

Modern Scotland: Archaeology, the Modern past and the Modern present



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SCARF Summary Modern Panel Report

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Executive Summary

Why research the archaeology of the modern past in Scotland?

Researching the modern past is a highly relevant endeavour. Knowledge and understanding of the recent past provides us with a long-term view of our lives in the present, revealing, evidencing and interpreting the genealogy of contemporary society. Research into the modern past provides a critical perspective on the present, uncovering the historical origins of our current ways of life and our social, material and environmental relationships. Research into the modern past helps us to understand how things came to be as they are today and, in providing this historical perspective, to better reflect upon the future we should work towards.

It might be asked: why is *archaeological* research needed to help us understand the modern past? What does archaeology add to our understanding of a period which is so well covered by documentary history?

A (common) response to this question is to argue that archaeology provides alternative lines of evidence and an alternative perspective on the past. Documents are created by particular people for particular purposes, portraying the world from a certain perspective, recording certain things and ignoring others as unimportant or irrelevant. Archaeology is no more objective nor comprehensive in its interpretation of the past, but its alternative perspective – founded on an understanding of the material aspect of past lives – can provide new knowledge and understanding, even for well-documented periods.

But this is only a partial answer to the question and there is another, more crucial point to be made: archaeology is not just the study of the past through its material remains, it is the study of the *relationship between people and their material environment*. Our sense of self and our social, economic and environmental relationships are created and transformed through engagements with the world we inhabit. We affect our environment, and it affects us. The archaeology of the recent past thus investigates the mutual dependence of people and their material environment. Seen in this light, the question becomes: how can people hope to understand the history of modern life without the archaeological perspective?

Panel Task and Remit

The task of the Modern Panel is to produce a framework for archaeological research investigating modern Scotland. The broad aim of research in the Modern Panel's field is to achieve knowledge and understanding of life and society in the modern world with particular reference to the relationships between people and their material and natural environments. The term 'modern' refers both to a period in history and to particular relationships and ways of being and living.

The framework which the panel has produced does not strictly codify future research questions nor catalogue procedures for the investigation of the recent past. Rather, this framework is a forward-looking statement of research principles, aims and directions. The framework is intended to enhance existing traditions of research by situating them in wider context and to promote the development of dynamic new research leading to a better understanding of the modern past and of its resonance in the present.

The Panel's basic definition of the modern era is the period from the 16th century to the present, but the boundaries of the period should be seen as flexible and porous, to be defined in a contingent manner as appropriate to the material and the questions and issues under discussion. Where

appropriate, the Panel has extended its remit back into the medieval period, and connections with the work of the Medieval Panel are to be encouraged. The end point of the modern past is also fluid and contingent – the remit of the Panel extends well into the period within living memory and any hard-and-fast division between past and present is to be resisted.

The Panel does not see archaeology as a closed discipline characterised by the application of distinctive methods and techniques (e.g. archaeological excavation). Rather, archaeology is defined here as: 1) the study of the past using several forms of evidence, including its material remains; and 2) the study of relationships between people and their material worlds. The modern past is studied in these ways by scholars working within other disciplines and traditions and this fact has been recognised in the composition of the Panel, the members of which represent the disciplines of archaeology, architectural history, history and historical ecology. Many panel members have interests transcending disciplinary boundaries.

Our overall direction of travel has been to produce a framework which allows individual researchers to develop and articulate their work in relation to three key co-ordinates:

1. the *humanity* of the modern world;
2. the *materiality* of the modern world; and
3. the *relevance* of the modern past.

Research in this field provides critical insight into what it meant and what it means to be human in the modern world (humanity). The end towards which researchers collectively work is an understanding of self and society in the modern era. More particularly, given that this is an archaeological research framework, it is the ways in which modern ways of being and living have emerged through engagement with the material world that are of interest (materiality). And, as explorations of the genealogy of the present, research in this field is defined by the perspective it offers on the present (relevance). In understanding the modern past, we understand the modern present which arose from it, and we can reflect in a deeper and more informed way on the future.

To provide a link between this broad agenda for research and the individual activities and projects through which research is pursued, the Panel has defined eight themes, each representing a different perspective on the modern world.

The first two themes – ***Reformations*** and ***Global Localities*** – provide opportunities to reflect upon the major narratives of modern history and the ways in which archaeology can contribute to or challenge those narratives. Discussion under these themes is focussed on archaeological contributions to understanding of developments such as the Reformation, industrialisation, the Enlightenment, Improvement, global capitalism, colonialism and Empire. *Reformations* and *Global Localities* are themes intended to encourage reflection on the ways in which modern Scottish history is written and the ways in which archaeological research can contribute to that process.

The next two themes – ***the Modern Person*** and ***Nation & State*** – place particular emphasis on questions of humanity in the modern world. They are intended to encourage reflection on the nature of self and society in modern Scotland and the ways in which archaeological research can inform our understanding of these issues.

The three themes which follow next – ***People & Things***, ***People & Places*** and ***People & Landscapes*** – place the emphasis on questions of materiality (the interdependence of people and the material world). Under these headings, the framework seeks to indicate in some more detail how the

questions raised under *Reformations, Global Localities, Modern Person* and *Nation & State* might be addressed by researching artefacts, historic buildings, archaeological sites and landscapes.

The final theme – ***Modern Past, Modern Present*** – looks in on modern-world archaeology from the perspective of relevance. How does the recent past resonate in and influence the present and what kinds of research will help us to understand those processes? What are the politics and ethics of the modern past? How is modern-world archaeology presented and represented in public contexts? To what extent is research in this field pursued in collaboration with the public and how can research develop new modes of public collaboration in relation to modern past?

Future Research

The main recommendations of the panel report can be summarised under five key headings:

- HUMANITY

The Panel recommends recognition that research in this field should be geared towards the development of critical understandings of self and society in the modern world.

Archaeological research into the modern past should be ambitious in seeking to contribute to understanding of the major social, economic and environmental developments through which the modern world came into being. Modern-world archaeology can add significantly to knowledge of Scotland's historical relationships with the rest of the British Isles, Europe and the wider world. Archaeology offers a new perspective on what it has meant to be a modern person and a member of modern society, inhabiting a modern world.

- MATERIALITY

The Panel recommends approaches to research which focus on the materiality of the recent past (i.e. the character of relationships between people and their material world).

Archaeology's contribution to understandings of the modern world lies in its ability to situate, humanise and contextualise broader historical developments. Archaeological research can provide new insights into the modern past by investigating historical trends not as abstract phenomena but as changes to real lives, affecting different localities in different ways. Archaeology can take a long-term perspective on major modern developments, researching their 'prehistory' (which often extends back into the Middle Ages) and their material legacy in the present. Archaeology can humanise and contextualise long-term processes and global connections by working outwards from individual life stories, developing biographies of individual artefacts and buildings and evidencing the reciprocity of people, things, places and landscapes. The modern person and modern social relationships were formed in and through material environments and, to understand modern humanity, it is crucial that we understand humanity's material relationships in the modern world.

- PERSPECTIVE

The Panel recommends the development, realisation and promotion of work which takes a critical perspective on the present from a deeper understanding of the recent past.

Research into the modern past provides a critical perspective on the present, uncovering the origins of our current ways of life and of relating to each other and to the world around us. It is important that this relevance is acknowledged, understood, developed and mobilised to connect past, present and future. The material approach of archaeology can enhance understanding, challenge assumptions and develop new and alternative histories.

Archaeology can evidence varied experience of social, environmental and economic change in the past. It can consider questions of local distinctiveness and global homogeneity in complex and nuanced ways. It can reveal the hidden histories of those whose ways of life diverged from the historical mainstream. Archaeology can challenge simplistic, essentialist understandings of the recent Scottish past, providing insights into the historical character and interaction of Scottish, British and other identities and ideologies.

- **COLLABORATION**

The Panel recommends the development of integrated and collaborative research practices.

