steal, you know, their word is the word.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: And of course, at that period, people were smoking a bit of cannabis, but that was all. And of course when America demonised cannabis, it became the same thing over here.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 4: Even though these days, medically these days, super skunk [extremely strong strain of cannabis] and the things people smoke are bloody dangerous because they've got so much THC in, but historically the ones back then were very little THC, just enough to give you a little tickle.

T: Okay so weed has got stronger now hasn't it and it's a lot more dangerous now but back then a lot of weed was homegrown wasn't it yeah?

Interviewee 4: Yeah, it said somewhere it's about 100 times more potent now.

T: Gosh yeah.

Interviewee 4: I mean I haven't touched it for donkey's years!

T: So was it – would you say there were lots of different groups of people that came to the free festivals? Was it a combination?

Interviewee 4: Yes definitely. I mean you had local farm workers, you had people that lived in the area, people like us, travellers from all over the place and a lot of school kids on holiday. It was nice as a kid, someone would always make sure you're fed, watered, not getting into too much trouble as a kid. It was just – fun in the sun, literally.

T: Yeah definitely. And was it – it seems like with the Peace Convoy, people always focus on them but it actually was a combination of what you'd call subcultures of society?

Interviewee 4: Yeah definitely. I mean the Peace Convoy was tiny! The majority of people there had nothing to do with it. It was quite funny because there were quite a lot of sixth formers from Marlborough!

(Both laugh)

T: What, Marlborough College?! [An exclusive private school in Marlborough, Wiltshire, alumni includes members of the Royal Family]

Interviewee 4: Yeah!

T: Yeah I can imagine that! It sort of seems like it was a bit of a jaunt - like a fun thing to go to at the time.

Interviewee 4: Yeah it was, it was great. Remember as well, back then we didn't have a tv!

T: Mhmm.

Interviewee 4: We didn't have a house phone, there was no internet, cinemas were quite pricey, theatres even more so – so that was a treat every now and then. Other than listening to the radio it was a great chance to hear some interesting music, meet some interesting people, get together and just have a chance to really, you know, have a nice time.

T: Yeah, that's really cool.

Interviewee 4: But at the same time it had that little tingle of naughtiness you know, about it.

T: Yeah I can imagine. (laughs)

T: So, the free festivals happened for a number of years didn't they? So did you sort of just go intermittently? Because you must have been quite young.

Interviewee 4: Yep, my parents went and I came with them.

T: Aw lovely.

Interviewee 4: That was one of the best gifts they've given me because I mean I went to a public [private] school myself and the world viewpoint they give you there is very different from the pagan viewpoint.

T: Mm.

Interviewee 4: And I think I wouldn't have been a particularly nice person if I'd gone with the mainstream view of society and life.

T: Mm okay.

Interviewee 4: And it's paid dividends in later life.

T: Okay, so by public school you mean private school don't you?

Interviewee 4: Yep definitely. I went to [REDACTED] in [REDACTED]

T: [REDACTED] did you? Oooh fancy! (both laugh)

Interviewee 4: Yeah, and learnt a few survival skills, like how to pick locks on the headmaster's filing cabinets and things!

T: Yeah fab! (laughs) Sounds good! That's an interesting thought though, that if you had just gone the private school route, you wouldn't have been as well-rounded or a nice person?

Interviewee 4: Absolutely. With that sort of school, everything is competition. And it doesn't matter if you have to step on people or push them aside – whatever, as long as you get that well-paid job with all the trappings.

T: The sort of nuclear family like, everything done?

Interviewee 4: Yeah absolutely.

T: Okay interesting, and then – so with the Battle of the Beanfield, so I've interviewed other people who have memories of it.

Interviewee 4: Yeah?

T: Yeah, which is really interesting, and the point I was trying to get at – so was the Battle of the Beanfield a build-up of resentment against this freedom under Thatcher [Prime Minister at the time] or? I'm trying to work it out.

Interviewee 4: It's – well – I think the way I saw it was that the alternative lifestyles just didn't fit with the world view at that time, whether it was nuclear families or – it hadn't changed much since the 1900s. If you had long hair and a beard you were obviously a bad person! Oh my god you're walking around barefoot! All hippies were drug fiends, all heroin addicts! Etc. etc. which is absolute rubbish!

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: So because you looked different you were ousted from mainstream society. Which is very similar to what has happened to witches every century in the past! You have a different vision to society so society tries to crush you and make you conform.

T: Okay, so it's because of that sort of fear of the other, fear of the different?

Interviewee 4: You've got to remember - at that time, it was less than 10 years since being gay was a criminal act [the Sexual Offences Act 1967]. Um, the witchcraft fraudulent mediums act [the Fraudulent Mediums Act 1951] was very much in style at the time so people were getting prosecuted and jail for practising witchcraft.

T: Gosh, I didn't know that.

Interviewee 4: Yep.

T: I think that's really interesting, I think there were a lot of things at the time that were sort of piling on, like the IRA, the Cold War had happened, you know, the sort of McCarthyism red thing [fear of Communism in the 1950s – the Red Scare] in America and obviously what you've mentioned as well. So it's interesting to see why it was such a feared thing by the government because of that fear.

Interviewee 4: It's about control. At that point they wanted to control every aspect of your life, as a hippie you were away from that, you were slipping through their clutches. But it was seen as a threat I think. What makes me laugh is, they had the Teddy Boys, the Mods and Rockers, who were bloody nasty people who carried switchblades and things and yet they were left alone.

T: Yeah they were the ones who fought each other in the 60s? Were they still there in the 70s?

Interviewee 4: Oh yeah. Definitely, very much so.

T: Huh, interesting.

Interviewee 4: And of course you had Punks taking off then as well. One of our [REDACTED] councillors was a Punk, she's 75! Just become Mayor of [REDACTED]!

T: That's so cool! So did you get arrested at the Battle of the Beanfield? Or you know, was anyone you knew arrested?

Interviewee 4: Oh a lot of people were. A lot of people as well weren't arrested they were given bloody serious beatings with batons and things, coppers [British slang for police] getting them on the ground and stamping on them, kicking them. I mean, we're talking almost killed a couple of people.

T: God.

Interviewee 4: Yeah, I mean I've always had a bit of a temper and even as a kid, back then, I just wanted to go up there and do the same to the coppers er but got dragged by the parents and hidden safely in a ditch until it all calmed down a bit.

T: Yeah, so you and your parents didn't get arrested or anything because you hid?

Interviewee 4: Yep.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 4: We literally, there were little kids as well, I'm talking 5 or 6 years old like me, who were actually getting hit with batons and punched which is totally unacceptable.

T: Definitely, yeah. It's a really scary thing isn't it, because it's that thing of – they're so (sighs) – you know, I don't want to put any assumptions on it but it's that thing of it's so much 'us and them' and the 'other', that you don't see them as people it's a sort of fear.

Interviewee 4: Yeah I've seen that in military life a lot.

T: Yeah. And that sort of thing of control, and the hierarchies and everything.

Interviewee 4: Yeah definitely.

T: Yeah and it's really hard with the Battle of the Beanfield to see what's true and what's not just because it doesn't seem like it was documented very well? Well from an academic perspective, it's really hard to be like 'this is a credible source' which is hard to prove.

Interviewee 4: Yeah.

T: It seemed like 500 people were arrested? Then the majority of accidents were head trauma from the truncheons.

Interviewee 4: Oh yeah, yeah.

T: Which is such a horrible thing to think about as well, because if you're being beaten on the head by a baton, that will quite easily kill someone.

Interviewee 4: Yeah, I'm amazed that no one was killed.

T: Yeah, and it's not defensive, it's out to get someone.

Interviewee 4: Yeah, the trouble is I remember it the police started on everyone else and they weren't throwing rocks at the police or anything, they were sat there smiling refusing to move.

T: Yeah, so it was sort of, you just wanted to stay there and the police wanted you to move so they were going to make you move.

Interviewee 4: Yeah and the thing was, what really got me was the sense of shock. The 'oh my god what is happening' I've never seen or heard anything like this before. Oh crap, I'm in the middle of it! And got home and said to my parents, look was what we were doing evil? You know, were we doing something naughty? Because, brought up to respect the police and it was like, if a policeman did something to you it was because you had done something wrong.

T: Yeah, yeah. I think um, it's that sort of horror of a civilian thing happening like that, where you don't expect it to happen in this country.

Interviewee 4: For me personally, the major thing was, I can't understand this, I can't process this. And it was only when I got older that I suddenly made the connection and realised what was going on.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 4: At the time I was thinking well if we go to any more of these things, the same thing would happen as well.

T: Yep, because that was 1985 right? And then 1986 I think a couple of people did try.

Interviewee 4: That's right.

T: So how old were you in 1985?

Interviewee 4: I think I was about 14.

T: 14, gosh, so actually really young still.

Interviewee 4: Yeah.

T: So you grew up going to the Stones and around the Solstice, with the Battle of the Beanfield after that did you still go back to the Stones at the Solstice? So in 2001, they had the access thing?

Interviewee 4: Oh yeah, I carried on. There was no way that was going to stop anything, it was set in stone that we would be going back.

T: So you always went back to the Stones, even though there was that memory of the Battle of the Beanfield?

Interviewee 4: Oh yeah, it just made us more determined. I'm going to find a way to do it by whatever means. I know for a long time, with all the other festivals there was a very subdued atmosphere, even Glastonbury. We're talking parking vehicles a couple of miles away, so you've got a getaway.

T: So putting safety measures in place to protect yourself if you needed to go? If it got nasty at a festival again you had an exit route?

Interviewee 4: What changed as well, was how we did things. Any witch related items were left at home, so there wasn't an excuse to arrest us. You really looked at yourself, made sure you weren't giving out signals that they might misinterpret.

T: So you were making sure you weren't obviously alternative to what was the norm at the times?

T: Have you been going back to Stonehenge for Solstices when you can now?

Interviewee 4: Pretty much so, unless I've been out of the country. Sometimes I'll go other places nearby too.

