

Argyll's Archaeological Story: Research Framework Symposium

Early Modern Period (1600 – 1900) and Modern.

Early–modern or post-medieval? (reflects approach)

Some archaeologists have until, fairly recently, not considered this period to be ‘real’ archaeology, perhaps as it is served well by the historical sources. For example the book **Archaeology of Argyll** by Grahame Ritchie (1997) stops at the end of the Norse period. But archaeology can tell us much that is not recorded in the historical records, provides an alternative perspective and can be a challenge to reconcile with historical sources.

Archaeology is there to help explain the world in which we live in, to answer the big questions, eg who are we? how did we get here? why does the landscape look like it does?

The early modern period is generally said to start in the late-15th or early 16th century and to last until the late-18th century, however I would like to extend this research agenda into the modern period, at least to the mid-20th century, to include the two World Wars.

Existing Research Agendas

There have been two other relevant research agendas, the **Scottish Archaeological Research Framework** (ScARF) and one for the **Island of Bute** (Duffy).

The ScARF Research Agenda: Modern Scotland: Archaeology, the Modern past and the Modern present (Hall & Price 2012) and the ScARF Marine and Maritime Panel report (Atkinson & Hale 2012) are relevant to Argyll. The ScARF report says that archaeology ‘Is the study of the relationship between people and their material environment’...’ How could we hope to understand the history of modern life without the archaeological perspective?’ (Hall & Price 2012, iii).

The themes highlighted by SCARF are listed in section 4.

1. What archaeological work (antiquarian and modern) has been undertaken to date in Argyll;

One of the earliest writers to travel around the west coast of Scotland in the 17th century was **Martin Martin** (1999) who provided a glimpse of contemporary life through the sympathetic eye of a Skye native and Gaelic speaker. He included descriptions of some of the Inner Hebrides, Bute, Arran Jura, Colonsay Mull and Iona. **Edward Lhuysd** a Welsh Celtic scholar from the Ashmolean Museum Oxford visited Kintyre, Knapdale, Lorn, Mull and Iona in 1699 seeking information on ‘Highland rites and Customs’ (Campbell & Thomson 1963; Campbell 1975). He was fascinated by the details of Highland life including folklore, local practices, houses and second sight etc. His survey included natural history, geology, history, archaeology and philology of the Celtic countries. **Thomas Pennant** (a Welsh gentleman) undertook his second tour of Scotland in 1772 visiting Bute, Arran, Mull, Kintyre, Jura, Colonsay and Jura. His descriptions of the scenery, customs and superstitions of the inhabitants

were accompanied by drawings including the well known image of the shieling bothies on Jura and cottages on Islay (Pennant 1772). **William McFarlane** (1699-1767) was a renowned Scottish antiquarian and contemporary of James Boswell, who made an extensive collection of papers relating to the MacFarlane clan which are now held in the Advocates Library Glasgow (Johnson-Smith 2002). **James Boswell** and **Samuel Johnson** published their own accounts of their journey through the Hebrides (including Coll and Mull) in 1773 (RCAHMS vol 3 1980, 230-31; Johnson 1775; Boswell 1785). The Scottish poet **Robert Burns** visited Inverarey in 1787. These writers encouraged an interest in Scotland and others made their own tours included one by **Dorothy Wordsworth** with her brother William and Coleridge in September 1803. Dorothy was a picturesque travel writer and she travelled through Argyll up Loch Lomond to Inverarey, Arrochar and Loch Awe. In particular she commented on the Inverarey planned village (Parry & Slater 1980, 241). Collections of writings include the **Dewar Manuscripts** collection of stories from the west coast of Scotland.

The 18th century surveyor and map maker **William Roy** recorded significant settlements and features in the contemporary landscape (Military Survey of Scotland 1747-55). Another useful source of information on contemporary life which covers the whole country includes the **First Statistical Accounts** (1791-99). Another useful document transcribed in the early 19th century was entitled '**Account of the Depredations** committed on the Clan Campbell and their followers, during the years 1685 and 1686....' which lists the losses that were suffered by the Campbell clan members (and their allies) at the hands of their enemies following the Campbell rebellion (Lochgilphead Archives Ref 941.423 L.C.). This document lists place-names, tenants and the goods that were claimed to have been taken away and so provides some indication of the size of the farms and their possessions and stock in the late 17th century. One of the problems with this document is that it is anonymous and is apparently a transcription from a 'lost' original. As part of a potential insurance claim, it also possibly contains some inflated sums, but is presumably an accurate list of settlements and their occupants (Anon 1816).