Perhaps above all other periods of the past, the modern past is a field of enquiry where there is great potential benefit in collaboration between different specialist sectors within archaeology, between different disciplines, between Scottish-based researchers and researchers elsewhere in the world and between professionals and the public. The Panel advocates the development of new ways of working involving integrated and collaborative investigation of the modern past. Extending beyond previous modes of inter-disciplinary practice, these new approaches should involve active engagement between different interests developing collaborative responses to common questions and problems.

- **REFLECTION**

The Panel recommends that a reflexive approach is taken to the archaeology of the modern past, requiring research into the nature of academic, professional and public engagements with the modern past and the development of new reflexive modes of practice.

Archaeology investigates the past but it does so from its position in the present. Research should develop a greater understanding of modern-period archaeology as a scholarly pursuit and social practice in the present. Research should provide insights into the ways in which the modern past is presented and represented in particular contexts. Work is required to better evidence popular understandings of and engagements with the modern past and to understand the politics of the recent past, particularly its material aspect. Research should seek to advance knowledge and understanding of the moral and ethical viewpoints held by professionals and members of the public in relation to the archaeology of the recent past. There is a need to critically review public engagement practices in modern-world archaeology and develop new modes of public-professional collaboration and to generate practices through which archaeology can make positive interventions in the world. And there is a need to embed processes of ethical reflection and beneficial action into archaeological practice relating to the modern past.

Contents

List of Figures	ix
1. Introduction	1
1.1 The Name	1
1.2 Defining the themes: some general considerations	3
1.3 The themes	4
Reformations.....	5
Global Localities	5
The Modern Person.....	5
Nation and State.....	5
People and Things	6
People and Place	6
People and Landscape.....	6
Modern past, Modern present.....	6
1.4 Working with the themes	7
2. Reformations.....	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 ‘The’ Reformation	10
2.3 The Enlightenment.....	14
2.4 Improvement	15
2.5 The Industrial Revolution.....	16
2.6 Capitalism.....	21
2.7 Research Recommendations	24
3. Global Localities	27
3.1 Introduction	27
3.2 Colonialism and Empire	30
3.3 Diasporas.....	33
3.4 Global economies and local lives	37
Global markets and local environments.....	39
3.5 Research Recommendations	41
4. The Modern Person.....	43
4.1 Introduction	43
4.2 Archaeology and the individual	43
4.3 The Body and the Person	45
4.4 The Social Person	50
4.5 Self against Society	53
4.6 Research Recommendations	56
5. Nation and State.....	58
5.1 Introduction	58
5.2 Constructing the state: borders, pacification and defence	60
5.3 Embedding and evading the state in civil life	64
5.4 Being Scottish, or being something else	67
5.5 Research Recommendations	70
6. People and Things	72
6.1 Introduction	72
6.2 Production and technology.....	73
6.3 Consumption.....	74
6.4 Use, repair, adaptive re-use and discard	76
6.5 Research Recommendations	79
7. People and Place	80

7.1	Introduction	80
7.2	Household and home.....	82
7.3	Workplaces	88
7.4	Places of Assembly and public buildings.....	93
7.5	Research Recommendations	98
8.	People and Landscape.....	99
8.1	Introduction	99
8.2	Inhabited landscapes	101
8.3	Perceived landscapes.....	104
8.4	Political landscapes	109
8.5	Human ecologies.....	112
8.6	Research Recommendations	115
9.	Modern Past, Modern Present.....	117
9.1	Introduction	117
9.2	Archaeology: a modern way of knowing past and present	117
9.3	(Re)presenting the modern past.....	120
9.4	Popular knowledge and public collaboration	122
9.5	A political past.....	124
9.6	The ethics of modern-world archaeology.....	127
9.7	Research Recommendations	129
10.	Bibliography	131

List of Figures

Figure 1: Distribution map of sites mentioned in the text, ©RCAHMS	8
Figure 2: Reformation Pleasure Grounds © RCAHMS	11
Figure 3: Bassendean St Mary's Church © A. Spicer	14
Figure 4: The Playfair Collection of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century chemical apparatus © NMS.	15
Figure 5: Glasgow University Summer School excavations in the 1970s. Reproduced by kind permission of the Wanlockhead Museum Trust.....	17
Figure 6: Aerial photograph of Ravenscraig Steel Works. © RCAHMS.....	19
Figure 7: Strathclyde public school on the left, next to the mill at Dalmarnock, ©RCAHMS.....	21
Figure 8: New Lanark ©RCAHMS.....	24
Figure 9: Govan Iron Works Lower English Buildings ©Crown Copyright	30
Figure 10: William Simpson's painting 'Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate, circa 1845' © Culture and Sport Glasgow (Museums).....	33
Figure 11: This stone at Kirk Yetholm is a memorial to the gypsy community there. ©A. Spicer.....	34
Figure 12: Cairnbaan instructional camp, reproduced courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library	37
Figure 13: Leadour © Alastair Hamilton.	41
Figure 14: Scipio's House, Culzean Country Park, © National Trust for Scotland	45
Figure 15: Metal 'janker' from the kirkyard at Kilmun (photo courtesy of Chris Stewart-Moffitt)	48
Figure 16: Communion token mould from Fife. ©NMS	55
Figure 17: Ruthven was one of a series of Highland barracks built in the wake of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion (or Rising). ©RCAHMS.	59
Figure 18: Aerial view of Campbeltown.....	62
Figure 19: The archaeological remains of an illicit whisky still © RCAHMS.....	66
Figure 20: The CWGC memorial for H. Reid (left) and the Reid family memorial (right) to which his name has been added. Westray, orkney. Photograph courtesy of Sarah Tarlow	69
Figure 21: Silver communion cup from Ellon Kirk, Aberdeenshire ©NMS.....	77
Figure 22: Recording the interior of Burns Cottage, © National Trust for Scotland	81
Figure 23: WWII graffiti on the wall of the Engineering Works in Leithen Crescent, Innerleithen, © RCAHMS	85
Figure 24: Nobel's Explosives Factory, © RCAHMS	89
Figure 25: The winding engine at Lady Victoria Colliery, © RCAHMS	91
Figure 26: Ruined shieling at Airigh a' Bhealaich, Lewis. © RCAHMS.....	93
Figure 27: Foulis Easter. © RCAHMS.....	95
Figure 28: Burntisland church. © RCAHMS	96
Figure 29: Aerial photograph of Waughenwae Knowe, Perthshire. © RCAHMS	103
Figure 30: Aerial photograph of Loch Katrine ©RCAHMS.	106
Figure 31 The Shandwick Stone, Nigg. © RCAHMS	108
Figure 32: Graveyard of St Mary of the Lowes church © A. Spicer	112
Figure 33: Illustration of <i>Both, Làrach Tigh Dhubhastail, Ceann Resort, Uig, Lewis</i> . © Scran.....	120
Figure 34: Callanish blackhouse ©RCAHMS	122
Figure 35: Scotland's Rural Past survey at Torrains, Mull © RCAHMS	124
Figure 36: The ruins of St Andrews Cathedral viewed from St Rule's Tower, © RCAHMS.....	127

1. Introduction

This framework for the archaeology of the modern past is more a research convention than a research manual. The framework was produced by a convention – a coming together of people who share common interests and concerns. And the framework product is a convention – not a strict and tight codification of research questions nor a catalogue of off-the-shelf procedures for the investigation of the recent past, but a forward-looking statement encouraging the adoption of certain principles and aims for research. The principles, aims and research directions contained in this document are intended to enhance existing traditions of research by situating them in wider context and to promote the development of dynamic new research leading to a better understanding of the modern past and of its resonance in the present.

To achieve the aims and act in accordance with the principles promoted by this framework, researchers, practitioners and heritage managers will need to interpret them creatively as they develop them for application in particular contexts.

1.1 The Name

The term ‘modern’ has been adopted by this panel in preference to possible alternatives including ‘post-medieval’ and ‘later historical’¹. Some reflections on this choice are offered here by way of an introduction to the panel’s direction of travel.

‘Post-medieval’ and ‘later historical’ are terms used by archaeologists to denote the period of the last five centuries or so. Each term was coined in particular circumstances.

Post-medieval Archaeology emerged in the post-War decades as archaeologists began to recognise that certain ‘medieval’ material traditions continued into the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries². Initially, ‘post-medieval’ described the period to c.1750; now it denotes the whole period from c.1500 to the present day³.