T: It's really interesting to get the perspective of someone who was there [during the free festivals at Stonehenge], it was obviously a chill, 'cool' thing to do

Interviewee 4: Yeah, I think it was the end of an era after that. Right across the country, you'd have smaller gatherings and try not to draw attention to yourself. Until the days of MDMA and the raves.

## **Transcript 5 – Interviewee 5**

Interviewer: Tabitha Grist Parker (T)

Interviewee:  
Interviewee 5

Date:  
24th May 2021

Location:  
Online, via Zoom

Duration of interview:  
1 hour, 21 minutes, 17 seconds

Please note, this has been edited for clarity

### **The Interview:**

T: So yeah if you want to explain ‘you and Stonehenge’

Interviewee 5: Yeah well I kind of have a unique relationship with Stonehenge I guess um you know I - I started this as a joke - ‘Clonehenge’ about Stonehenge replicas and then as I began to see how many there were I kept doing it and then so my relationship to Stonehenge is sort of through that. I mean through Stonehenge replicas rather than - I’ve been to Stonehenge four times now – um the last couple times with people who know way more about it than I do but my primary relationship with it is as something people make imitations of. So I’ve learned a lot about in that way but I guess my primary interest is - in how it relates to the replicas.

T: Yeah

Interviewee 5: I like Stonehenge don’t get me wrong and I was fascinated with it as a child but doing Clonehenge has really changed my relationship with it. But I get to observe other people’s relationships with it all the time through pursuing the Stonehenge replicas because a lot becomes apparent to you as you do this over the years.

T: Yeah that’s really interesting, how people respond to Stonehenge and then make their own artwork and sculpture about it.

Interviewee 5: Yeah I don’t know if you listened to the interview I sent you a link to? [Clonehenge radio interview, see Bibliography if interested]

T: I’m going to listen after this, I was away yesterday.

Interviewee 5: Because as I said there and I’ll say here too you know, people see in Stonehenge what they see in themselves and you really see a wide variety of what people see in Stonehenge and it manifests when they make these replicas it’s become so fascinating to me - there are ones that are memorials to war dead and ones that are just to be funny and everything in between.

T: Yeah, that's great. Um obviously doing archaeology you see a lot of archaeology memes and Stonehenge comes up a lot. It's really funny to see that interaction.

Interviewee 5: Yes, yeah, Stonehenge comes up a lot, a lot of contexts where you wouldn't expect it, it's strange.

T: Yeah, definitely. Okay, so if we do the participant questions. So number one [question one] was, how would you explain the relationship between you and Stonehenge? Does it hold a sort of important place in your life?

Interviewee 5: Yes, I mean, it holds a tremendously important place in my life at this point. I have multiple models of it, which was never my intention, I really just report on models but inevitably you end up with them. I have lots of friends who are experts at Stonehenge, or are involved with it, in one way or another. So it's sort of - it's become a sort of everyday part of my life which for a lot of people, so that's a funny thing.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: I mean, I have thought a lot about it. I see - I do Stonehenge searches every day. So I see, of course, not just the replicas, I see multiple pictures of Stonehenge all the time, every day from every angle and have different stones and so I have this awareness of it, I think that's a little different from most people, although there are people who have you know, obviously [REDACTED] - people like that, who have spent enormous amounts of time working there and being on the site, you know, over long periods of time in different seasons, they have this very visceral sense of it as a place. And I don't quite have that. But from looking at pictures and video and stuff all the time, it feels like a place I've been to way more than I have. Let's put it that way!

T: Yeah, definitely. Yeah, I think um, yeah, from doing this research as well. It just sort of, cos I visited it but and I also volunteer there - but I haven't been able to get because pandemic but it just sort of like lives in your mind all the time, isn't it? You think about it all the time.

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: It does. I mean, I never get away from it. Really. I mean, today for example, when I got up someone had sent me an email from Australia. He had heard the interview, which a lot of people had, but this is a thing that happens to anybody involved with Stonehenge.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: He was explaining to me his theories about Stonehenge like I'm not a Stonehenge expert! I'm a Stonehenge replica expert! But you get these letters from people telling you what they think Stonehenge is about. Because people are obsessed with it. Are you seeing that? I mean, are you seeing the fact that anybody involved with Stonehenge inevitably gets these?

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: There are multiple people out there who think they're the only one who knows they're the only person in the world that knows what Stonehenge was for, or how it was built. And all of them contradict each other. And none of them say the same thing. But they all think they're right!

T: Yeah, yeah. I'm getting that all the time!

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: I don't know if there's any other structure in the world that has that level of people who are sort of obsessed with it and think they're the only one who knows about it. I think that's a very strong, psychological thing.

T: It's very strange, isn't it? I'm just gonna let my cat in the room. She's attacking the curtains! [to cat] Miffy come on, come on! She's ridiculous. Come on. She's got this favourite cushion. There we go. [cat is settled on windowsill] Oh, my goodness. I could see her attacking the curtains!

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: You know what? I'm gonna grab a bed for my cat because he's wandering around.

T: Yeah do!

Interviewee 5: He's wandering around like, why are you in this room? Here's your bed if you want to hang out with me. Okay. He doesn't. I'm not usually sitting here in this place doing this.

Interviewee 5: Yeah. So that's a very peculiar thing. And I think there's also one thing I see a lot in searches, especially on Twitter, is that there are certain people from the time they were young, they saw a picture of Stonehenge and they don't even have to live in that part of the world. I mean, it can be anywhere they saw a picture of Stonehenge when they were young. I mean, they just, it just clicked with them and inspired them and excited them. A lot of people don't find that. I mean, there are plenty of people for whom it seems boring, but there are certainly people that just have this psychological spontaneous connection. And that's a curious - that's become curious to me.

T: Yeah, definitely. I think a lot of people hold it in - like really high esteem. And though there's that argument that, especially in the UK, there's so much great archaeology hits, people focus so much on it, but then it's also like, Stonehenge is the gateway to other places, you know, people get excited and go to different places.

Interviewee 5: I mean, yeah - I really like all of the megaliths. And when I went there I really wanted to see a lot of the stone circles and, and some of the long barrows and things and I managed to, but Stonehenge is a whole different thing. You know, I see these people going 'Avebury is better than Stonehenge'. Well, you know, it's like, two completely different things. One thing I think is that most people don't really understand why Stonehenge is famous and, and why it's peculiar why it's unique. Yeah, it's a word that everybody knows. But people don't really understand what it is and why it's unlike every other megalithic site in the UK.

T: Yeah, I think that's right. It's so different to everything else, that it's very hard to sort of work out what it is. And that's why people enjoy it.

Interviewee 5: But yet most people don't know why they like it. I mean, that's why I was glad to talk to you; because to me, it's a very strange psychological phenomenon that I don't really understand, but I see it play out all the time.

T: Yeah, I get that. It's also I was thinking about it the other day, how it's very reproducible, you know, the trilithons and everything. It's so easy to reproduce, whereas Avebury for example, is sort of, you know, they're all slightly different stones, but hasn't got that immediate feeling of, Oh, this is Stonehenge. You know.

Interviewee 5: That's true. I mean, you can do it with three pieces of celery and people still know what it is.

T: Yeah (laughs)

Interviewee 5: And yet, there are these people who do these very elaborate ones. I mean, I saw a Lego one recently where the fellow had done actual shapes of each stone as close as he could with Legos, you know, the different roughnesses of each particular stone, he went to great lengths. So, it isn't just that it can be reproduced easily because people go to great lengths sometimes to make it as close as possible. People who make cakes, you know, they, they get the diagram of the stones, the ones that are upright, and the ones that are lying down and they reproduce you know, the stones exactly as they are. You know, it's peculiar really!

T: Yeah, it's such an odd thing.

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: Yeah, I mean, on the one hand it's just supposed to be funny. So it's fun in that regard But it also is strange to me, I think a little bit.

T: Yeah, definitely. So um, you said that you've visited Stonehenge like four times? So I wondered, how do you feel when you're at Stonehenge itself? [question two] Like, what your feelings when you're there?

Interviewee 5: Well, I think the first time since it was with my mother, and I was 19. I was struck with all I was elated to be there. It was back, of course, when you could walk among the stones and touch the stones and everything. You went through that little tunnel. For me then, a very similar thing happened at West Kennet Long Barrow.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Especially coming from the United States, where everything old was destroyed and everything you live among is relatively new. It was the first site I went to, that was made by humans, but 1000s of years old. And for me, that was awesome. In the real word of awesome. I was - it really, as a young sort of poetic dreamer, you know, filled me with many thoughts and feelings when I first went there. And now it's really funny, because I've been there three times since - one time I didn't get in. You know, [REDACTED] you must know him.

T: Yeah I think I've come across him.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, he took me the first time. And by the way, Gertrude the Bustard was there. So that was exciting. She sort of followed us around the circle partway. But it's funny - because people take me there now because I'm Clonehenge so it's a different vibe for me.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: I get taken there by people who know much more about it than I do. And it's -it's really not like I imagine anyone else's relationship with it is, of course, I'm still amazed by it. And I think the artistic sculptural qualities of it have really become more important to me over time, because like I said, I see so many pictures of it. And I'm also interested in things like, what grows there and the lichens on the stones. And I've read up a lot on that because at home, I'm a gardener and interested in plants. So I look at it more with those things in mind. And then one time, one of the times I went, it was equinox, you say?

T: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewee 5: And, you know, I got to see the people with the drums and in the elaborate clothes, it was kind of raining. But for me, that was really a cultural phenomenon that by that time I had heard a lot about, and I knew people, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] who usually go to that, you know him, Simon?

T: I think so, there's a few different names that come up, yeah.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, [REDACTED] and Tim Daw are both people who worked at Stonehenge at one time or another and have become - [REDACTED] is the one who has the blog, with one page for every stone at Stonehenge and information about each stone.

T: Do they, that's amazing.