Clan archives also provide a rich source of contemporary information especially for the landlords who were undertaking Improvements to their estates. The most significant would be the **Campbell** papers held in Inverarey Castle which are currently being catalogued and hopefully this will make them more available for research. Another example are the **Malcolm of Poltalloch Papers** held in the Lochgilphead archives. Neil Malcolm undertook a survey of his estates in Mid-Argyll, newly acquired from the bankrupt Campbells at the end of the 18th century. The archives hold reports on the state of the tenants buildings and of the restorations and alterations to the estate properties undertaken after 1796 (RCAHMS 1992, 277).

Probably the most significant contribution to archaeology in the 19th century was the invention of photography and one of the leading exponents working in Argyll was **Erskine Beveridge** (1851-1920). He travelled on the west coast of Scotland (including Coll, Tiree, Lismore, Staffa and Iona) in 1882 and 1883 photographing harbours, townships, cottages, hotels, lighthouses, fishing boats, bridges and churches. His photographs are held in the National Monuments Record of Scotland and many have been published (Fergusson 2009). The end of the 19th century also saw the publication of many

years work on the '*castellated and domestic architecture*' and '*The ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland*' by the architects **David McGibbon and Thomas Ross** which included descriptions and illustrations revealing the condition of buildings at the time (McGibbon & Ross 1887-92; McGibbon & Ross 1897).

The **Second Statistical Account** (1834-45) provided an updated contemporary account, including sections on topography and natural history, antiquities, modern buildings, population, languages, customs, agriculture and industry, local economy, state of the church, education and emigration.

The early 20th century saw the transcription of earlier handwritten documents (Campbell 1915, 1922, 1933 & 1934) which has made these documents more accessible for research. The mid-20th century saw the publication of a field survey of archaeological monuments in Argyll by **Marion Campbell of Kilberry** and **Mary Sandeman** (Campbell & Sandeman 1961). Although this was primarily a record of the many historic and prehistoric monuments, there are many additional comments on the later use of such sites. For example, there is a record that a cave at Tiretigan (Site 25) had been used 'recently' by tramps, also by outlawed MacGregors in the 17th century and was known locally as the 'Frenchman's' or 'Smuggler's cave' which indicates a much more widespread use of caves that might otherwise be acknowledged (ibid 7). They planned, but never published, a paper on the deserted settlements of the area, and so their archive (now held by Kilmartin House Museum) probably contains much useful unpublished information on this topic.

The work of the **RCAHMS** Inventories was probably the most significant contribution to Argyll archaeology in the 20th century. The initial 1707 date restriction on RCAHMS survey work had been lifted in 1948 and so by the 1960s their remit included the 'more modern architecture'. There followed a series of seven volumes dealing with different geographical areas of Argyll with ever increasing detail and numbers of sites included. The first Argyll Inventory was published in 1971 and covered Kintyre, soon followed by Lorn in 1974 and Mull, Tiree, Coll and Northern Argyll in 1980. The key words here are **inventory**, ie a list, and **architecture**, the post-17th century material is described from an architect's point of view and there is less concern about how the building was used, how people moved around the building or how it sat within the landscape. These first volumes still dealt predominantly with the prehistoric and medieval monuments and the early modern period took up only 10 – 15% of the gazetteer space (although there is brief consideration of the later alterations and additions to medieval castles and fortifications). The monuments are grouped as 'domestic architecture from the 17th to the 19th century', 'farms, townships and shielings', and 'industrial and engineering works including quarries'. This latter group contains a plethora of 19th and 20th century industrial and other buildings including blast furnaces, charcoal burning stances, gunpowder works, slate quarries, bridges, lighthouses, wells, distilleries, mills, illicit stills. In addition there were descriptions of military roads, architectural fragments, carved stones, sundials and the burghs of Campbelltown and Oban and the town of Tobermory. These volumes brought together archive material, photography, drawn plans and sections, aerial photography and written descriptions. Although numerous in the landscape, the farms and townships are described only in general terms

illustrated with a small number of examples. The number of 'types' of sites increases as the volumes progress to include kelp burning kilns, fish traps, harbours and piers. The final two volumes deal with Mid-Argyll and the proportion of space dedicated to the post-medieval period had greatly increased. The Medieval and later monuments form the final volume (RCAHMS 1992) and post-medieval sites take up 50% of the volume. This partly reflects the richness of Mid-Argyll, dominated by Inverarey Castle, its contents, estate and nearby town, but is also reflecting the change of emphasis towards inclusion of more of the later monuments. Volume 7 saw the end of the RCAHMS detailed inventories as they had been replaced with a more synthetic approach for Perthshire (RCAHMS 1990). The Inventory was seen as 'impractical and out-moded' (Dalglish 2009, 234). Where medieval castles had a post-medieval component this was highlighted in the RCAHMS volumes along with the associated documentary references.