In the 1990s, some archaeologists began to argue for an alternative term: Later Historical Archaeology (e.g. Johnson 1996, 1-18; West 1999). This term represented a desire to break away from the perceived empiricism of previous scholarship and to connect with the more anthropological approach of Historical Archaeologists in North America and elsewhere. Historical Archaeology, in a New World context, is concerned with the period of the last five centuries; in a British and European context the qualifier ‘later’ was added to acknowledge the longer timespan of documentary history.

Much of this nomenclature debate is irrelevant in the present context, but there is one important point which emerges from it: each term, simple in itself, makes a deeper statement about the stance of its advocates. Given this, at an early stage in the framework-development process, the Panel found it useful to reflect on its name as a means of defining and clarifying its perspective and approach.

¹ Post-medieval is commonly used (the Society for Post-medieval Archaeology; the journal *Post-medieval Archaeology*; books such as Crossley’s (1990) *Post-medieval Archaeology in Britain*); later historical archaeology occurs in more recent titles, such as *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain* (Tarlow and West (eds) 1999).

² For early definitions of the field see: Anon. 1968; Barton 1968; and, for a Scottish angle, Crawford 1968. For more recent statements of the ‘traditional’ scope of the subject area see: Crossley 1990; Gaimster 1994.

³ This is the definition currently preferred by the Society for Post-medieval Archaeology (see www.spma.org.uk).

The terms 'post-medieval' and 'later historical' place the emphasis, variably, on chronology (after the medieval; the latter part of the historical era), the character of the evidence (this is a *historical* period, where archaeological evidence sits alongside documentary and other categories of evidence) or particular sympathies (Post-medieval Archaeology with Medieval Archaeology; Later Historical Archaeology with Historical Archaeology).

In a similar manner, the term 'modern' makes a series of statements. 'Modern':

Is (arguably) more widely intelligible . . .

Although the term 'post-medieval' does occur outside of archaeology, scholars in cognate disciplines can find it curious as a label for the recent past. Added to that, understanding of the term is variable within archaeology, not least because its meaning has changed. And the term is opaque to the public. The meaning of 'later historical' is ambiguous and unclear for most and the term is not widely used. Other terms for this period or for its component parts are more familiar: 'modern', 'early modern', 'Renaissance'. Why does this matter here? The nature of the subject and current directions in its study suggest that any framework for the study of the modern past should place an emphasis on dialogue between disciplines, and the public significance of the modern past encourages the use of terms which are intelligible to non-archaeological audiences more generally (or, at least, terms which can be translated without too much difficulty).

Reduces the emphasis (in this framework) on chronology . . .

The Modern Panel has set itself flexible temporal boundaries, with a remit for the past five centuries *or so*. Research into the modern past extends back into the medieval period and it extends forward into the present, with the result that the temporal

start and end points of any research framework for this period have to be fluid and contingent on the question at hand. 'Modern', here, refers not so much to a strictly delimited period of time as it does to an emerging and developing modern world, and to the states of being and the social, environmental and material relationships which characterise that world. The modern world has roots extending back beyond A.D. 1500 and it is both our past and our present, a still-living archaeological subject.

Decreases the emphasis (in this framework) on sources and evidence . . .

This is not to argue against the value of a sound and critical understanding of the evidence; it is to emphasise that, while knowledge of the evidence is essential, it is not the ultimate goal of research. Questions of which evidence to consider and how to acquire and construct that evidence should not, therefore, drive the creation of a strategic framework for research. Evidence is a means not an end and knowledge of that evidence is contributory towards something else . . .

Places the emphasis on the ends of the research . . .

Archaeology is a humanistic and scientific discipline whose ultimate aim is knowledge and understanding of the human condition in the past, of people's relationships with the material world and of the relationships between past, present and future. How did people live their lives, understand themselves and relate to the world around them? How did they create the world (knowingly or not), and how did it create them? How has the past conditioned the present and how can understanding of the past contribute to the creation of the future?

The broad aim of research in the Modern Panel's field is to achieve knowledge and understanding of modern life, modern society and the modern world as it has emerged and

developed over the past 500 years or so. The term 'modern' is an appropriate one for the panel because it denotes not just a period in time, for which there is evidence of a particular sort; it denotes a particular constellation of relationships and ways of being and living. And it is appropriate because it acknowledges the very real connections between this most recent of pasts and the present it has created.

1.2 Defining the themes: some general considerations

ScARF panels aim to undertake a critical review of past work and to produce a strategic framework for future research in their field. The aim is neither to detail past scholarship exhaustively nor to circumscribe future research too closely, but to inspire research and provide a structure within which individual research initiatives can be understood. This document seeks to provide answers to the question: how can individual research initiatives articulate to produce knowledge and understanding of modernity?

The panel has adopted certain themes to structure the framework. The starting point for these themes was a review of the approaches taken by other archaeological research frameworks⁴ and by other ScARF panels. This review identified some common types of theme, including:

- Chronological themes, structured by sub-period with divisions reflecting narrative changes perceived to be of particular importance (e.g. pre-industrial and industrial sub-periods, split at c.1750);

⁴ e.g. Wales (www.archaeoleg.org.uk/), London (www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/advice/our-planning-role/greater-london-archaeology-advisory-service/about-glaas/research-frameworks/); the English regions (links at www.algao.org.uk/Association/England/Regions/ResFwks.htm or www.archaeoleg.org.uk/other.html).

- Classes of material, with themes focusing on particular categories of evidence (e.g. 'urban settlement', 'textile mills', 'vernacular architecture');
- Specialisms. Here, the framework is broken down to prioritise established research traditions (e.g. 'industrial archaeology'), perpetuating and ghettoising those traditions as a result;
- Historical processes (e.g. 'economic change', 'industrialisation');
- Social and cultural themes (e.g. 'living and lifestyles', 'belief', 'identities').

Some of the themes adopted in previous frameworks for this period provide useful models and highlight relevant concerns, but many are problematic because:

- they are vague (e.g. 'urban') and do not provide sufficient focus and direction;
- conversely, they are too narrow (e.g. 'textile mills'), often separating out one aspect of the evidence or the concerns of a particular interest group⁵.
- they entrench existing divisions between research traditions.

The Modern Panel has chosen to adopt ambitious themes which provide clear routes to a knowledge and understanding of modern Scotland. There is no suggestion that detailed, in-depth investigations of particular issues or classes of material have no value,

⁵ This contrasts with the themes which have dominated discussions in Historical Archaeology in recent years, e.g. colonialism, capitalism, slavery and racism, consumer behaviour, institutional power, the relationship between individual lives and longer-term processes or between localities and the wider world, the meaning of the recent past for present-day communities and others (see e.g. Schuyler 1999; Orser 2010; and collections of papers such as Hall and Silliman (eds) 2006; Hicks and Beaudry (eds) 2006).

but such investigations are not the ultimate goal of research and have not been enshrined here as high-level, strategic research themes. This framework seeks to articulate where particular strands of research might lead and it is structured so that discussions of particular issues are linked to wider concerns.

The approach here is to see the research framework as an architecture within which priorities can more easily be identified and within which significant research initiatives can be developed. The themes are open enough that they provide a common focus for diverse interests and do not constrain debate unduly. They are specific enough that discussion is not directionless.

In defining the themes, the Panel returned to first principles:

- 1) Archaeology is a humanistic discipline. *It is not so much the study of the past as the study of humanity in the past (and, for this panel, the present too).* In most definitions of the subject, archaeology is defined as the study of what it meant to be human (i.e. archaeology's subject is society, culture, ways-of-life etc.).
- 2) Archaeology is a materially focused endeavour. Definitions of archaeology commonly focus on one aspect of this point: archaeology studies past societies through their material remains (from artefacts to archaeological landscapes, and including human, environmental and other tangible remains). This is relevant and archaeology can be defined, in part, by the material character of its evidence. However, there is another way to consider this point: *archaeology is the study of materiality, of the relationships between people and their material worlds.* Archaeology studies the mutual dependence of people and the

material world, the ways in which one makes and re-makes the other.