Interviewee 5: Yes, he's really an interesting person to talk to. And he was the person who was with me, I think both of the last two times, among other people. You know, I was with several people, but he was there and showing me things that anybody who knows about Stonehenge know, but showing me the Axe carvings and you know, talking to me about the Heel Stone. Showing me how it looked like it was shaped like a foot. He pointed out a lot of things that I certainly wouldn't have known about myself.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: So, I guess my relationship now, Stonehenge is a place that I think of in terms of a lot of friends that I have. People like Pete Glastonbury and Simon Banton, Tim Daw and Brian Edwards and other people are connected in my head with Stonehenge now. And a little fame, you know, when I applied to get in one time, when they saw it was me, English Heritage didn't charge me.

T: Aw that's so nice!

(both laugh)

T: That's very cool.

Interviewee 5: I mean I didn't - I didn't think they would know!

(both laugh)

T: So I was gonna ask about – [question three] do you think that being at Stonehenge itself has a positive effect on your mental well-being? So, you've talked about having lots of friends because of it?

Interviewee 5: Well, that's true. I mean, in that sense you know. Sometimes I'm sad about Stonehenge in that it has to be kept so well cropped. And it looks very much like someone's lawn, you know, rather than a wild place. And that's a little disappointing. I mean at least at Avebury, it's still somewhat [not wild] but it has a lot of wildflowers, you could walk there and the Hawthorns are blooming there. I mean, the cows are there in the middle of stones. I think Stonehenge because of the numbers of people that go there has to be kept pretty sanitised. Once in a while a Harebell grows, once in a while the Bustard comes but mostly it's very plain. But I guess, going to Stonehenge since I connect it with being with friends, yes, I guess I do have a positive feeling about it.

T: Yeah, that's great. Um, [question four] why do you think Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury? Like, why is it always in the news?

Interviewee 5: Well - I mean it's always in the news, because – and this is a secondary thing, I know you're looking for a different answer. But it's always in the news because every single news outlet in the world knows that if a headline says Stonehenge people will click on it.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: That's why it's in the news all the time. Now why it has that effect, that people will click on it, if it's Stonehenge. That's a more complicated question. And I think it's not as simple as most of the people I talked with, think it is.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: It should be because- as ancient as it is, it has this incredible precision. This is what it should be, I think. It has this incredible precision of the lintel circle, which most people don't appreciate, was an almost perfect circle. And although it's on uneven ground, the lintel circle actually was even, though people 4000 years ago weren't supposed to be able to do that, dress the stones, you know, fitted them together with knobs and hollows, so that the lintels would stay on top. The level of precision work compared to everything else in the British Isles is anomalous, it's an anomalous site. And so that's why it originally got a lot of attention. There's something incredibly striking about these big rough stones - rough on some sides, but worked on other sides. And yet this incredible precision from ancient times. It rivals much more advanced civilizations, you expect to see something that complex in a place where there's a big city.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And yet this is out on a plain. We now know that Durrington Walls had dwellings, but there's nothing else. Like, where did they practice? Somebody said 'Well, they practice on wood' Well, I can talk to any stone worker and they'll say, you can't practice carving a piece of wood, and then just walk over and carve stone. It isn't the same process. So okay, where did these people learn to carve these precision lintels and these mortice and tenon joints? Where did they learned to do that on stone? There's literally - no one has even found one stone where this was practised first.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: You see what I mean? It's really strange. I mean, you could go to Malta and see similar construction, but that's about as close as you can find for that era. That's very strange- it's very peculiar. And to me, that's the part that's inexplicable. I mean, it is hard to imagine how they brought the blue stones from Wales.

T: Yeah (laughs)

Interviewee 5: Anyway you know, the most peculiar thing is that there's no similar stonework ever found anywhere in the British Isles. And yet here is this incredible finished work. So that should be why it's famous.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Why it's famous is a little more complicated. And as I said, there is a thing that happens almost to people's subconscious. And this is what I see doing. I hope you don't mind if I ramble on –

T: No, not at all, this is really cool. Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Some people when they're children see pictures of Stonehenge, and it's like - a series of neurons in the brain lights up. Like nothing else in the world, there are certain people who are riveted, the first time they see it [Stonehenge] - now that could be because without you consciously realising it, your brain sees the combination of the roughness with the precision I mean, you see that those lintels and although you're not consciously registering it - it is incredible. It is incredible. Here's this ancient thing, but you can see the lintels are perfect even now as weathered as they are. There's that 3-lintel stretch at one point. It's strange. And the fact that it's out on the plain, there's no city around it, like even the pyramids had Cairo, you know?

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: It's isolated. And yet, it's this very engineered thing. So maybe that's why your subconscious kind of reacts to it. But then, on top of that, people who have visited it, have funny reactions later, I used to when I first started Clonehenge, I would call up everybody. This was - the internet was a different place back then.

T: Yeah.

(Both laugh)

Interviewee 5: So I would call up everybody and talk to them. Why did, you know - people in Oklahoma who built one outside their realty offices? Why did you build this

Stonehenge and they would sort of hum and haw - well, my brother went to Stonehenge when he was in England. He came back and he talked and talked about it. We all sat there and said, let's build one. Like, is that sort of bizarre? Like, let's build one. Do you run into that with Jim Reinders? Who built the Carhenge? In Nebraska?

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Now I didn't personally interview him. But I know someone who interviewed him. I don't know if you've seen the article – well there was an article about Stonehenge replicas. And the fellow who wrote it interviewed Jim Reinders because he's getting older. And at first he said, I don't know I just had a few beers, and I thought it was a good idea. But then as he continued to interview him, he found that when he was stationed in the UK, he would go for an afternoon and sit at Stonehenge. For hours. And he didn't even know why. It just moved him, you know? So even though later he's saying, Oh, I just had a couple of beers and decided to build this, obviously, there was a deeper psychological thing going on with Jim Reinders. As there is so often people come home from it.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: I liken it to - there's like a virus. It's like a mental virus. Some peoples' brains, some people just have this little compartment in their brain that Stonehenge walks into and fits in. And then for the rest of their lives, they have this connection, and they'll build Stonehenges or talk about Stonehenge or some people theorise about Stonehenge in ridiculous ways. And they think they're the only person that understands Stonehenge, you know, it's like a man meeting a very beautiful woman – like I'm uniquely qualified to be with this.

T: Yeah it's so funny, I think people divide into that camp of having an amazing connection. And then some of my friends, I'll talk to them and they're just like: 'It's just a pile of stones. Like, I don't want go there'. And I'm like: 'But it's amazing!'

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: I get that all the time, like, this is the most rubbish, tourist attraction, you go there. They're just stones, you don't even get near them. You walk around them, and you pay a lot of money for it. They're like, 'why don't we just knock it down and build the road?' I mean, not everyone gets caught quite with it. And that's interesting to me. Like, what is it that makes some people get this, like deep connection for the rest of their lives. And other people don't connect at all. So that's very interesting to me. And I continue to observe it. And the funny thing is, which maybe you will run across - that people, some people can't, not British people, obviously.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: There are a lot of people who will think about Stonehenge all the time who aren't British. They can't disconnect it from Easter Island [Rapanui] you see. They go to Stonehenge and they're so disappointed - like I thought it was going to be the big heads! (laughs) So there's something even 1000s of years of completely different cultures. There's something about the Easter Island heads that connects in peoples' minds with Stonehenge, which is another peculiar thing about it - that there are many Stonehenge replicas that also have Easter Island heads. Doesn't that seem strange? It's

very strange to me. It's surprising how many people also put up an Easter Island head. There's one in Japan in a cemetery. But the one I'm thinking of it's in Japan in a cemetery. It has a Buddhist shrine in the middle of the Stonehenge - and a row of Easter Island heads nearby.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: So anyway, what was your original question?

T: Oh, I can't remember. Oh, we were talking about why Stonehenge is a bigger focal point for the media than Avebury. But that's actually a really cool tangent we've gone off on because it's just really interesting to hear from someone who's not British. And to hear about Stonehenge, how you see it.

Interviewee 5: You know, in Asia, I get the impression that Stonehenge is largely seen as a very different kind of thing. I mean, maybe it's because most people in Asia relate to Stonehenge as a thing to go to on a tourist trip. Most of the far Asian Stonehenge replicas - India, the one that I know of, is a whole different thing. It was billed as a memorial to a poet and is very moving. And this poet wrote very beautifully, so people go there as sort of a mirage or a pilgrimage to that one, but I'm talking about in the Far East, there are a *lot* of Stonehenge replicas. Indonesia alone has four. One of the ones in Indonesia, you see it on social media every day. Yeah, people go there to pose, people go there to get married, people go there to, you know, just, it's so popular and people are so happy.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: So that you really see a difference in mood very rarely do you see British people going to Stonehenge and being really happy? But there's some reason why, over there, it's a source of great joy for some. And that's fascinating to me see a completely different way of relating. Now some Stonehenges of course, are just connected with science for people. There's one in Japan that is an observatory and there are many built in connection with museums or planetariums, like Kuala Lumpur that was in connection with the planetarium. But you see that a lot of various sizes so that people also have this science connection with it, because it's seen as an observatory, or it's seen as - like clock museums will often have a model of Stonehenge because it's seen as an early clock. So, there's lots of different ways that Stonehenge comes into people's minds.

T: Yeah, so I was gonna ask, before I ask my next question – how do you – so obviously, I'm British, and I've interviewed British people about Stonehenge - but from an overseas perspective. How does Stonehenge seem to you? Because you said that you don't have anything in the US like it?

Interviewee 5: I mean, it turns out that there are some sort of - they may not be as old. Well, there are some prehistoric things but I didn't know about them when I was young. But yes, I mean, for the rest of the world, whereas British people see Stonehenge as essentially British.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: For the rest of the world, they see it as part of a human legacy, a larger human legacy. I think that's why you're seeing the outcry about the tunnel and the

English landscape. People don't see it. Stonehenge belongs to the UK, a lot of people don't even know that it's in England. I often see on Twitter, people were like, 'why didn't anybody tell me Stonehenge is in England?' You know, for people, it's just this amazing legacy of ancient humanity. And I think that's how I saw it. When I was young. Of course, it was connected with my mother who was very much an anglophile.