The work of the **RCAHMS** on castles was brought together into a single Argyll Castles volume (RCAHMS 1997). This volume brought together the documentary references and architectural details including the later periods of their use. For example a tower-house was built at **Duntrune** Castle about 1600 (RCAHMS 1992, 276-282) with the main phases of alternations and modernisation taking place in the later 18th and mid 20th centuries. The castle was garrisoned against Alastair MacColla and again during the 9th Earl of Argyll's rebellion. In 1796 the estate was acquired by Neil Malcolm of Poltalloch (RCAHMS 1992, 282) and there are descriptions of repairs and building works in the Poltalloch Papers (Lochgilphead Archives). Duntrune remained the main house of the Malcolms until the construction of Callton Mor (Poltalloch) in 1853, but when this house was abandoned in the 1950s, Duntrune was modernised and extended and remains in use as the Malcolm family home.

Concentrating specifically on Industrial archaeology **John Hume** published his *Industrial Archaeology of Scotland* in 1977. In a similar manner to the Inventory he provided brief descriptions of many industrial sites in Argyll with grid references and accompanied by photographs. He highlighted the 18th century charcoal-iron industry and the dominance of the distilling industry, followed by mining and quarrying (Hume 1977, 146). He noted that the once flourishing herring industry had declined, although Oban, Campbelltown and Tarbet were still significant fishing ports. Hume's book contains descriptions of the Crinan canal, bridges, railway stations, ironworks, coach houses, mines, harbours, piers, lighthouses, bonded warehouses, water wheels, horse-gins, mills and quarries. One example from Argyll was the Kinlochleven Aluminium works built in 1905 -9 which was powered by the largest hydro-electric power station of its day, but closed in 1996 (Hume 1977, 157). Hume often visited these sites shortly after they had become derelict and so was able to photograph and record sites when machinery was still in place, often just before they were demolished or renovated. Related to this was the results of excavations at **Bonawe** furnace and Glen Kinglass (Lewis 1984). Both ventures had been of varying success which the excavator suggested was linked to climate change as the drought in the early 18th century was a possible contributing factor to the failure of some furnaces in Argyll.

In the late 20th century the 1985 the archive of the **Scottish Industrial Archaeology Survey**, (formerly in the University of Strathclyde) and the **Scottish Office aerial photographic unit** collections were both transferred to RCAHMS.

Running parallel with the Royal Commission Inventories was scholarly research into Highland folk life, such as that carried out by **Sandy Fenton** (1976; 1999), **Horace Fairhurst** (1960, 1963), **Isabel Grant** (1961; 1995, 2007), **Eric Cregeen** (1959, 1963, 1964, 1970) and **Donald Meek** (1995) much of which is relevant to Argyll. Rural settlement studies in Argyll, in particular, was led by **Sinclair** (1953) and **Gailey** (1960; 1962a, 1962b) although **Bil's** work on shielings is also relevant (1990). As the 20th century progressed the work of historians and geographers has increasingly contributed to the understanding of archaeology of the early modern period especially with the work of **Dodgeson** (1980; 1988; 1993; 1998), **Devine** (1994; 1999) and **Macinnes** (1996; 1998). Particular themes in Scottish history have been the subject of research such as Stevenson's book on **Alasdair MacColla's** invasion of Argyll in the 17th century (1980) and Phillipson & Mitchison's **Scotland in the Age of Improvement** (1970).