(This point is particularly important in the present context: it follows from it that anthropologists, documentary historians, environmental and materials scientists, art and design historians, and many others can 'do' archaeology, because questions about people-material relationships can also be addressed using documents, maps, art, environmental evidence, process residues, oral history and other sources. A research framework for the 'archaeology' of the modern world thus needs to address a range of disciplines and to consider the many ways in which material histories can be written.)

- 3) Archaeology is a relevant practice. The study of the past is never undertaken in a vacuum. *Archaeology is a practice through which people construct pasts which are meaningful to them in the present and through which they seek to shape the future.*

The Modern Panel themes are ones of strategic significance for understanding the *humanity, materiality* and *relevance* of the modern past.

1.3 The themes

Each of the themes listed below provides a particular entry point to the archaeology of modern Scotland.

The themes can be grouped into four categories: those which consider the manner in which historical narratives of the modern past are constructed (*Reformations, Global Localities*); those which highlight issues of humanity (*The Modern Person, Nation & State*); those which focus on materiality (*People & Things, People & Place, People & Landscape*); and, finally, a single theme

highlighting issues of relevance (*Modern Past, Modern Present*).

These themes are a contingent way of structuring the discussion. There are other legitimate ways of framing the modern past and many lines of enquiry which cut across the boundaries of these themes.

Histories

Reformations

How can archaeology contribute to the 'longer narrative streams' of modern history? The re-formation of people, place and society involves the making and re-making of places, landscapes, towns, and objects and a material perspective is therefore fundamental to our understanding of the Enlightenment, Industrialisation, the Clearances, the Reformation and the other major historical developments and processes of the modern world. This theme explores archaeology's ability to develop sophisticated understandings of the role of landscapes, objects and buildings in the creation, expression and alteration of the modern world. Material histories can take into account the specificities of context and they can explore the heterogeneous and contested nature of change: in material practice, evidence of continuity, re-use and adaptation and of dissent and resistance testifies to the complex character of the varied 'reformations' which define our recent history.

Global Localities

This theme concerns research into the relationship between the particular and the general. The terms 'local' and 'global' are shorthand for a diverse set of relationships and the concern is for a greater understanding of the manner in which particular people and particular places were affected by and contributed to wider processes, conditions, circumstances and structures, dispersed through space and time (e.g. capitalism, colonialism, globalisation, environmental change). Material histories of the modern

past must be sensitive to the particularities of the places and people under study without forgetting that those places and people were bound into – though not necessarily determined by – a wider world.

Humanity

The Modern Person

Research focusing on the materiality of life can make a significant contribution to understandings of the history of the modern person and of modern society. This theme seeks to examine the nature of self and the constitution and contestation of social relationships (e.g. of family, kin, community; gender, class, age, religion and belief; tenancy and employment). Research under the *Modern Person* theme explores tensions between and within individual and group ways of being and relating in the modern world and it explores how they change over time. The theme considers the archaeology of the corporate body and embodiment in the modern period, and how people are constituted socially through their engagements with others. And it considers individual difference, and the kind of things that set a person at odds with dominant or normative ways of being and doing.

Nation and State

This theme extends from the *Modern Person* to consider two particular aspects of modern society: nation and state. While these two terms are often used interchangeably, here they are understood as related but not necessarily coincident concepts, nation relating to ideas of 'the people' and state to the systems, structures and institutions of government. Research under this theme furthers understanding of the ways in which nation(s) and state(s) have emerged, developed, manifested, related to each other and been contested in the modern world. Research under this theme offers insights into the meanings and history denoted by terms such as Scotland, Scottish, Britain, British, Europe and European, and it offers insights on

the complex relationships between these ideas and institutions and other non-national co-ordinates of being. Archaeological approaches to these issues focus on the materialisation of nation and state, and on their variable and contested role in people's lives.

Materiality

People and Things

This theme explores the mutual constitution of people and objects, focusing on how identities, relationships, aspirations and understandings are created and articulated through material culture. This theme takes in studies of the production and distribution of objects – both in industrial and non-industrial contexts – and it considers the consumption and acquisition of objects. In order to capture the human and social significance of artefacts, and to move the discipline beyond description and typology, 'artefact biography' is adopted as an interpretive tool, allowing a fuller contextualisation of the object. This approach considers the technological, stylistic and economic facets of production and it extends inquiry into the consumption, use and deployment of material culture, and the reuse, adaptation and eventual discard of objects.

People and Place

This theme explores homes, households and workplaces, places of worship, assembly, leisure and entertainment. Research under this theme does not take concepts such as 'home', 'household' or 'workplace' for granted and it seeks to understand what terms such as these meant in different contexts. These various places have been grouped together under one theme to highlight the problems of making an artificial distinction between the places where people lived, the places where they worked and the places where they came together for other reasons such as worship, socialising and entertainment. In this section of the document, the focus is on the nature of places

such as buildings, churches and settlements in themselves; the landscape aspects of place are developed under the next theme. This is an artificial division, but one which has served a useful heuristic function in generating and organising the framework and in seeking to find ways to connect diverse strands of research.

People and Landscape

Like *People and Things* and *People and Place*, this theme concerns a category of people-material relationship. 'Landscape' is a concept with many definitions: for some, the landscape is understood as a physical object, the land itself, and one landscape is differentiated from another on the basis of its material characteristics; for others, landscape is a construct of the mind and of culture – the landscape as imagined in poetry, literature and art, for example; and for others still, landscape is a matter of practical and embodied engagements with the world, of activities, tasks and routines, a complex of social, environmental and material relationships. Research under this theme investigates the nature of different ways of knowing, perceiving and living landscape in the modern world, and landscape is defined here as encompassing the rural landscape and also urban landscapes, coastal landscapes and landscapes which extend out into the sea.

Relevance

Modern past, Modern present

The last theme places the emphasis on the relevance of the modern past. The themes outlined above have the potential to frame and inspire future research which develops knowledge and understanding of modern Scotland. This is research with great potential relevance in the present. It has the potential to articulate relationships between the recent past and the present, explaining how current social, economic, political and environmental circumstances came to be. By providing an historical perspective on the present and questioning widely-held,

customary assumptions about the origins of modern society and the modern world, this research has the potential to challenge current understandings of the present and to provide food for thought in deliberating about the future. Research under this theme is not primarily concerned with the past, but with the present and the ways in which the modern past resonates in the present: How do people today engage with the recent past? How is the recent past (re)presented? What does the recent past mean to people in the present? What are the ethics and the politics of this past?

1.4 Working with the themes

These themes are designed to aid reflection on research in the Modern Panel's field. The themes do not enshrine established interests, nor do they narrowly delineate the evidence that might be considered in developing an understanding of modern Scotland. They are designed to promote dialogue between disciplines and existing traditions of research and to encourage the development of new interests, questions and collaborations.

Whilst much thought has gone into the choice and definition of the themes, they could legitimately have been framed otherwise. The themes are also not intended to be insulated from each other and work on a particular topic is likely to feed into the understanding of more than one theme. The

themes are not intended to circumscribe the perspectives that researchers might take on an understanding of modern Scotland. They do not require consensus in the interpretation of the modern world; rather, they provide reference points and a structure for dialogue between individuals and groups with common interests but different points of view. Indeed, divergence and difference are to be encouraged: perhaps the most productive discussions are those between people of differing outlook, where implicit assumptions are exposed to critical evaluation and researchers are challenged to understand, if not necessarily to adopt, alternative perspectives.

In developing each of the themes, a critical stance has been adopted, challenging and questioning narratives such as 'modern society is consumer society, globalised and materialistic', 'modern people think and act as individuals', 'modern relationships with the environment are exploitative and destructive'. Each of these *can* be said of the modern world, but problems arise when such narratives are treated uncritically and attempts are made to reduce modern life (varied, fluid, emergent, contingent, contested) to a simple essence. Case studies are included in each theme to ground the general discussion and to exemplify the potential scope, contribution to understanding and relevance of the archaeology of Scotland's modern past.