T: Okay, yeah.

Interviewee 5: So you know, it was connected with that, too. England and Ireland, she had always wanted to go. And she was fascinated by the literature. I mean, for English speaking people. There's that aspect that England - a lot of literature really takes place there. And you see that in Australia, though it is connected, but for people around the world, Stonehenge is seen not just as British, but as part of a huge human legacy of ancient times. And is separated in people's minds from the fact that it's British. And that's why the World Heritage thing makes it hard for people to understand why anybody in Great Britain would harm the landscape around us.

T: Yeah, definitely.

Interviewee 5: And I know people and people there say yes [in Britain], but it's hard for us to drive and I get that, and they say it's ours, which it is on your land. But for other people, there's this feeling of ownership all around the world of it being a great site.

T: Yeah, that's cool. Yeah, cos I don't think we think of it as being a sort of worldwide thing. So obviously, we have the world heritage stuff with UNESCO. Um, but yeah, I don't, you know, I think of Stonehenge as being in Wiltshire, you know, it's very much situated sort of nearish to me, but not really a whole worldwide thing. So that's really cool.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, I mean, and I've learned that more as I got, I know, British people, not through Stonehenge but before that, like I said, I was really interested in ancient sites and went there and I got to see the different perspective that British people have towards Wiltshire in general actually - because of all the other sites too, and the way other people have this awe of that incredible landscape that you have there was, Silbury Hill, West Kennet Long Barrow and you know, Avebury and the avenue and the cursus at Stonehenge. All the things that you have to people it's a larger legacy, I guess.

T: Yeah. No, that's interesting to understand that perspective, because I think, being from Bath and around this area, it just feels like local heritage, so I never think of it as worldwide heritage.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, I mean, that is a huge difference. I think almost everybody outside of Great Britain sees it that way.

T: Yeah, so the next question I was gonna ask is, [question five] what do you think about the Stonehenge Tunnel development? That'd be quite interesting.

Interviewee 5: You know, I feel that my first answer to that is I feel like I'm not qualified to really have an opinion. But I know that people who know a lot, and I can name two - [redacted] is against it. [redacted] is for it. And they're both prominent Stonehenge scholars. So I see that there's a diversity of opinion, even among people who know a great deal more than I do. I think that the creation of the tunnel for

the next few years, for as long as it takes is going to ruin the Stonehenge visiting experience for many, many tourists - the noise, the gash that's going to have to be created in the earth, the lights, the actual process of creating it... There are people who are saving up their money right now, their dream is to go to Stonehenge, and they're going to go to Stonehenge, and the area is going to be full of these big, yellow noisy machines, there's going to be all this disturbance. And that's going to be their only visit to Stonehenge in their whole life.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And that's gonna ruin it for them. Pretty much. So that part, I think, is the part that I feel qualified to have feelings for. Because I see people all the time saying, 'Oh, my dream is to go to Stonehenge' and go to Stonehenge for what, even if we think it's ridiculous that they want to go there, they might have things in their head. They think it was created by Druids, which, you know, is not true or whatever. But it's their fantasy to go there. And now this is going to happen. And I feel sorry for them.

T: Yeah. So as a short-term thing, it will have a big impact.

Interviewee 5: I mean, it's done. It's probably going to not be too bad. Will a lot of archaeology be ruined? Yes. Even [REDACTED] admits that, but he thinks that enough will be recovered during the sort of emergency kind of archaeology that goes on during things like this. He thinks that it will even it out. I don't know enough to know that's true. I have a lot of respect for [REDACTED]. I think a lot of people do. And he may be right. But like I said, if those two differ about it, I can't make a judgement on the ultimate thing.

T: Yeah, that's a good point, because I think a lot of the discussion about it is the long term, but looking at the short term, having all that construction work will really change the tourist experience of Stonehenge.

Interviewee 5: And they're going to try to charge just as much for the people who are going during that time. You know, you should get a discount!

T: That's an interesting thing because how are they going to rectify that thing of having work going on and the tourist experience? I don't know if you have this in the US, but we have - especially in Bath, I think it's because it's a historic place, where if they're doing building work on a building, they'll take a photograph of the building and have it hanging down in front so you can still see it, but see the work behind it?

Interviewee 5: Ah, yeah.

T: So I wonder if they'll do something like that.

Interviewee 5: Like a big mural covering! (laughs)

T: Yes, exactly. Which is still so odd because you can see through and see all the work happening.

Interviewee 5: Right.

T: So the next question was [question six] if you were explaining Stonehenge in a nutshell, how would you explain Stonehenge and its history to someone who's never been?

Interviewee 5: Oh, that's interesting. Yeah - you mean it's history? Or what it is?

T: Um, it's up to you - like if you bumped into someone, they're like, 'I've never been to Stonehenge. But what is it like?'

Interviewee 5: I have run into people who have never heard of Stonehenge. Because we had a Hayhenge event, and it was at a farmers' market. And we told the vendors ahead of time, if you can build a Stonehenge out of your wares. And there was a woman who had a soap stand, and I spoke to her about it. And she's like, 'what is Stonehenge? I never heard of it'. Like, oh, wow, these people really do exist. But I guess I would talk about - I mean, I have my own ideas about it. Which even a couple of my British expert friends scoff at. But I mean, I would explain that it is a stone circle. But unlike any other stone circle. It's clear from the way the stones - it's difficult to imagine how in the time when the stones were brought, how they were brought. It's mysterious why they bothered to bring some of the stones from hundreds of miles away. That's unexplained -

There's no sense of exactly why it was built. And why it had to be built. As I was talking to you before about the precision lintels, the perfect circle, the way they even the lintel circle, even though it's on uneven ground - the engineering and the calculation had to be so complex. Even now, to do that, it would be it's certainly more doable now. But it would be complex calculations to make those rough stones albeit the right height. And have the mortise and tenon joints. And carve those stones into the perfect curve, each one the right section of the arc to make a perfect circle. That's a lot of calculation. That's a lot of math there.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And yet, despite the evidence that there were these very advanced engineers, and thinkers, there's no city around. Yeah, I think that's huge. And people don't mention, I think that's one of the most if it were in the middle of Rome, if it were in the middle of Cairo. If it were in the middle of some ancient city, we wouldn't think it was so strange. It's out in the middle of a plain.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And my thoughts, my private thoughts, which are probably wrong, but I'm going to tell you, is that it wasn't really designed by the people who built it. I mean, certainly, it was the brilliance of the people who were indigenous to the British Isles at the time who put it together. But I think people from somewhere else who had some experience with doing work like this, chose that spot. I even think they chose that spot.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: From ancient civilization, not in Great Britain, I know this is, or else it could be, depending on how closely connected that one way north. That's so developed. I can't think of it now. But anyway, some civilization not where it's built chose that spot. And some people say in order to have all the alignments that has, and still be round, it has to be on that latitude.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Is that true? I don't know enough. I don't know enough. So maybe other people chose that spot and built it there. And that's why it's so strict. They built it there for a specific purpose, which seems to be well, – despite this email I got this morning. He says there's no such thing as alignments. It's the lines of alignments with the sun or not.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And maybe – nothing was scientific the way we think. No, nothing was disconnected from sort of spiritual matters, everything that they were scientific, but also it had an aura of either gods or spirits are something too – which I think it should be. But anyway, that's what I think – I think it was built for purposes that are hard to define. But it wasn't just the people who lived there at the time there were other people involved.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And that doesn't mean that the people who were there – I hasten to say weren't intelligent enough or anything like that. I just think it's so strangely anomalous that someone had to come at least from the outside and made some suggestions.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And that whole thing about the carving of the stones, that's also one of the things – I would explain about that. How it's so peculiar. Avebury is fantastic. But they didn't work with stones the way they did at Stonehenge. Avebury is an amazing accomplishment. But there's nothing else like Stonehenge. And I think that would be a huge part of what I would tell someone. That it's sort of unique.

T: Yeah – so my next question is [question seven] do you think that Stonehenge's public profile eclipses its' importance? So do we lose the meaning of Stonehenge itself because it's always being discussed?

Interviewee 5: I think that's true. I think Stonehenge's public profile has grown into a thing of itself that didn't have much to do with Stonehenge. I mean, it's become a meme. The press uses it as shorthand for the Neolithic. Things that have nothing to do with Stonehenge get referred to as the 'Stonehenge of Spain', the 'Stonehenge of Brazil', the 'Stonehenge of Russia' or something. And there are other ancient sites that have nothing to do with Stonehenge at all. So yeah, I mean, to a certain extent, its public profile has been become a separate thing from Stonehenge itself, I would say. Do you follow [redacted] [twitter user]?

T: Yeah, I do. Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Yeah so you saw, that she wanted them to write that article about the Sheffield Archaeology department, and they would not – the Guardian would not write it unless they could use Stonehenge. And I think that's a terrific example of what we were talking about.

T: Yeah. I was thinking about that as well because I saw it the other week. And I was like, that makes so much sense. You know, a newspaper like the Guardian, which is actually quite a good newspaper – can't justify writing about archaeology without including Stonehenge.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, terrible. And that's why some people hate Stonehenge. I follow [redacted] [twitter user]. And he sort of has this love hate relationship with Stonehenge, which he's very public about. It's almost like an act, you know?

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: With Stonehenge and how he hates every mention of Stonehenge. But it's partly just him pointing out he has this running hashtag when he gets people to do 'Stonehenge anything'. Some weird connection with Stonehenge and you tag him and put 'Stonehenge anything'. There was a Town Hall, which I don't even know where it is. They put Stonehenge on the inside of it. And then as a celebration of the museum reopening, it was like a club. It had all the different coloured lights. I forget what you call it because I'm an old person and not a young person, but you know, they had all the different coloured lights and loud music and people were dressed up. And they're around this Stonehenge. Rave! Like a rave! And that's the sort of thing that he's fascinated with how prehistory influences modern things and takes on different meanings.