Archaeological excavations of sites belonging to the early modern period were initially almost accidental as the real aim of the excavators was to reveal the earlier deposits beneath. For example, excavations at **Castle Sween** (the earliest medieval castle in Argyll) revealed two phases of activity dating to the 16th to 20th centuries that were not reflected in the architectural fabric (Ewart & Triscott 1996). The presence of kilns, forges and associated buildings suggested the site was military depot rather than a lordly residence in the early 17th century (RCAHMS 1997, 90) but had been abandoned in the mid-17th century after an attack by Alastair MacColla. After this it was left to become overgrown as discovered by MacGibbon & Ross in the early 19th century. A final phase (19th and 20th century) was associated with clearance and consolidation works by the Ministry of Works, some references to which might show up in the MofW archives.

Clearance and excavation work was carried out between 1964 and 1967 at **Eilean Dearg**, Kyles of Bute (RCAHMS 1992, 282-283). This island was used as a main base for the 9th Earl of Argyll during his rebellion in the 17th century, used to store gunpowder and as a base for his fleet. The excavations retrieved numerous finds of 17th century date, including musket flints and balls, slate gaming counters, navigational dividers and 14th – 17th century pottery (Millar 1971). The remains showed clear confirmation that the island had been blown up by the government forces, but also revealed a timber dancing platform erected for the entertainment of Victorian steamship parties (Miller 1971, 578-9).

The fabric of **Carnasserie Castle** is predominantly 16th century apart from the 17th century enlarged windows. The castle was garrisoned against Alastair MacColla in 1644 and again in 1685 during the 9th Earl's rebellion. However it was captured and burned in 1690 and left in ruins (RCAHMS 1992,

214-226). Only small scale excavations have taken place inside Carnasserie Castle to allow for drainage works revealing little of significance (Murray 1998).

There are remarkably few excavations in Argyll from this period. One significant archaeological excavations includes the excavation of the wreck of the Swan led by Colin Martin. The ship had been sent by Oliver Cromwell to attack Duart Castle Mull, but it sank in 1653 off **Duart Point** after a storm (Robertson 2007). Excavations on the island of **Gunna** (between Coll and Tiree) in the 1990s consisted of a rural settlement with at least three phases of building dating from the late medieval to the 18th century (James 1998 a & b). This site has unfortunately remained unpublished. It has a large collection of probably 18th century craggan ware as well as glazed medieval pottery and mammal bone. An outdoor centre at **Tigh Vectican** retained an old buildings to the rear. This site was the subject of an archaeological investigation in 1999, which confirmed that the building had origins in the early 19th century with later phases of modification (MacGregor *et al* 1999).

Standing Building surveys in the 20th century included the **Old Quay in Cambeltown** on behalf of West of Scotland Water in 1999. A 6m stretch of the original curved quay shown on the 1835 harbour plan was noted and recorded with a written description, survey and video, backed up with documentary and cartographic research (Speller 1999; RCAHMS 1972).

Charcoal burning platforms were the subject of documentary research and excavation led by Betty Rennie and others. Initially research attempted to show that 'the Lorn and Argyll furnaces were not responsible for denuding the Scottish hillsides of timber' (Lyndsay 1975; Rennie 1997 followed by investigation of charcoal burning platforms used by the Lorn and Argyll Iron furnaces in the mid-19th century (Rennie 1997). She surveyed and mapped the sites and excavated about ten of these recessed platforms. These were shown to be originally prehistoric hut circles that had been reused as charcoal burning platforms. She included an assessment of charcoal burners practices and traditions and noted that the late-medieval technique of burning wood in pits was replaced by the above ground clamp kiln.

The **Scottish Bloomeries** Project another example of themed research (Atkinson 1996, Atkinson & Photos-Jones 1999). This project involved an assessment of a late medieval bloomery and smithing hearth at **Allt na Ceardaich**, Argyll. It involved geophysics, topographic survey, excavation of the early ironworks and associated settlement and metallurgical analysis with the aim of characterising medieval and post-medieval bloomery technology in the Highlands.

Turning to rural settlement a local amateur archaeologist **Allan Begg** researched and published his work the 'Deserted settlements of Kilmartin parish' in 1988 followed by the 'Deserted Settlements of Glassary parish' in 2002 with the help of the Argyll and Bute Library Service and the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Mid-Argyll. His books are a delightful 'journal of personal observation' which contained photographs, rentals, stories and living memories of the occupants of the deserted settlements in these two parishes. These works were particularly useful for researchers in the area providing a level of local knowledge, the only criticism of which would be the lack of grid references.