Figure 1: Distribution map of sites mentioned in the text, ©RCAHMS

2. Reformations

2.1 Introduction

The history of the modern world is often framed in terms of a series of changes and processes operating at an unprecedented rate and scale: the Reformation, the Enlightenment, Improvement, the Industrial Revolution, Capitalism. The particular optimism and ambition of such changes is encapsulated in the idea of 'Reformations'. This suggests change that is active, 'Improving' and large scale. It also emphasises the notion that the subjects of change – landscapes, towns, buildings, processes, people – can be 're-formed', made again (and made 'better'). Re-formation, however, also refers to the process of reconstructing people, through institutions such as prisons, asylums and schools, through philanthropic experiments and social engineering in planned settlements or Improved housing, through new modes of communication changing ways of thinking and interacting. These changes are not necessarily sudden and cataclysmic, as is suggested by the term 'revolution' (as in the agricultural, industrial or consumer revolutions); they can be gradual and incremental.

This theme is in many ways concerned with the ways in which archaeology of the modern period engages with other disciplines through shared questions and preoccupations. Archaeological research can comment upon, develop and question our understanding of the key over-arching historical narratives of the modern past. Archaeology provides a critical perspective on these narratives by problematising grand concepts such as 'capitalism' and providing a way to explore their local manifestations. Archaeology can contribute more than illustrative examples that add colour to essentially historical debates; it can develop sophisticated accounts of the ways in which landscapes, objects, buildings and places create and express new and changing understandings of the world and relationships with it. The questions considered here are not narrowly Scottish in their significance, but of global relevance. The way that Scotland leads, falls behind, matches or diverges from these global processes is of central interest, and the engagement of local developments with national, international and global ones is key to this framework, as will be considered in subsequent sections. One of archaeology's great strengths is its ability to look at the details of how processes played out in practice and in context, providing us with the capacity to challenge and refine received ideas about the past.

This chapter will briefly set out some of the dominant historical themes which archaeology can address and which can be understood through the concept of 'reformation'. Reformation, or re-formation, contains the sense of making again, and this has often been an explicit agenda for 'reformers' of the modern period, as they have critiqued old forms of religion, society, economy and personhood and sought to tear down the traditional edifices of society and, in their place, form new religious sects, societies, economies and identities. Re-formations of people, places and society have attributed central importance to the physical world – to the making of places, landscapes, towns, and objects that promote and embody the ideals of reformation. As such, 'reformation' demands consideration in any archaeological analysis of the modern past.

Research under this theme must, though, adopt a questioning stance to the reformations it studies. It is important to explore assumptions about the nature of these reformations by researching dissent, resistance, continuity in the face of change and the heterogeneity and contextuality of responses to the reformation of the modern world. Not everyone would have been content to see old practices rejected or abandoned, or joined the consensus view of what reformed institutions should look like. In material practice, evidence of continuity, re-use, adaptation – or indeed of overt, violent resistance – testifies to the complex range of responses to reformation.

This chapter is thematically organised and, inevitably, there is a compression of diachronic historical process. Clearly, the capitalism of the 1660s is not the same as that of the 1850s. Some of the themes discussed here relate especially strongly to one period or another within the long time frame of the modern past. However, a strength of the archaeological approach is its ability to put change in its long-term context, examining the pace and scale of reformations, their precursors and afterlives.

2.2 'The' Reformation

Reformation, to most archaeologists and historians of this period, means the Protestant Reformations of the sixteenth century (see MacDonald 2002; Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003; Dawson 2007; Rylie 2006; Spicer 2003b, 2007; Todd 2002, 2010). The Scottish Reformation is a subject for archaeological research because, to understand it, there is also a need to understand its material side. The material perspective allows an exploration of how structures, places and things were reworked in and for a new religious environment. What happened to ecclesiastical buildings and furniture, to burial practices, to foundations and institutions (hospitals, alms houses, schools, etc.) after 1560? What was the extent of iconoclasm (and reactions to it, such as the concealment and adaptation of 'Popish' things) and how did new image theory affect material culture? How did the Reformation affect life beyond the church, with the redistribution of land in a new hierarchy of political power, for example?

The Reformation Parliament in 1560 adopted the Scottish Confession of Faith and passed new legislation rejecting Papal authority and jurisdiction, as well as revoking laws that were regarded as contrary to the Word of God as revealed in biblical texts. The Scottish Reformation has generally been associated with iconoclasm and religious violence, but this has tended to overshadow the more gradual process of alteration and adaptation, concealment and removal of religious imagery and other associations with Catholicism. The ruins of medieval religious houses appear to stand as testament to the destruction brought about by the iconoclasts, but there was no dissolution of the monasteries in Scotland and these religious communities died out more gradually, in a process beginning before the Reformation. Although the reformed faith had been adopted as the official faith of the nation, its acceptance varied, with the continuance of Catholic beliefs and practices in some areas, later sustained by the appearance Jesuits and missionary priests – the subject of an archaeology of recusancy (see e.g. Dransart and Bogdan 2004). More widely, certain traditions continued in association with holy wells and other religious sites in the landscape. Yet, although the religious changes of the Reformation were gradual, in some cases taking more than a century, they did succeed in altering the religious landscape of the nation.

The Reformation had wider implications for the Scottish nation than its impact on religious practices and worship. A new kind of moral discipline and social control was constructed in no small part through a material culture of branks, joughs and sack cloths and through the public ordeal of deviant members of the body corporate both within and outside of the church building. In areas where the church was a significant landowner, the Reformation contributed to a secularisation of landownership (something which had started before 1560) and to the creation and re-structuring of new landed estates, with changes to the character of their associated architecture, settlement and landscapes.



Figure 2: Reformation Pleasure Grounds: Lying adjacent to Holy Rude church, between the Valley Cemetery⁶, opened in 1857, and the esplanade of Stirling Castle are the Drummond Pleasure Grounds. These were created by a local nurseryman, William Drummond (1799-1888), and were intended to recreate a Biblical landscape and to memorialise the leaders of the Reformation. Landscape features were given names associating them with the Holy Land and there are statues of Scottish Reformers and a monument to two Wigtownshire girls who were drowned for their Covenanter beliefs. The largest feature is the star pyramid (top centre in the photograph) within which a copy of the confession of faith and the Bible were sealed. The only person buried here is William Drummond himself. Otherwise, these pleasure grounds were presumably intended for contemplation as the visitor walked through a representation of a Biblical landscape in the company of the Scottish Reformers. Research into places such as this explores the intersection of faith, community and landscape and the Reformation as a drawn-out process rather than an event. Image © RCAHMS

⁶ <http://www.oldtowncemetery.co.uk/index.html>

The Reformation should not be seen in static terms as a single event happening in 1560: it was a process which archaeology, with its concern for the *longue durée*, is well suited to analyse. The process of the Reformation began in the earlier 16th century and it has roots extending back further into the medieval period. After 1560, the Reformation was played out, developed and contested over a long period. During the course of the seventeenth century, the principles and ascendancy of the Kirk of Scotland were challenged and the ‘final form’ of the Reformation was never really settled. Attempts at religious congruity by James VI and then Charles I led to the signing of the Covenant in 1638 and religious conflict. (Thus the archaeology of the Reformation entails an archaeology of armed conflict.) The adherence to this tradition after the religious settlement following the Restoration led large numbers particularly in the south and west into religious nonconformity. The abolition of the episcopacy at the Glorious Revolution created a new focus of religious dissent. The development of these differing Protestant traditions and their various negotiations and conflicts with each other were all played out through a material fabric of artefacts, buildings, places and landscapes. Archaeology can therefore bring significant new insights to our understanding of the long process of the Scottish Reformation.