T: Yeah. No, I love that idea. I think this is why I'm doing it. Because I'm really interested in how people today interact with ancient monuments and what we bring out from it, you know?

Interviewee 5: Yeah, well, you should follow him. He's very good. And those two guys called who did the videos about the stones all over Great Britain and they do a podcast, and they had him on it a few months ago. It was very interesting.

T: Yeah, that's really cool. So my last two questions were about – I've got a couple more about other bits – but about Stonehenge and genius loci. Have you come across that term before? Yeah? Just checking (laughs)

Interviewee 5: Yeah. I'm very familiar with that term.

T: Yes, great. Um, so [question eight] do you see Stonehenge as a living thing? Or a place?

Interviewee 5: I'd love to hear your answers when you publish your paper! (both laugh) I don't know if I actually do. But it's very useful for me to think of it that way. The best analogy for what I see. In my work at Clonehenge is, as I said, it's a living thing that deposits like, an egg or – like a wasp that lays eggs in people. And really, I wish a psychology student would research this and find out why these certain people, other people are immune, but certain people [are interested in Stonehenge]. It is like a living thing in that. It occupies them. It changes who they are for the rest of their life.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And I shared my study outside of Clonehenge and maybe this is how I even got into it. My interest is in childhood – transcendent experience, mystical

experience. And here in the US, we have Native Americans who do vision quest. My paper that I wrote, although I'm not an academic, but this happened to me, because very bizarre, this is all connected with how I got into Stonehenge, too.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: But this very bizarre sequence of events that involve me, getting to know Native Americans – descendants personally. I began to realise that experience, childhood experiences in nature that have a transcendent or mystical nature, which are in British literature as much as American literature. You find them – famous people describe these little experiences. It's fascinating. Even John Lennon talks about one. They happen to people, and they change the person for the rest of their lives.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: The person becomes more poetic in thought. And the person becomes more connected with nature, starts doing more spiritual quest questioning, it has this effect on people. And I began to realise talking with these Native American people – that was analogous to having an accidental vision.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: [Native Americans] would say that these people gain a guardian or helper spirit. That's how they would explain these changes. Well, something similar does happen to some people with Stonehenge, even in adulthood. They get changed a little by Stonehenge just as the Native Americans would say – that these childhood experiences – their idea of spirits isn't – I can't explain this well in a short amount of time, but what they call spirits isn't what we think of spirits. It's this thing that's you from inside your heart and head that we think of it as part of us. And it's inside us, but they describe it as spirits and sort of outside us, but it's the same thing.

T: Okay.

Interviewee 5: And something similar is the *genus loci* there, which may be contributed to by all the people who have gone to Stonehenge over the years, but it seems to have an effect that on people, it's probably just psychological. But that doesn't make it less real.

T: Yeah, that's an interesting concept. Um, yeah. [question nine] do you think Stonehenge has its' own sense of *genius loci*? You've basically described it in that you think it does?

Interviewee 5: Yeah. It does, to some extent, and to what extent that is related to the place – although one idea of why it is where it is, is that it may be that someone experienced a strong feeling there. Here in the US, where some of the Native Americans have their sites, somebody I know talked to some elders about it. And they said, before there were cars and trucks, before there were radio waves. You know, when everything was quiet, that when you went to different places, you got different feelings. And they said that it's been changed by the low rumbles of the cars and waves coming through the air. But some places had certain feelings when you went there, and that some of their stone works were built in those places, because of that feeling you got, when you went there to mark that place. So who knows? I mean, Stonehenge is in a place now where

you have the military and roads, and we can't feel what it was at one time. But it's possible that it had this extraordinary feeling when you stood there once.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: And some people say they still feel it.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: Which is intriguing. I hope I'm not talking on too much. It's just that, I think about this often and usually don't have a chance to talk about it.

(both laugh)

T: Yeah, I feel the same, like I think about all the time. So it's really nice to talk to someone that's interested in it too. It's great.

(both laugh)

T: So, my last couple of questions were about Clonehenge. And I wondered when did you set it up? And why did you set it up?

Interviewee 5: Well, Clonehenge began on the website 'Megalithic Portal', essentially. Okay. I don't know if you know that site.

T: Yeah, I do.

Interviewee 5: Okay, well, [REDACTED] started and runs it. Extraordinary person, really neat. But at that time, it was way back before Google – the website looked like those old websites used to look. And he had a little chat on the main page. He and I sort of hated how everything got called Stonehenge. Even back then, you would see things like a new site was discovered in Russia, and they would say, 'the Stonehenge of Russia', and it was so ridiculous. And then he and I began to chat on the main page, so everybody could see it, we would send each other those, but we'd also send like, Photoshop, beer mugs, something somebody posted, like a Stonehenge that they made. And we would send each other them and it was funny to me, but then he got bored with it.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: He had better say, more things to do. But I kept doing the searches on whatever it was [the server] and I kept finding them. And I'm like, this is funny. So then I thought, somebody must have a blog about this. And I did a whole lot of searches, and there was no blog about it. And I thought somebody should have blogged about it. So I sort of waited, like somebody would have a blog about it any day, and it didn't happen. And I thought, I guess I'm going to have to do this. I thought I would do it for a month. One a day, and surely that would be as many as there were in the world.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: How could there be more than 30 Stonehenge replicas right?

T: Yeah (laughs)

Interviewee 5: But it never ended. I started doing them. And at one point my interest flagged, but then [REDACTED] I don't know if you know who he is. He really liked the idea of Clonehenge and started including for me, little Stonehenge replicas at museums in Wiltshire, he'd go to the Wiltshire museum and ask, 'could you show me all your Stonehenge replicas?' And [REDACTED] was really what kept me going. Because it turned into a lot of work. Now I spend hours on it every day. But over time, I began to see that it was endless. People build them every day. Jenga, for example. That's the most common – to the point where I never even post them anymore. Unless there's something extraordinary about it. Cheese, because people get drunk and eat cheese. Drink does encourage the creation of Stonehenges! (both laugh) And of course, all the biscuit Stonehenges that children make at school.

T: Yeah.

Interviewee 5: So at this point, that's it. I began to think this is strange. I do see occasional pyramid recipes. I even saw a brilliant Göbekli Tepe. The site in Turkey – a brilliant one made of Legos. But you don't see the sheer quantity of constant replicas that you get with Stonehenge all the time. And like I said, yes, some are just like two pieces of celery and one across but many of them are more elaborate. And yeah, I guess it has really piqued my intellectual curiosity. And what surprises me is that more people aren't curious about it. [REDACTED] has – he thinks it's funny that I do this. [REDACTED] has a list of older ones. He even read a read about – of course, there's no picture of it. In the 1700s, a woman in one of the Royal Courts had a piece of jewellery that was Stonehenge.

T: That's so cool.

Interviewee 5: And of course, there's the one in Wales there's a very poor, but still very early replica from the early 1800s, I believe. So people were building them very early. He also found in a piece of literature, somebody making one out of courgettes. [REDACTED] does that kind of research but he doesn't really – I think it's neat that you're doing this, I think it's very difficult for British people to get a sense of how people in the rest of the world have Stonehenge so prominent in their thoughts. Yes, I think that it's very hard to get outside of – and I don't criticise British people – but I'm saying that the outside perspective is hard to get from people who live there. And [REDACTED] is the closest person to what I do. And so [REDACTED] and I have often talked. But he really doesn't see the peculiarity of the strange obsession that people have worldwide.

T: Yeah, I was gonna ask, so how many years have you been doing it now?

Interviewee 5: It'll be 13 years in November.

T: That's brilliant.

Interviewee 5: Who would've thought?! I've been over there twice. And second time, the first time was mixed megaliths and Clonehenge. The second was almost a complete Clonehenge visit, which wasn't as fun because it was mostly men. Have you noticed the white male preoccupation with Stonehenge?

T: Yeah. This is something I find frustrating. It's why I was glad to talk to you actually. Because, doing this research, you just find that it's so many men that are talking about Stonehenge. You know, it's nice to talk to other women about it.

Interviewee 5: Yeah and they all know everything about it and they're the expert.

T: And of course, you're wrong! Yeah.

(both laugh)

Interviewee 5: So, I didn't enjoy the second visit as much because I had to spend all my time with men and they were men my age. Who really don't understand that women are completely people, you know?

T: Yeah.

(Interviewee 5 laughs)

Interviewee 5: They talk about the rock and roll music from the 60s. And you know, so it's not as fun, but it was interesting. And then, so I had those two visits because of Clonehenge. And then I was flown to LA, and put up in a Beverly Hills Hotel. And Facebook paid for the entire thing for me to be in that Super Bowl commercial!

T: Wow, I didn't know that! There's so much I haven't seen [relating to Stonehenge].

Interviewee 5: They made a Stonehenge replica and believe it or not they filmed our part of the commercial on the solstice. Just a coincidence. So yeah, I got flown to LA for two days to be in this Facebook commercial, which was bizarre. And if I hadn't started Clonehenge that wouldn't have happened.

T: That's so bizarre.

Interviewee 5: So I have these pillows and couch cushions that were paid for by that.

(both laugh)

T: That's brilliant. I'll have to look that up. Yeah, I always say to friends when they ask about research. Because with Stonehenge it's just like diving into rabbit holes. You know, you start one thing and you just go off into something else.

Interviewee 5: Oh, absolutely. Listen, I've done four radio interviews now – two in Wiltshire, and one in Australia. And I'm doing this, you know, this is being injected into a life where nobody else around me is doing anything like this. And I must thank Stonehenge, it has brought this terrific, interesting thing into my life. Completely by accident. It was just a joke. I had no idea that eventually it would turn into all this.

T: That's really cool. I think you might have seen on Twitter because I love eBay. I'm really into vintage stuff, but I just kept finding Stonehenge t shirts, you know? And I was just like, oh, I'll do a thread. And now my friends will text me 'like when's the next one?' Because it's interesting to see, isn't it?