Although generally prolific, the Scottish Vernacular Building Working Group have published very few articles on structures in Argyll which perhaps reflects where the contributors live. One article, however, was on **19th century sheep folds** (Kehane 1985) and another described a corrugated Iron Building and Hooded Fireplace on Mull (Callander 1995). Clan histories have long been of interest

and by the late 20th century some researchers were undertaking original research such as that on the family archives of the Mactavishes of **Dunardry** (Bradford 1991). Sources included old photographs and letters which revealed their colonial links to Jamaica and with emigrants to Canada and the USA.

The **School of Scottish Studies** have been particularly productive as their archives are now over 60 years old and contain the results of their collection and archiving of material relating to the cultural life, folklore and traditional arts of Scotland' and in particular contains numerous oral histories collected on Tiree.

The first few years of the **21st century** have produced a far greater number of archaeological projects in Argyll than ever before. There have been several books published on the history of Argyll including ***A History of Clan Campbell, Volume 3, From the Restoration to the Present Day*** (Campbell 2004); ***Argyll 1730-1850*** by Robert McGeachy (2005); Marion Pallister's ***Lost Argyll*** (2005) and ***Argyll land of Blood and Beauty*** by Mary McGrigor with photographs by Gordon Ross Thomson (2000). Also published is ***Argyll and Bute: The Buildings of Scotland*** by Frank Arneil Walker (Buildings of Scotland Trust 2000). ***The Argyll Book*** (Ormand 2004) utilises a themed approach by range of authors and includes a chapter on rural settlement (from an archaeological viewpoint by the late Alex Morrison who had done so much work at Auchindrain Museum). There is also a chapter in industries, Modern Argyll, oral traditions and folklore, Gaelic language and Literature (Prof Donald Meek), place-names of Argyll, and communications. ***Lost Argyll: Argyll's Lost Heritage*** is a review of many different types of sites including the gunpowder mills, and is a reminder that much of Argyll's architectural heritage from the 19th century has already gone (Pallister 2005).

New local histories such as ***Islay, Jura and Colonsay*** by David Caldwell (2001) provides an excellent overview of the islands including a list of post-medieval sites on the islands (including fortifications, dwelling houses and shielings), early modern sites (farmsteads, estate houses, working farms, villages, industrial sites) and modern and miscellaneous sites. Another excellent interdisciplinary work is ***The Secret Island: Towards a History of Tiree*** by the Islands Book Trust (2014). While these two books are not advertised as archaeology books as such, they reference the physical remains and are essential reading for any archaeology project in these areas.

Doctoral research has also been limited. The most significant of which would be by **Chris Dalglish** at Glasgow University. His PhD was published as ***Rural Society in the Age of Reason*** (2003) and used the Southern Scottish highlands (Kilfinnan and Kintyre) as his research area. He dealt with the emergence of modern society and rural settlement with considerations of capitalism and land rights. He has used an interdisciplinary approach drawing on theoretical models from archaeology, and incorporated historical geography, ethnology, folk life studies and history. Chris developed the landscape approach further in a paper published in 2009 titled ***Understanding Landscape: Inter-disciplinary Dialogue and the Post-medieval Countryside***. His case study there is the Campbells of Glenorchy, (neighbouring Argyll). He considers what evolutionary landscape history (the RCAHMS approach), environmental history, and the experiential approach can contribute.

Extremely useful historical research has also been undertaken by DJ Johnston-Smith in his University of Glasgow MA in 2002. Entitled ***"Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie:" The Clan MacFarlane of North Loch Lomondside c.1570-1800'***, this research brought the MacFarlane archives held in the Glasgow Procurators Library to light and has provided an excellent history of the

Macfarlanes and the activities of the laird and antiquarian, Walter Macfarlane, in the 18th century. More general history books which are relevant to Argyll in the early-modern period include ***Clearance and Improvement: Land Power and people in Scotland 1700-1900*** (Devine 2006).

It is also worth mentioning the research of Jo McKenzie at the University of Stirling and her study ***Deep anthropogenic topsoils in Scotland: a geoarchaeological and historical investigation into distribution, character, and conservation under modern land cover*** (2006) which includes an example from Tiree.

The RCAHMS continue their work with the **Historic Landscape Characterisation Project** which is a management tool providing a historic dimension to landscape character assessment (Newman 2009, 195) and a more specialised review of **railway signal boxes** in Scotland a few examples of which are located in Argyll (DES 2012, 192).