In addition to its contribution to the grand narratives of the Reformation process, archaeology can contribute significantly to our understanding of localised individual and communal experiences of religion, many of which do not appear to fit with official ‘Reformation’ doctrine. Archaeology has the power to challenge dominant historiography by, for example, noting the continuity of pre-Reformation practice and the endurance of folk practices, such as holy well and rag well visiting (Todd 2002; Walsham 2011). Antiquarian excavations at several sites have shown that the making of offerings remained a key part of this practice. When St Queran’s Well, Troqueer, was cleared in 1870,

numerous artefacts including pins, coins and other offerings were found: these finds are now held by the NMS (NMRS no NX97SE 12; Starke 1867; Dudgeon 1892). The on-line Survey of Survey of Scottish Witchcraft⁷, although constructed with a specific documentary history agenda in mind, provides significant evidence of thriving folk practices in the post-Reformation period, providing an insight into the daily practices of healing and harm and the objects and places integral to these. For most people, such practices were not alternative to religious faith, but complementary to it. Practices like well-visiting emerge from the witch trial records and are noted in kirk session records, undermining the tradition for studying the Reformation and witchcraft separately from each other. Both topics are intimately connected: current PhD research into the relationship between Reformation and witch fears indicates that a more fruitful research direction would be to consider ordinary everyday practices and material cultures of belief and eschatological fear as part of the Reformation process (McCabe 2010; McCabe, 2011b)⁸.

⁷ <http://www.shc.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches/>

⁸ Morgana McCabe, PhD research, University of Glasgow *Liminal Faces and Places: the feared other in the archaeological landscape* (<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/archaeologyresearch/researchstudents/>);

Bassendean: re-forming a medieval parish

As part of the Reformation, an increased effort was made to deal with the problems posed by a parochial system that had remained largely unchanged since the thirteenth century and which reflected not only the medieval 'Catholic' landscape but also, in some regions, an even older religious tradition associated with the Celtic saints. Evidence of these attempts to re-organise the landscape can be found in the 60 acts passed between 1592 and 1649, of which 26 were enacted in the 1640s, over 80 years after the Reformation Parliament of 1560 (Spicer 2011).

Micro-historical analysis of one particular case – Bassendean – provides the opportunity to look more closely at the practical consequences of this Reformation-era re-drawing of the landscape and at the problems caused for communities as the geography of worship was rationalised.

The plain rectangular church of St Mary's, lying to the south of Bassendean village, was founded in the late twelfth century. Parts of the building as it stands today may date to that early period in its life, but the church has been altered and re-worked more than once during its history, not least during the period of the Reformation. In 1618 the *Commission for the Valuation of Teinds and the Plantation of Kirks* decided that the church should be abandoned and the parish united with the neighbouring parish of Gordon which lay to the south. Some thirty years later, though, the Scottish Parliament passed the 'Act anent the transplantation of the kirk of Bassendean', which sought to address the problems faced by this remote part of the border county of Berwickshire. It had been resolved that the union of Bassendean and Gordon parishes should be dissolved and a new church built for the former parish, but at Westruther in the centre of the old parish, not at Bassendean itself, which lay on the southernmost edge of the parish. The presbytery undertook a perambulation of the parish and produced a map illustrating the distribution of farmsteads and indicating the population of each, in order to demonstrate that Westruther was the most convenient place for the erection of the new church. The 'exact topographie of the parochie of Bassendean', depicts the simple rectangular medieval church which was to be replaced by a T-plan building at Westruther more in accord with the needs of Reformed worship. The church erected at Westruther was altered in 1752 and abandoned during the mid-nineteenth century for a new site across the road. Meanwhile, in 1649, the old church at Bassendean had become a burial ground for the Homes of Bassendean and it continued in that role until 1860.

This case indicates the value of a contextualised and material approach to the history of the Reformation process. When studied in context and in terms of its material practice, we see the Reformation as more than a change in theology and liturgy: it was, as much as that, about the re-working of place and landscape and it entailed significant changes to people's routines and movements. At Bassendean, it is possible to see the abandonment of the medieval parish church and its replacement some distance away by a new, purpose-built structure more appropriate to the new ways of worship. But the continued life of the old church as it takes on a new role as a burial ground can also be seen. Beyond the church, the conscious re-planning of the religious landscape and its almost scientific re-formation using technologies like the map and the census is noted. And the tangible impacts these changes must have had on people's lives as traditional places of worship were uprooted can be inferred, patterns of movement through the landscape were re-worked and new practices and traditions were set in train.



Figure 3: Bassendean St Mary's Church © A. Spicer

2.3 The Enlightenment

Scotland had a major role in the intellectual and cultural Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and here, as elsewhere, the Enlightenment is widely understood as a key process in the development of the modern world. With a basis of rational humanism and scientific empiricism, the Enlightenment entailed the re-formation of thought in politics, economics, science, philosophy and other fields. In this process, Scotland held an eminent, globally-significant position and influence. Research into this phenomenon can connect the 'Enlightened' ideas of Scotland's great thinkers with material, practical and other developments 'at home' and it can seek to understand the connections forged through the Enlightenment between Scotland and the wider world.

The Enlightenment was more than a state of mind and it is more than a matter of

intellectual history. It was a material process, affecting the organisation of built and open space, and enacted through all kinds of material culture from the specialist equipment of scientific enquiry to mundane white ceramics and transparent window glass.

The new scientific and rational outlook associated with Enlightenment was manifest in technological advances which arose from Enlightenment research and which facilitated the growth of industrial production and fed the massive increase in consumption that characterises the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Buildings, especially in urban areas, were material expressions of Enlightenment. In their neo-classical or classically-influenced styles they positioned the middle classes of eighteenth-century Edinburgh or Dundee as the heirs of the Greeks and Romans (Miskell 2002). A range of buildings also developed

with the express purpose of furthering the Enlightenment goals of knowledge and understanding. Universities, colleges and medical schools accommodated scientists, writers and students and, for the Enlightened amateur, the later eighteenth century saw the development of Literary and Philosophical Societies, which provided lecture and demonstration rooms as well as libraries and laboratory spaces. Some time later – from the mid nineteenth century – such provision was developed for the working classes with the development of Sunday schools and, later, board schools, and mechanics' institutes, public libraries and reading rooms. Buildings archaeology can contribute to the understanding of how these places were designed and used to promote certain understandings of the world and relationships between people.

Landscape archaeologists can develop the understanding of how Enlightenment thought and practice materialised in practice in the organisation of both 'polite' and working landscapes, agricultural estates and farms, and the layout of settlements and urban districts. Here, Enlightenment proceeded hand-in-hand with the re-working of field boundaries, the clearance of settlement and the planning of new townships, villages and urban neighbourhoods and in the transformation of social and environmental relationships (Dalglish 2003; Tarlow 2007). Research into these materialisations of Enlightenment should explore its connections with Improvement (see section 2.4 below and Chapter 8: 'People and Landscape'.)



Figure 4: The Playfair Collection of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century chemical apparatus at National Museums Scotland represents the 'golden age of Edinburgh chemistry' when students flocked from England, Continental Europe and North America to attend the lectures of William Cullen, Joseph Black and Thomas Charles Hope (Calder 1989). The image is a detail of a hydrostatic press from the university teaching collection, ordered from the inventor, Joseph Bramah (1748-1814) in 1807, © NMS.

2.4 Improvement

Although often associated with the changes to the rural landscape of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (and indeed considered in this sense later in this document), it has been argued (Dalglish 2003; Tarlow 2007) that Improvement can be understood as an ameliorative ethic that cross-cut many areas of society at the time. Improvement was frequently discussed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in relation to the urban environment, the self and the working classes as well as industry, communication and society. Improvement is also perhaps the paramount value of utopian thinkers and experimenters such as Robert Owen of New Lanark (see section 2.6 below). Although such 'utopian' thought was marginal and in some ways extreme, it was nevertheless significant in terms of its influence and because it

distilled the essence of the Improvement ethic of the period. See Tarlow 2003, Breen 2006 for discussion of the potential of ‘the archaeology of utopia’.

An Improvement ethic affected not only the management of agricultural and rural estates, but also the reshaping of towns and urban areas. The construction of planned housing with a common front line and a unified style, often classically influenced; the provision of clean water and sewage disposal; the widening, paving, lighting, cleaning, draining and policing of streets; the establishment of open areas such as parks and public gardens; and the foundation of institutional and communal buildings such as town halls, schools, places of worship, Literary and Philosophical Associations, reading rooms and libraries, as well as hospitals, asylums, prisons, and universities all indicate the modern view that a clean, orderly and beautiful physical environment will produce a clean, orderly and Improved society.