Interviewee 5: Have you seen the one that says 'Give me that old time religion?' I wish more people would make Stonehenge t shirts that didn't say Stonehenge. I think if you have an image of Stonehenge, you don't need the word.

T: Exactly. I think that's cool. It's fun to see different people's interpretations.

Interviewee 5: [REDACTED] and Wiltshire Museum sell those t shirts that say it's just a pile of rocks in a field.

T: Yeah, I love it. I have to get one. I also found that from looking at t shirts, There's a couple in the UK, but most of the stuff is in America. You know, all the tourist t shirts. So that's cool.

Interviewee 5: Well, a lot of people who will never go to Stonehenge still wear Stonehenge clothes [in America]. And then of course, I'm sure you hear about Spinal Tap. I hate Spinal Tap. But I get people making that comparison all the time. You know, I don't hate it. But I'm tired of it. And then a person I know started making precision Stonehenge replicas in the UK, [REDACTED] and as he began to promote his stuff, he came to me and said, 'How do you put up with every single person mentioning Spinal Tap?' You have to put up with it. If you say anything against that, it's like you're against fun. But one time when I was somewhere I overheard someone saying, 'ever since Spinal Tap put Stonehenge on the map'. I thought, gosh, some people who think Stonehenge wasn't famous till spinal tap. So that's a funny thing I would never have thought of.

T: Yeah, it's such a funny thing. I've heard of Spinal Tap, but I haven't got into it because I think it's gonna annoy me eventually! (laughs)

Interviewee 5: And it's especially worse if you're in replicas. But of course, the opposite side – I love that Ylvis song about Stonehenge. It's like, unofficial Clonehenge. Although I think it is a problem, that Stonehenge is shorthand for all of archaeology. And I don't know an answer to it.

T: Yeah, I think it can be a real positive, but it can also be a real negative and there's so much more on offer from archaeology.

Interviewee 5: Yes, exactly. I mean, the UK especially, is a wealth of ancient sites. Incredible variations. It's fascinating how they vary from place to place, you know. It's fascinating. And for a lot of the monuments, people don't even know that they're there.

T: It's so interesting. I think that thing of how we come back to these monuments is just really cool. I had someone comment on a survey that I'd done for this for this thesis. And they're like, 'Why do you care so much about Stonehenge? What about other places?'

Interviewee 5: But Stonehenge needs to be studied, the attitudes towards Stonehenge need to be studied, even more than Stonehenge right now. But at this point, you have to look at what's going on with people's minds and Stonehenge – and journalism and Stonehenge. It is a strange and unique situation.

T: Yeah, exactly. And there's always going to be new perspectives. Because one of my supervisors has done work on Stonehenge, but he's 40 years older than me, so being in

your 20s and looking at Stonehenge, it's a completely different perspective – um, I think I think I've asked you everything – that's been so interesting. Thank you. It's been great to talk about it.

Interviewee 5: Well, thank you very much. Yes, I should get going as I have a contractor coming in before long. Well, it's been great. Nice meeting you.

T: And you. If you're ever over here, let me know.

Interviewee 5: And if I have any thoughts, you may get an email or two?

T: Yeah that would be great.

Interviewee 5: Yeah, well take care and good luck. And I do want to see it when it's done.

T: Yeah, I'm gonna send you a copy.

Interviewee 5: All right, great.

T: Okay bye, bye.

Interviewee 5: Bye.

## Thematic coding analysis example for Experiences of Stonehenge

T: Yeah. (laughing)

K: And you couldn't go close to it, I mean at that time, it was roped off. I mean obviously it's different now. (clears throat) And so hence why we used to go to Avebury, that was our go-to place because there you were completely surrounded by the stones. I mean they were massive, you know, although they're not as precisely cut as Stonehenge, they're huge, absolutely huge and there's so many of them. So even from a young age Stonehenge was somewhere that was not really on my radar, it was somewhere I was aware of and there was always a sense of disappointment! (laughs)

(T and K both laugh)

K: And that was kind of my early memories of it. Because then, because I've always been quite involved in Glastonbury Festivals and from 2000 until 2010 I lived about a mile and a half from Pilton. So I was quite aware of the Traveller link with Glastonbury and the fallout really of the Battle of the Beanfield is where Michael Eavis then gets involved with Stonehenge and the Travellers and of course that all went pear-shaped! (laughs)

(T and K both laugh)

T: Yeah! Definitely.

K: So my foundation was this, there was this place that was special, but was quite disappointing and was you know, having been to Avebury, having been to Bratton Camp, having been to all these other sites where there was no charge, you could have a picnic, you could run all over it as a kid, we'd spend our days rolling down the henges at Avebury, which again, you're not allowed to do now.. (laughs)

T: Anymore, yeah. (laughs)

K: Yeah, so why was this place so special? So that was my sort of, I think the point of reference is someone who is very lucky, very privileged to have all these wonderful sites, so I could not understand what made Stonehenge so different, and made it so special that it had to be roped off and kept away and protected. Um and then obviously when the Travelling community, when all of that kind of kicked off, depending on the side of your politics, how you view it and the reasons for it; but speaking as a 10-11 year old...

T: Yeah.

K: ...suddenly all these people, you know, we had snow gates erected on the A36, so there were certain times in May going into June where it was really difficult to get anywhere. So all the side roads would be gated and the farmers would put out tractors and bales and the main roads, certainly around the solstice, there were police cordons.

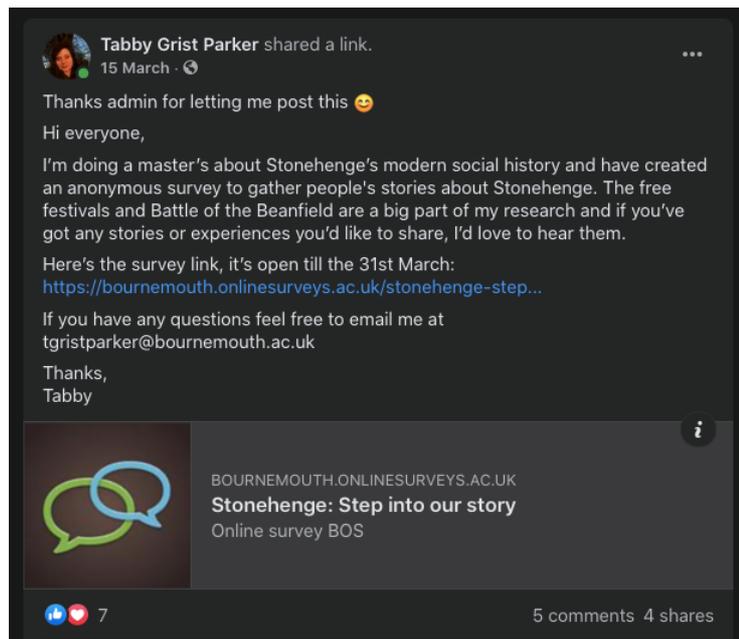
Thematic coding example, excerpt from Interviewee 3's interview for the Experiences of Stonehenge Interviews

## Appendix E – Research Project Social Media Outreach

### Social media outreach for Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey



Instagram post for the Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey



Facebook post for the survey, posted in Battle of the Beanfield Facebook group



**Tabby (Tabitha) Grist Parker**  
@tabitha\_arch



MRes survey is live! If you've got any stories from Stonehenge I'd love to hear from you! Link here or in my bio:

[bournemouth.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/stonehenge-ste...](https://bournemouth.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/stonehenge-ste...)

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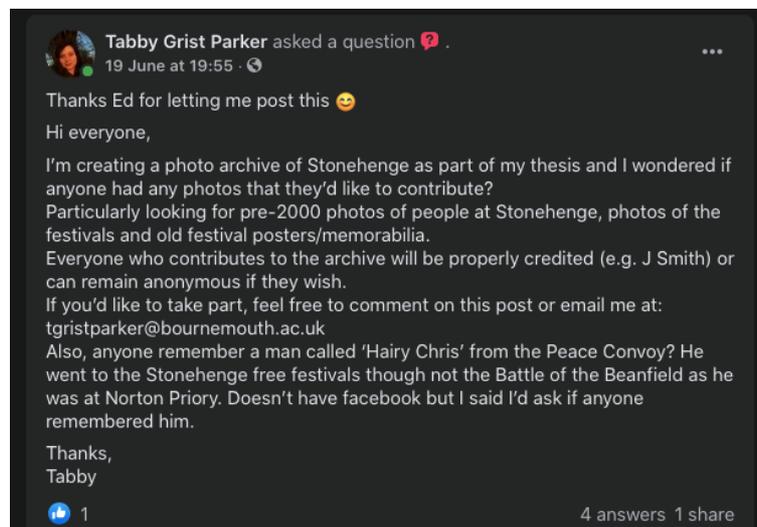
**9** Retweets **2** Quote Tweets **7** Likes

Tweet for Public Perceptions of Stonehenge survey

## Social media outreach for Stonehenge Photo Archive



Instagram post for Stonehenge Photo Archive



Facebook post for Stonehenge Photo Archive, posted in the Battle of the Beanfield Facebook group



**Tabby (Tabitha) Grist Parker** @tabitha\_arch · Jun 17



Hi everyone!

I'm including a photo archive in my thesis, does anyone have any Stonehenge photos they'd like to contribute?

Particularly interested in pre-2000 ones if possible 😊

photo: Hazel Crabb

[#stonehenge](#) [#stonehengephotos](#) [#solsticestonehenge](#)  
[#stonehengesocialhistory](#)



Hazel 🐝



3



10



24



Tweet for Stonehenge Photo Archive

# Appendix F – Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre Archive Visits

## Archives Visit Method Statement



### Method Statement for Resuming Research

**Name: Tabitha Grist Parker**

**Location: Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham**

**Date of activity: 3/11/20**

Rationale: This visit to view Stonehenge archive material is taking place because there is little information available online. It will improve the quality of my research.

Brief description of the activity: I am visiting Wiltshire and Swindon History Museum to view some archive documents about Stonehenge. I have booked a slot for November the 3<sup>rd</sup>, between 1.30 and 5pm. The documents I wish to see have already been ordered for me and will be quarantined for 3 days after my visit.