My own research, although ostensibly about **medieval rural settlement**, also explored the post-medieval or early-modern landscape in the hope that this would help to explain why the medieval sites were so hard to identify (James 2009). Two chapters, 'Power, politics and rebellion the Campbell Earls of Argyll in the 16th and 17th centuries' and 'Economy and society in the 18th and 19th centuries' followed a multi-disciplinary approach utilising historic maps, aerial photographs, documentary evidence, place-names analysis and consideration of climate change. A multi-scalar approach was also utilised, ranging from an extensive landscape of North Knapdale to individual 'sites'. As part of this research two sites were excavated, an 18th century lairds house at Glennan (James 2004b, 2005a, 2005b) and 17th century farmstead at Bàrr Mór (James 2004a). Both these remain unpublished although they are included in my Thesis and in grey literature.

Research has also been carried out by **Reading University** over three seasons on Islay, at **Airigh Ghuaidhre** by Darko Mariečević, Steve Mithen and Karen Wills. This work included a survey, geophysics and very limited excavation around a 19th century township and a chapel enclosure although the main focus for the research was a possible Neolithic burial mound (DES 2011, 44-45 & DES 2012, 46).

From further afield, **the German Archaeological Institute**, Department Rome, has undertaken research on prehistoric copper mining in **Kilmartin**, which also revealed more recent activity, such as clay mining in Kilmartin (DES 2011, 47; DES 2011, 46; DES 2012, 47), the ore samples from which are being kept by the National Museums of Scotland (DES 2012, 47). Other research excavations have included the **Dun Mhuirich** (Kilmartin House Museum) and a drovers inn at Tigh Caol, **Strathlathan** (DES 2014 49). A recent excavation of a **charcoal builders platform** at Lochan Tainish was sponsored by SNH who wanted to reconstruct a charcoal burning hearth so that it could be viewed by the public as part of a local heritage trail. The platform was found to be probably of late 18th or early 19th century date (Sneddon 2003).

The majority of recent archaeological work undertaken in Argyll has been prompted by commercial development responding to planning applications for windfarms, cemetery extensions and hydroelectric schemes (DES 2011, 48-49, DES 2012 35), although not always uncovering any significant archaeology. Other professional surveys have responded to forestry schemes such as at Bridge of Orchy (DES 2011, 34), the Isle of Ulva (DES 2011, 49, DES 2012, 49-50), reasons eg **Toward Lime kiln** (DES 2012, 35) and **Tainish Mill** (DES 2012, 51). Excavations earlier this year (2015) at **Tigh**

Mor, for the MacGregor Clan revealed a bloomery site which dates to the pre-1611 period (pers. comm. Peta Glew).

The Association of Certificated Field Archaeologists have produced prolific surveys, many of which have taken place in Argyll, eg the RSPB reserve on Coll (Henry 1998). Members are holders of the University of Glasgow Certificate in Field Archaeology, undertake field survey and record cultural heritage of all periods. On Coll they visited the known archaeological remains as included in the 1980 Inventory and identified additional remains. Four new sites were included in the report and Henry concluded that the RCAHMS inventory had not paid much attention to the post-medieval vernacular structures.

The Scottish Rural Past Project (RCAHMS) encouraged a large number of surveys of deserted settlements to be carried out by non-professional archaeologists. This work includes very detailed surveys which adds to the body of knowledge (eg Dorren & Henry DES 2012 33, 36-37; Mull Historical Interest Group DES 2011, 49), Pennyghael in the Past Archive, DES 2012, 41-4; see also DES 2011, 33-34, 37-43). Two SRP inspired projects, the **High Morlaggan Project** (Regan XXXX) and **The Hidden Heritage Landscape Project** (James 2014) went further undertaking excavation in order to put the remains into their wider archaeological and historical perspective. These showed that there was huge local interest in the remains of the recent past and that little previous professional research had been done in this area. For example, George Haggarty suggested that research into the introduction of Industrial pottery wares into the west of Scotland was a vital area for research.

Interest in recording **standing buildings** continued in the 21st century. Argyll has been included in the *Buildings of Scotland series* (Walker 2000) which includes the significant religious, industrial, nautical and domestic sites (Walker 2000, 484-87). Several standing building surveys have been carried out on buildings of more local interest at the request of the planning authority prior to development or demolition, eg (James 2006b; DES 2011, 36 & Shaw DES 2012, 50) or by the **National Trust for Scotland** (Lelong 1998; DES 2011, 33), the Forestry Commission (James 2005c) and the Auchendrain Trust (DES 2011, 34). Synthetic papers are rare (eg Parkinson 2004).