Amidst the archaeology of industrialisation and mining, attention should also be paid to prospects for self-improvement provided by Reading Societies (Crawford 1996). Founded in 1741, the Leadhills Reading Society was the first subscription library to be established for the self-improvement of mineworkers. A second library was established in the neighbouring mining village of Wanlockhead in 1756. These initiatives therefore predate by several decades the New Lanark project of Robert Owen, and illustrate the diversity of the developmental history of industrial and mining communities. The modern view of this diversity can only be enhanced by the application of archaeological techniques to the study of its constituent elements.

The term ‘Improvement’ is chosen to denote these various re-formations in the modern era because it was the most widely used term at the time, and applied to everything from self-betterment to the beautification of towns, as well as increasing agricultural productivity and industrial production. It does not, of course,

imply that people in the contemporary world should or do regard those changes as necessarily ‘for the better’. In fact, one of the important purposes of archaeology of this period is to find appropriate ways to critique the progressivist narrative of improvement in traditional histories, without succumbing to the nostalgic Romanticism of idealising the ‘pre-modern’. Improvement was, as much as anything else, a practical and material project, and archaeological research therefore has a significant part to play in understanding the meanings and the tangible implications and impacts of the idea of Improvement for people’s lives.

2.5 The Industrial Revolution

Industrial manufacture and innovation has been considered so significant a feature of the modern age that the successor to ‘post-medieval archaeology’ (originally covering the period c.1500-c.1750) was called ‘industrial archaeology’ (covering the period from c.1750 onwards). More recently, research interests have widened so that ‘industrial archaeology’ is no longer suitable as a term designating the study of the post-1750 period – the archaeology of this period now takes in a wider range of topics. However, the discipline’s strengths in the documentation and analysis of industrial processes and practices remains a considerable asset for research into reformatory change in the period. The industrial revolution of the eighteenth to nineteenth century was a transformation not only in the technology of manufacture but also in the scale of production and exchange. It involved the provision, extraction and processing of commodities such as coal, chemicals and metals and the production of finished goods in great quantities. It also involved their transportation around the world and drove many of the geographical, economic and political relationships of the period. Attempts at economic, technological and infrastructure re-formation – both the successful and the unsuccessful – are amenable to archaeological study. Industrialisation was a historical

process with human-material relationships at its heart: industry's purpose was to transform materials through varied technological and scientific processes, to produce and distribute goods; industrialisation entailed significant changes in the many relationships which surround the production and acquisition of things; and industrialisation was founded in new relationships between people, both in the workplace and beyond it.

Material histories of the Industrial Revolution are also well placed to take a long-term perspective, shedding critical light on the supposedly revolutionary character of change. The 'Industrial Revolution' has traditionally been defined as a phenomenon of the 18th and 19th centuries, but research has shown that less intense industrial development started considerably earlier in some sectors and in some places, and some researchers now prefer to think in terms of a 'long Industrial Revolution' extending back through the 17th, 16th and even 15th centuries. In order to understand the nature of the transformation denoted by the terms 'Industrial Revolution' and 'industrialisation', then, it is necessary that the material history of the centuries before c.1750 is subject to research. And it is important that consideration extends forward from the high industrial period of the later 18th and the 19th centuries into the period of de-industrialisation in the 20th century. The idea of a 'long industrial revolution' incorporating not only the height of industrial productivity, but also the preceding and succeeding modes of production and nature of society will allow the history of industrialisation to be better captured as one of dynamic change with wide ranging social and cultural implications.



Figure 5: The image shows the Glasgow University Summer School excavations in the 1970s conducted at Bay Mine, Wanlockhead, site of the first Watt engine built by George Symington. The excavations revealed foundations of engine- and boiler-houses. Reproduced by kind permission of the Wanlockhead Museum Trust: www.leadminingmuseum.co.uk.

Recent research on the 'prehistory' of the Industrial Revolution has, for example, investigated the coal-fuelled panhouse saltmaking industry which developed around the Firth of Forth perhaps as early as the 15th century and which sparked wider changes in the wider industry, economy and society of this part of Scotland. Research has also begun to develop our understanding of early developments in the glass-making industry and in charcoal-fuelled iron smelting (Photos-Jones *et al* 1998), focussed in this early period not in the Central Belt, but in the Highlands. Work at Leadhills-Wanlockhead has given time-depth to that well-known 18th- and 19th-century industrial landscape, providing evidence for 16th and 17th century gold streaming in the area plus a number of features connected with 'hushing' (the hydraulic prospecting for gold) (Pickin 2004).

Industry has been central to the self-definition and to the internal and external relationships of Scotland's modern communities. The decline of manufacturing and extractive industries has been equally profound. The process of de-industrialisation is an important context for contemporary archaeological

research – it has resulted in the abandonment of industrial places and landscapes, providing material for archaeologists to work with and a need to explore this material before it disappears for good. But beyond that it is also a *subject* for archaeological research – a focus for new material histories of the modern era. To take one example, extractive and metalworking industries had a profound effect on Motherwell, with the census of 1881 showing that 67% of the population was of the ‘industrial class’ employed in mines, ironworks and a huge array of facilitating industries. In the later twentieth century, the successive closure of the mines, the demise of the Ravenscraig Steelworks (once the largest hot strip steel mill in Western Europe) and the transfer of Anderson Boyes and Co. Ltd’s operations to Germany, ushered in mass

unemployment and poverty. The material re-formation of the landscape was central to efforts to re-form the character of the place, its identity and its sense of the past: the ‘scars’ of industry were hastily removed and little remains visible as testament to the industries which were once so significant. Elsewhere, by contrast, the materiality of de-industrialisation has been cultivated and retained: at Greenhead Moss, in nearby Wishaw, for example, the remains of industry have been refashioned into a community park. In such instances, and in the most recent past, people have re-worked their relationships with their material surroundings and, in doing so, sought to re-work their sense of the past and diminish or enhance its presence in the landscape of today.



Figure 6: Aerial photograph of Ravenscraig Steel Works. Built to meet demand for post-war steel, Ravenscraig produced strip steel until its closure in the 1990s, with the cooling towers and gas-holders (pictured) demolished in 1996, © RCAHMS

Research into the so-called Industrial Revolution now extends backwards and forwards in time, taking in the period from the late Middle Ages through to the 20th century. And, increasingly, this research extends beyond matters of *technology and process* to develop more rounded social, cultural, environmental and economic material histories of industrial lives. In this, industrialisation should be researched as a transformative process extending throughout modern society. Research ought, for

example, to consider the dialectical relationship of consumption and production, and the role of modern patterns of consumption as a driving force behind industrialisation – the pull of the consumer rather than, or as well as, the push of the manufacturer and the merchant. Studies of industrial processes and practices should explore the materialities of developing capitalist labour relations and of the creation of the capitalist self (see section 2.6 below and chapter 4). And connections might be drawn between industrialisation and other

key reformations of the modern era, not least the Enlightenment (see section 2.3) and Improvement (see section 2.4).

Archaeological research into industrialisation can explore wider social and other questions by taking a new look at the remains of industry – considering these not just in terms of technologies, technical processes and work flows, but as places which defined people and which were entangled in social relationships and in relationships with the environment. And archaeological research can extend analysis of these questions by linking the workplace with other aspects of the material environment of the industrial age. Such research can explore the planned settlements associated with specific industries and urban and rural housing of the workforce more generally. It can range across the

infrastructure, chapels, burial grounds, schools, libraries, curling ponds and bowling greens which were part-and-parcel of industrial life. Taking these diverse material elements together can lead to powerful holistic analyses of the physical and social environments of industrial communities. And research can connect the industrial element of the landscape with the non-industrial. There are, for instance, strong and uniquely Scottish links between industrial development and contemporary agricultural and estate improvement, and environmental research has the potential to provide significant insights into the environmental impacts of industry, both in specific localities and more generally.