In order to keep individuals and colleagues safe the following measures must be taken as set out below:

- I will avoid public transport and use my own transport to visit the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre.
- I will follow all COVID-19 protocol set by Bournemouth University and Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre during the visit.
- On arrival, I will let staff know I am there and book in for my appointment at the archives.
- I will wash/sanitise my hands upon arrival and will regularly wash my hands during the visit (sanitiser is not recommended as some of the material may be sensitive to alcohol exposure).
- I will wipe down my work area with alcohol sanitising wipes before and after my visit if allowed by the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre.
- I will wear a mask throughout my visit and avoid touching my face.
- I will follow social distancing (2 metres) at all times during my visit to ensure my own and others safety.
- When I arrive home after the visit, I will wash my hands thoroughly with soap and hot water as soon as I get home.

I will wash my clothing as soon as I get home and thoroughly wash my hands.

**If you feel unwell & suspect that you may have COVID-19 symptoms you must inform your colleagues & return home immediately. You must follow the BU absence reporting procedure and follow the latest Government guidelines on testing and self-isolation: <https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/coronavirus-covid-19/>.**

## Example of WSHC Visit Booking Form

**Wiltshire Council**

Working in partnership with



### Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre Booking Form

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic means that we have had to make changes to the way we deliver our services. Access to the search room will be by **appointment only** – please use this form or telephone 01249 705500 to book your visit. For more information, please see the FAQs on our [Planning a Visit](#) pages.

To view archaeology resources please contact our Archaeology team by email or phone [Archaeology@wiltshire.gov.uk](mailto:Archaeology@wiltshire.gov.uk) / 01249 705503. Bookings for the Wiltshire Buildings Record can be done via [Archives@wiltshire.gov.uk](mailto:Archives@wiltshire.gov.uk) or telephone 01249 705500.

#### Your details

To help us manage visitor numbers and document production please provide the following information:

**Name:** Tabitha (Tabby) Grist Parker

**Number of people in your party:** 1 (myself)

**Telephone number:** 07523257902

**Email address:** [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

**Address:** 11 Church Street, Bathford Bath BA1 7TU

In line with Government policy Wiltshire Council has been asked to collect details and maintain records of staff and customers visiting our premises to support NHS Test and Trace. This is voluntary, and the information will only be passed on to contact tracers upon request, will not be used for any other purpose and will be deleted after 21 days. You can withdraw consent at any time.

**Do you consent to the information above being used to support NHS Test and Trace?**

**This consent can be withdrawn at any time. Yes**

#### Booking information

- Social distancing guidelines mean we must limit the number of visitors to our search rooms.
- **Access to WSHC is by appointment only – please do not travel if you have not booked.**
- You may book either a morning (9.30am-1pm), afternoon (1.30pm-5pm), or all-day slot.
- Bookings must be made a week in advance and we will not accept bookings more than two weeks in advance.
- We will try to meet your requested booking day/time but this cannot be guaranteed.
- We will contact you to find a suitable alternative date if we are unable to fulfil your request.

**Which date would you like to visit?**

Wednesday, 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1.30-5pm 2020

**Would you prefer a morning, afternoon or all-day slot?**

**I would prefer an afternoon slot if at all possible.**

**Would you like to book a lunch slot? No thank you**

Ordering documents

- For the safety of customers and staff we will not be producing items that have not been ordered in advance.
- In line with The National Archives' policies and to help manage demand we are limiting the number of documents each customer can order to 12.
- We cannot guarantee that your preferred document(s) will be available due to quarantining of documents for 72 hours after use.

**Which items do you wish to see? Please give catalogue reference numbers.**

1	G1/132/7	7
2	F24/200/45	8
3	F24/200/46	9
4	F24/200/47	10
5	4312/10/J/1/4BW	11
6	3377/2/5	12

**Are you interested in viewing books relevant to your area of study?** (These will be in addition to your document allocation) Yes, I am researching the modern social history of Stonehenge, from 1900 to present day

Facilities required during your visit

A space for refreshments is available and a 30-minute lunch slot can be booked. Please see customer FAQs for more information.

We have a limited amount of archival equipment for the use of our researchers – to help us make sure everyone has access to these items please indicate whether you expect to use them during your visit. All items will be thoroughly cleaned by WSHC staff between users.

**Would you like to book one of our public computers? No**

**Do you require a socket for a laptop? Yes**

**Will you require a microfiche or microfilm reader?** Not sure, depends on what format the requested documents are in

**Do you have any additional requirements that you would like us to be aware of?** (e.g., medical requirements, mobility problems or visual/hearing impairments, exemption from rules regarding mandatory face coverings) None

Next steps

Thank you very much for completing this form. Please return it to [Archives@wiltshire.gov.uk](mailto:Archives@wiltshire.gov.uk). A member of staff will contact you within two working days of receiving your form to confirm your booking or to suggest an alternative date.

Please remember to bring a face covering with you as they are mandatory for customers visiting WSHC. If you forget to bring your mask, they can be purchased in nearby shops.

We look forward to welcoming you to the History Centre, and we appreciate your support during these challenging times.

## **Appendix G – Personal Correspondence**

### **BACAS**

To: office@bacas.org.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge's Modern Social History Survey  
Date: 1<sup>st</sup> March 2021

To whom it may concern.

Hello, I hope you're keeping well.

I'm currently doing my MRes (Master of Research) on Stonehenge's Modern Social History at Bournemouth University with Professor Tim Darvill and Dr Eileen Wilkes. As part of my primary research for my thesis, I've launched a survey hoping to capture people's stories and experiences at Stonehenge.

I thought that other BACAS members might be interested in participating in the survey, would it be possible to share it somehow? This is the link: <https://bournemouth.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/stonehenge-step-into-our-story> and I've attached a Pdf version if you'd like to check it through.

Looking forward to your response,

Best wishes,  
Tabby

Tabitha Grist Parker  
MRes: Stonehenge's Modern Social History  
Arch and Anth Department, Bournemouth University

From: [REDACTED]  
Subject: Fwd: survey mailshot  
Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2021

Hi Tabitha

Your survey link went out to BACAS members this morning.

Good luck!

John Richards  
Hon. Sec. BACAS

**Sam Barsky**

To: colorknit1@aol.com  
Subject: Stonehenge Sweater Photo Copyright  
Date: 20<sup>th</sup> April 2021

Hello Sam,

I hope you are well. I just wanted to ask permission for use of the photograph of you wearing the Stonehenge sweater at Stonehenge for my Master's thesis.

I am doing a Master's of Research on the Modern Social History of Stonehenge and am also a Neolithic Houses volunteer at Stonehenge. I remember this story coming out in 2017 when I was thinking about starting my undergrad archaeology degree and it really inspired me how people react to archaeology through culture and art. Part of my research for my Master's includes the influence of Stonehenge on art and fashion over the 20th century and I would love to include a bit about you and your sweater within my thesis.

I look forward to hearing back from you,

Best wishes,

Tabby

Tabitha Grist Parker  
MRes- Modern Social History of Stonehenge  
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology  
Bournemouth University  
UK

From: colorknit1@aol.com  
Subject: Stonehenge Sweater Photo Copyright  
Date: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021

Hello Tabby,

Sorry it took a few days to get back to you. I was extremely busy. Anyway, you can use it under the condition that you recognize that I retain ownership and print out credits to my name.

Sam Barsky

## British Druid Order

To: enquiries@druidry.co.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge's Modern Social History – Survey  
Date: 30<sup>th</sup> March 2021

To whom it may concern,

Hello, I hope you're keeping well. I was advised to contact you by a Druid friend, who thought you might be interested in helping with my research. I am a MA student at Bournemouth University, researching Stonehenge's Modern Social History under the supervision of Professor Timothy Darvill.

As part of my MA, I have created an online anonymous survey for people to share their own stories and experiences of Stonehenge. Druidism at Stonehenge is a big part of my research and I would really like to know what Stonehenge means to Druids today.

I wondered if you would be able to share the survey with the members of your order? I've attached a PDF of the full survey so you can preview it and this is the online survey link: <https://bournemouth.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/stonehenge-step-into-our-story>

It's open until 5.30pm on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April. Please let me know if you would like any further information, my email is [tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tgristparker@bournemouth.ac.uk)

Looking forward to hearing back from you,

Best wishes,

Tabby

Tabitha Grist Parker  
Postgraduate Student, Stonehenge's Modern Social History  
Archaeology and Anthropology Department  
Bournemouth University

From: enquiries@druidry.co.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge's Modern Social History – Survey  
Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2021

Hi Tabby,

Glad to help. I'll post the link on our facebook pages. Coincidentally, I've just been reading about contentions over Stonehenge (in some of which I played a part) in my old friend, Will Rathouse's new book, 'Contested Heritage' (BAR British Series 661). All best wishes with your MA and I look forward to reading your own future publications.

Many blessings,

 (a.k.a. Greywolf)

To: enquiries@druidry.co.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge's Modern Social History – Survey  
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> April 2021

Hi [REDACTED]

Thank you so much for sharing my survey on the BDO facebook pages, I had such a brilliant response from the community. I've been looking at that book too, it's great to know there's an academic community writing about this subject.

Thank you and best wishes to you,

Tabby

**Ronald Hutton**

To: r.hutton@bristol.ac.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge Modern Social History and Paganism  
Date: 17<sup>th</sup> August 2021

Dear Professor Hutton,

It was a pleasure to meet you today at the Sisters' Dig, I hope you enjoyed your visit.

As you know I am in the process of finishing my MRes project on Stonehenge's modern social history and I wondered if I could perhaps ask you about Paganism and Stonehenge?

This is one of my key themes for my thesis and I was so pleased that so many within the Pagan Community took part in my primary research. From my findings I think that many within the community regard Stonehenge as a temple or place of worship which holds great emotional significance for them.

I wondered what you thought about how the Pagan Community related to Stonehenge?