National and local Interest groups, such as the **Scottish Industrial Heritage Society**, aim to bring together people interested in discovering and understanding Scotland's past. The SIHS in particular, exists to raise awareness of industrial heritage and provide a focus for those with an interest across a very wide spectrum (see web site).

Local museums, often run by local charities, societies and volunteers, are repositories of artefacts, photographs and oral histories relevant to the early Modern period eg **Auchendrain Township, Inverarey Jail, An Iodhlann** (Tiree) or provide a on line archive of material eg. Arrochar, Taret & Ardlui Heritage Group (see <http://www.arrocharheritage.com/>).

No study of Argyll can go without a mention of **The Kist**, the publication of the Natural History & Antiquarian Society of Mid-Argyll which has been going for many years. This publication contains numerous notes and articles about Argyll from the prehistoric to the modern period. There is an article on Marion Campbell and Mary Sandeman's Mid-Argyll survey by Grahame Ritchie which provides some background to the survey and the contribution of **Eric Cregeen**, Resident Tutor in Adult Education in Argyll and then tutor for the Glasgow Extra-Mural Department (Ritchie 2005). The mid Argyll group planned to record the deserted settlements of Argyll with sound recordings. This

was never published but there may be notes within the Marion Campbell archives held in Kilmartin Museum. Industrial sites such as **Taynish Mill** (built 1724) were recorded and published in the Kist by members of the society (Clark 2002). In the same edition there is an article on 'North Knapdale Woods in the 18th century' which has used the **Inverneill Estate papers** and the **Poltalloch estate papers** (Rymer 2002).

The **web** also provides access to many other sources eg the 2012 annual Angus 'Ease' MacLeod lecture held in 2012 on the Isle of Lewis by Professor **Donald E. Meek**. His title is "Charging at an Open Door? An Alternative View of Crofting History and Highland Development since 1930 from the Gaelic writings of the Rev. T.M Murchison (1907-1984)" and begins in Gaelic (see www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KG6C_v_QxY). Cross-discipline work is being done by the **National Trust for Scotland** for example their Changing Landscapes project on Iona. This year's Changing Landscapes project was on the theme of 'Working the Land and Sea' with the ranger service, staff and pupils from Oban High's School of Traditional Music and music tutors (see www.nts.org.uk/Site/Iona-changing-landscapes).

Often post-medieval material is found while looking for archaeology of the earlier periods eg excavations at **Ellan Vow** in 2012 (DES 2012, 33) and an aerial photographic survey of North Mull by the **Morvern Maritime Centre** (DES 2012, 50).

A couple of things to note here are that while detailed recording of rural settlement is taking place on an unprecedented scale as a result of the SRP project, no synthesis of this work is taking place nor is this detailed level of attention being repeated for other types of site except in very isolated cases (eg railway signal boxes).

2. What you consider to be the main themes for the period in question?

Argyll has a **rich heritage** and **beautiful**, but **difficult** landscape, dominated by hills and water 'Land of Blood and Beauty' (McGrigor 2000).

Clanship, conflict. Campbells & MacDonalds (Massacre of Glencoe), Montrose & McColla in 17th century (Invasions of Argyll), castles, fortifications, abandoned farms eg Eilean a Bharain on Loch Tromlee). Civil Wars & Cromwell. Restoration, Jacobite Rebellion. Battlefields (none in the current inventory, but skirmishes/raids).

Commercialisation, capitalism. Droving/cattle trade (DES 2011, 40-1), Improvements, Clearances – Arichonan (infamous), diaspora, self-sufficiency, agricultural sustainability.

Wealth/display. Mansion Houses, country houses, lairds houses, palaces, re-use of castles. Dominated by Inverarey Castle, other examples, Breachacha House, Ardfin House Jura.

Industry. Forestry, kelp burning, water power/wind, iron works (Bonawe, Glen Kinglass), distilling (eg DES 2011, 576), quarrying, (slate (Easdale), marble (Iona)), mining (Strontian & Lurga lead mines), gunpowder works (Melfort), boat building, textiles, spinning & weaving.

Transport Canal building – Crinan canal (1794-1809) see plan by Rennie, J 1792 *Plan of the Proposed Crinan Canal between the Lochs of Crinan and Gilp*. British Library Maps K top 48:79a. Harbours, fishing –herring (eg Oban, Cambeltown Tarbert harbours). Planes, trains and automobiles. Railway.

Education /Church, Reformation, schools, public buildings

Tourism/ Recreation/ hotels, hunting estates, paddle steamers, golf, curling.

Identity / Links with Ireland, Argyll within Scotland, Argyll within the world & Empire- (see Connected Communities Project & Dalriada Project).

Designed landscapes/ Planned villages.

Land Reform, land settlement, crofting (Wightman 2010).

World War I & II – Airfields, Royal Navy Torpedo Testing Station on Loch Long (currently being turned into a sailing marina.)

Agricultural sustainability, animal husbandry – were there choices other than Clearance?

Energy, water & wind.

3. Where there are any glaring gaps?

Research on the early modern period in Argyll is at a very early stage and is patchy.

There is lots of data collection being carried out but no synthesis for Argyll to put it into context (see *Rathlin Island* by Forsythe & McConkey 2012).

Perhaps also consider what are the issues in Argyll today that archaeology might help to explore? Under population, lack of infrastructure, lack of industry, landscape, effect of forestry, Gaelic language/culture, overly romantic ideas of history, climate change & landownership.

4. What are the key research areas?

Should be aware of, but not necessarily follow other research agendas.

Paul Duffy has included four themes for the island of Bute -1) Power and Prestige, 2) Religion and Burial, 3) Agriculture, 4) Resourceful Bute (natural resources), 5) Landscapes and Living and finally 6) Being Brandane (Bute identity) (Duffy 2013b).

The Scarf Modern Research Agenda for Scotland (Dalglish & Tarlow 2012) has included eight themes- 1) Reformations, 2) Global Localities(including Reformation, industrialisation, the Enlightenment, Improvement, global capitalism, colonialism and Empire), 3) the Modern Person, 4) Nation & State, 5) People & Things, 6) People & Places, 7) People & Landscapes and finally 8) Modern Past, Modern Present. They emphasise the need for collaborative as well as multi-disciplinary research, the need to be relevant to modern society and enable scholars to challenge existing ideas about the past.

Current University research being carried out includes –

Kevin Grant - *'Mo Rùn am Fearann' – 'My Love is the Land': Gaelic Landscapes of the 18th and 19th centuries*. His research is focused on using novel approaches to the landscape archaeology of the 18th and 19th century Highlands and Islands of Scotland. These approaches will include the extensive use of narrative, experiential approaches, and Gaelic oral tradition and culture. He will aim to create a colourful and evocative account of life within the landscape which acknowledges the breadth of experience in Highland society, the importance of culture in forming ideas and experiences of landscape, and subverts previous approaches which have been dominated by homogenising historical meta-narratives.

Kimberley Noble (AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Award with UHI (Archaeology Institute at Orkney College) and RCAHMS. Her PhD is looking at aspects of the sustainability of pre-Improvement townships in the Highlands. There are three research questions which focus on aspects of the sustainability of the pre-Improvement townships; how the Improvements altered aspects of rural settlement dynamics; and an evaluation of the effectiveness of non-intrusive methods in understanding aspects of settlement. There are two main methodological approaches: one will be to consider sustainability through an examination of aspects of township ecology with a particular focus on the archaeological evidence but utilising documentary sources as well. The second approach is to gain an in-depth understanding of the wider landscape in which the case-study sites are situated. She hopes to do this using GIS to create maps with multiple layers of evidence and to discuss township siting and distribution patterns in relation to a variety of 'natural' and 'social' factors including topography, geology, route-ways, administrative and service-centres etc.

Jennifer Novotny *The material culture of the Jacobite Rebellions*. University of Glasgow. Her study looked at the general Jacobite-era and she has looked at material culture from several key collections (NMS, Inverness, etc). Subsequently her overarching research theme is the material culture of modern conflict, specifically the ways in which artefacts help us to negotiate uncomfortable topics like war and violence.

Donald Adamson recently completed his PhD on droving using Argyll & Bute as a case study (University of Glasgow).

5. How you think we should move forward in the future?

Collaborative & multi-disciplinary – eg climate change involves geology, geomorphology, archaeology, history & archaeobotany.

More synthetic research

Attract funding – relevance to modern society (food production, technology, politics, cultural connections)

Landscape approach

Application of modern techniques eg GIS & LIDAR.

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