Looking forward to hearing back from you,

Best wishes,

Tabby

Tabitha Grist Parker  
Postgrad - Stonehenge's Modern Social History  
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology  
Bournemouth University  
UK

From: r.hutton@bristol.ac.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge Modern Social History and Paganism  
Date: 17<sup>th</sup> August 2021

Dear Tabby,

It was a pleasure to meet you too, especially in such good company at such a charismatic place. My answer to your question depends on which Pagans we are discussing. Stonehenge is an immensely important sacred place, and often the most important, to Druids and non-denominational Pagans who are often influenced by Druidry. It means a lot less to Wiccans and little to members of the Northern Tradition and those associated with classical Mediterranean pantheons, though some Wiccan still enjoy ceremonies there and regard them as highly significant.

With every good wish,

Ronald

To: r.hutton@bristol.ac.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge Modern Social History and Paganism  
Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2021

Dear Ronald,

Thank you so much for your email, I'm sorry for the delayed response on my part, it's been a busy week catching up on things after the Sisters Dig.

I hadn't considered that Stonehenge would vary in importance, dependent on the Pagan denomination being discussed, but in hindsight that makes more sense than what I stated in my last email.

When writing about Paganism and Stonehenge, I've been using the 'Pagan Community' as an umbrella term in my work. My knowledge of different Pagan denominations is admittedly limited, but I wanted to be as inclusive as possible, rather than solely attributing Stonehenge's sacredness to Druids and Pagans.

Given what you've told me, could it perhaps be stated then that Stonehenge is of importance to some (rather than all, as I previously suggested) within the Pagan Community? And maybe of particular importance for Pagans within the local area? I would imagine that Stonehenge would hold less or little importance to members for whom Stonehenge is not easily accessible due to distance or whose denomination does not regard Stonehenge as important as you have said.

I hope this makes sense, I would be interested to know what you think,

Best wishes,

Tabby

From: r.hutton@bristol.ac.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge Modern Social History and Paganism  
Date: 5<sup>th</sup> September 2021

Dear Tabby,

Thank you for your reply. I think that it would perhaps be best to avoid the term 'Pagan Community', as such an entity does not really exist, in any sense. I would recommend 'British Pagans' instead, as avoiding this problem. I also think you are absolutely right that Stonehenge is much more important to some Pagan traditions than others, but locality is not a very significant determinant in this respect. I have often noted that Pagans for whom the site is of major symbolic significance will happily travel long distances to it for special occasions (indeed often from overseas), while those living within a couple of hours' drive will not bother with it if it is not a major symbolic place in their tradition.

With every good wish,

Ronald

To: r.hutton@bristol.ac.uk  
Subject: Stonehenge Modern Social History and Paganism  
Date: 12th September 2021

Dear Ronald,

Thank you for your response, it's been really helpful to get your opinions on the subject. I've changed 'Pagan Community' to British Pagans in my thesis to avoid that problem and have also adjusted my writing to reflect what we've discussed about Stonehenge's importance to Pagans. I think it goes to show how sacred and important places like Stonehenge are to Pagans, given that they will travel long distances for celebrations.

Thank you again, I appreciate you taking the time to answer my questions.

Best wishes,

Tabby

## Glossary

Agaric	Also referred to as ‘shrooms’ or ‘magic mushrooms’. Psychedelic mushrooms that grow in the wild. (Talk to Frank 2021)
Anarchy	A situation in which there is no organization and control, especially in society, because there is no effective government. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Anglophile	A person who is not English but is interested in, likes, or supports England or the UK. (Cambridge University Press, 2021).
Animism	The belief that all natural things, such as plants, animals, rocks, and thunder, have spirits and can influence human events. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Battle of the Beanfield	A violent altercation that took place on the 1 <sup>st</sup> of June 1985 due to police preventing the Peace Convoy from setting up that year’s Stonehenge Free Festival. (Worthington 2004)
Black Mariah	British slang term used to describe a police van used to transport arrested people. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
British Pagans	Pagans from the British Isles. (Hutton via personal correspondence)
Cannabis	A plant-based drug that can be smoked, eaten or vaped. (Talk to Frank 2021)
Chocolat	A romantic comedy-drama film based on the novel by Joanne Harris. (Chocolat 2000)
Class	A way of categorizing the population according to the nature of their employment, wealth and/or social status. (O’Leary 2007)
Cocaine	A white powder stimulant normally snorted or rubbed into gums. (Talk to Frank 2021)
Copper	British slang term for a police officer. (Cambridge University Press 2021)

Cunning folk	People who practice folk medicine and folk magic, also known as Pellars in Cornwall. (Hutton 1999)
Deviant behaviour	Behaviours that do not conform to societal expectations. (O’Leary 2007)
Druid	Someone who follows Druidry as their chosen spiritual path, or who has entered the Druid level of training in a Druid order. (Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids 2021)
English Eccentric	An English person, who is considered eccentric (strange or unusual, sometimes in a humorous way). (Cambridge University Press, 2021)
Ethnocentrism	The belief that the people, customs, and traditions of your own race or country are better than those of other races or countries. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Feminism	Political, social, and intellectual doctrines, perspectives, and movements that, while diverse, have at their core a desire to criticize, evaluate and transform the rights, conditions, and status of women. (O’Leary 2007)
Free Festival	A festival that is free to enter.
Free Festivalgoers	An umbrella term used in this thesis to describe those who went to the Stonehenge Free Festivals in recognition that these people were from a range of different societal backgrounds.
Hells’ Angels	A group of people that ride motorbikes, wear jackets with the name and symbol of the Hell’s Angels, have been known for having a violent and noisy reputation. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Hierarchy	A system in which people or things are arranged according to their importance. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Hippie	A slang term for a young person, particularly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, who believed in peace, was opposed to many of the accepted ideas about how to live, had long hair and often lived in groups and took drugs. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
LSD	Acid, a chemical normally sold in tiny amounts on paper, as a liquid or pellets. (Talk to Frank 2021)

MDMA	Also known as ecstasy, a recreational/club drug. (Talk to Frank 2021)
Metanarratives	Also referred to as grand narratives, these are overarching or all-encompassing accounts, philosophies, theories, or stories that provide ‘truths’ and link our smaller stories together. (O’Leary 2007)
Mod	A member of a group of young people, especially in Britain in the 1960s, who wore stylish clothes and rode scooters. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Multi-vocalism	A research theory which allows the participation of more voices, groups, and individuals in research. (Hodder 2008)
McCarthyism	The practice of accusing someone of being a Communist and therefore avoiding or mistrusting them. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Nationalism	An individual’s internalized sense of national loyalty and identity. Also, an ideology advocating the right to separate political territories that allow the preservation and independence of various ‘nations’. (O’Leary 2007)
Neopaganism	A term used to describe the modern Pagan religious movement. (Leskovar 2013: 190)
New Age Traveller	Someone who lives in a vehicle and has no permanent home or job, refusing to accept society’s normal ideas and ways of living. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Nuclear Family	A family consisting of two parents and their children. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Paganism	A generic term which includes a range of beliefs and practises. Paganism comprises a variety of allied or associated paths or traditions which focus on direct engagements with nature as deified, sacred, or otherwise animated and containing spirits. (Wallis and Blain 2003: 309)
Paraphernalia	All the objects needed for or connected with a particular activity. (Cambridge University Press 2021)

Patriarchy	A society in which the oldest male is the leader of the family, or a society controlled by men in which they use their power to their own advantage. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
The Peace Convoy	A convoy involved in the Stonehenge Free Festivals. (Worthington 2004)
Pellar	In English folk magic, a Cornish witch, healer, diviner, and breaker of spells. (Occult World 2021)
Personal Narratives	Stories told by individuals about their personal experiences. (Kohler Reissman 2001)
Punk	A culture popular among young people, especially in the late 1970s, involving opposition to authority expressed through shocking behaviour, clothes, and hair, and fast, loud music. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Rave	A music event where young people dance to modern electronic music and sometimes take illegal drugs. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Rocker	A member of a group of young people, especially in Britain in the 1960s, who wore leather clothes, rode motorcycles, and listened to rock and roll music. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Skunk	Slang term for cannabis, generally known to be a stronger strain of Cannabis. (Talk to Frank 2021).
Smack	A slang term for heroin, a powerful opiate sold as white or brown powder. (Talk to Frank 2021).
Social Movements	Individuals united by a common purpose who act collectively to promote or resist political or social change. (O'Leary 2007)
Speed	A slang term for amphetamine, a powerful stimulant that keeps people awake, can look like small crystals. (Talk to Frank 2021).
Spiritual	A term relating to a person's deep feelings and beliefs, especially religious beliefs. (Cambridge University Press 2021)

Stonehenge Free Festival	A free festival that took place near Stonehenge during June around the Summer Solstice from 1972 to 1984.
Relativism	The view that there are no universals, and that things like truth, morals, and culture can only be understood in relation to their own socio-historic context. (O’Leary 2007)
Teddy Boy	A young man, especially in the 1950s in the UK, who typically dress in narrow trousers, a long, loose jacket, and shoes with thick soles. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Tory	Colloquial term used to describe someone who belongs to or supports the British Conservative party, plural: Tories. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
THC	Tetrahydrocannabinol, a compound that is present in cannabis. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Thematic Coding	A form of qualitative analysis which involves recording or identifying passages of text or images that are linked by a common theme or idea allowing you to index the text into categories and therefore establish a framework of thematic ideas. (Gibbs 2007)
Tribalism	A very strong feeling of loyalty to a political or social group, so that you support them whatever they do. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Utopia	A perfect society in which people work well with each other and are happy. (Cambridge University Press 2021)
Weed	Slang term for cannabis. (Talk to Frank 2021b)
Wheel of the Year	A symbol of the eight religious festivals of Paganism. This includes Winter Solstice, Spring Equinox, Summer Solstice and Autumn Equinox as well as four other seasonal festivals. (World History Encyclopedia, 2021)
Wicca	The religion of modern witches. (Leskovar 2013: 192)