Industrial Archaeology

‘Industrial Archaeology’ is a term which has developed a number of connotations since it was coined in the late 1950s. Its earliest concise definition was ‘the archaeology of the first Industrial Revolution’. The term has since been extended to apply to an enthusiast-driven movement often focussed on recording and preserving machinery, mills and other hardware. Industrial archaeology was initially focussed on recording industrial technology and buildings, especially where this material was threatened with demolition and removal (it is no coincidence that the sub-discipline emerged in a period of de-industrialisation and significant urban transformation). From the 1970s, the traditional archaeological technique of excavation has been applied to industrial sites on a more frequent basis, with a particular focus on particular kinds of sites, such as blast furnaces and other metallurgical sites and pottery factories.

Very recently the scope of the subject has widened considerably, as exemplified by recent archaeological work associated with the extension of the M74 motorway through Rutherglen and the south side of Glasgow. This work involved survey of industrial buildings and the excavation of various industrial sites, but also the excavation of tenement blocks and rows of workers’ cottages and of other non-industrial premises on the route.

In cities, towns and villages, the study of industrial activity is to be connected with understanding of every aspect of contemporary life. Urban areas mixed industrial units of many types with places of worship of many kinds indicating the diversity of the industrial population, the complexity of industrial society and the close proximity and interaction of industry and belief. Interspersed with these buildings were houses for workers, managers and owners, shops, schools and other community buildings.

In rural contexts, industry was equally embedded in life, taking the form of quarrying, iron smelting, whisky distilling (legal and illicit), lime-burning, charcoal production, meal and saw milling, blacksmithing, leather-working and small-scale textile manufacture, amongst other things. Such

activities were integral not only to industrial communities in rural locations but also to agricultural populations, whether in villages or dispersed in isolated steadings.

Industrial archaeology emerged as the study of particular places (a pottery factory, a mill, a foundry) and its thematic extension to all aspects of industrial life can focus on particular areas (urban neighbourhoods, villages and their related landscapes). But industrial archaeology also considers the connections between places. Govan, west of Glasgow, for example, was described in 1901 as ‘the shipbuildingest burgh’ in the world, the whole fabric of the place was built round the shipbuilding industry and its supply chain. That chain extended into the coal-mining and steel-working areas of Lanarkshire, the furniture-making districts of Beith and Lochwinnoch, the textile mills of Catrine and Deanston, in Ayrshire and Perthshire, and ultimately to the sources of all the raw materials and manufactured goods required for the building and fitting out of ships. Underlying all of this was transport and communications – roads, railways, tramways, telegraphs, telephones, postal services, and shipping. The products of Govan – the ships – facilitated world commerce. Industrial Govan existed within a materially connected world and the industrial archaeology is a globally-dispersed endeavour.

What is thoroughly significant for the study of modern social attitudes and problems, and often underestimated, is the extent to which the mass of industry was the fabric and foundation of society itself. The shared experience of working in the yards, factories and mills and of living in industrial neighbourhoods and communities was a social and cultural experience. Industrial archaeology, then, is simultaneously the study of industrial technologies, processes, buildings, sites and landscapes and of the working practices and relationships, social networks, environmental interactions and others facets of life which were dependent on and creative of industry.



Figure 7: Strathclyde public school on the left, next to the mill at Dalmarnock, ©RCAHMS

2.6 Capitalism

A case has been made that it is the rise of capitalism that is the key defining process of the modern period and that the archaeology of this period is to be framed as an

archaeology of capitalism (Leone and Potter 1988, 19; 1999; Paynter 1988, 415; Wurst 1999; Orser 1996, 71-2). The workings of capitalism have been a principal focus of the archaeology of the modern period on both sides of the Atlantic and it may be futile to consider many of the other processes mentioned in this document without considering them in light of the effects of capitalism. An economic framework of global capitalism not only informs the logic of industrial practice and motivates innovations in manufacture and communication, it also constructs the modern self as a disciplined individual whose labour can be quantified and exchanged for money. Modern relations with objects – as consumer goods – are heavily entangled with the forms of being and the social relationships which are associated with capitalist societies. The re-casting of social relations as economic relations and individualism, both of which are key characteristics of capitalism, are intimately bound up with Improvement and related changes to the character towns, estates and farms and other places and landscapes.

Archaeologists have defined capitalism as "a necessary shorthand for the changing practices and transitions that have shaped aspects of modern life" (Johnson 1996, 3) which "embraces lifeways, conceptions of the self and the individual, table manners, music and bodily discipline" (Schuyler 1999, 226). Capitalism, here, is not considered in limited form as a certain kind of economy; it is seen to involve widespread changes to the nature of self, to daily habits, routines and practices, to relationships between people and their material worlds. For these reasons,

archaeology has a significant role in researching the emergence, development and complex character of capitalism – a reformation which can only be understood if the changes it entailed for social and material relationships are understood.

Certainly, any attempt to look at the industrial or social developments of the period are implicitly also the archaeology of capitalism, because only the great influx of capital from industry and global trade permitted the 'improved' buildings and developments of the period. Although the exact mechanisms of consumer demand can be disputed, the increased availability of money was clearly a significant driver in the great expansion of production.

Classical Marxist theory moreover offers an explanation for the emergence and formulation of class relations around the growth of a capitalist economy. 'Classes' of people defined by their economic relationships to one another, and by an awareness of their collective position – class consciousness – were posited by Marx as the successors to feudal relationships. Historical commentators, however, have often described modern social and economic relationships as 'feudal', especially in the highland areas of Scotland. Archaeology can help to refine and challenge that suggestion by examining how participation in capitalist global economies has articulated with other forms of social relations, particularly with reference to the ways particular relationships were formed in and through material environments.

New Lanark: a nexus of industry, Improvement, Enlightenment and Capitalism

The mills and the neighbouring settlement of New Lanark on the Clyde have been designated as a World Heritage site. The mills were set up in 1786 by David Dale using the kind of technology pioneered by Richard Arkwright in Derbyshire. Under Dale's management, New Lanark came to be regarded as a progressive industrial enterprise and Dale was seen as a progressive employer who provided 'improved' homes for his workforce, many of whom were displaced Highlanders. However, it was under the direction of Dale's son-in-law and successor, Robert Owen, that New Lanark gained its fame. When Owen took over the mill in the early nineteenth century he took a particular interest in the workforce, improving their living quarters further and founding a school for the community's children (the first infant school in Britain) and an Institute for the Formation of Character for the whole workforce. A utopian and radically progressive thinker, Robert Owen attracted the attention of improvers around and beyond Britain for his work at New Lanark.

New Lanark exemplifies several of the important technical and social Improvement processes of the period. First, it is an example of the technological innovation of the industrial revolution, producing a classical elongated settlement shape conforming to the line of the river (Palmer and Neaverson 1998). Using the technological know-how emanating from the Enlightenment, the mills harnessed the power of the Clyde to drive complex production processes on a factory scale. Next, and famously, New Lanark demonstrates the extent to which Improvement was a cross-cutting ethic in this period: with the Improvement of industrial production went Improvement of the homes of the new working classes and the Improvement of the people themselves through schooling and the Institute for the Formation of Character. The name of the latter, built in 1816, is interesting as it evidences Owen's 'environmentalism' – the belief that character was not determined by divine creation nor inherent in race or class but a product of the environment in which people were formed. This had important implications for eighteenth and nineteenth-century planning and reform: if people were malleable and could be formed by their surroundings, then changing those surroundings could ultimately produce an 'improved' people.

New Lanark was an exercise in new technological expertise and a social experiment, and it also exemplifies the emergence to prominence of capitalist relations in the modern world. New Lanark participated in and contributed to the development of global capitalism: the cotton textiles produced by the mills were shipped around the world and the cotton used in the mills was grown in the slave plantations of the New World. For all his progressive proto-socialism, Owen was deeply implicated in the worst inequalities and exploitations of capitalism. In fact, his social programme was inextricably linked to his concerns as an employer in a capitalist enterprise: Owen wanted his workers to be happy, but by happy he meant docile, and docile workers are compliant and productive. The material form of New Lanark and its mill buildings betrays the extent to which the workers were subject to new forms and degrees of supervision and control. Robert Owen's house sits centrally, standing between the workers' housing and the mill buildings and well-placed for the observation of movement to-and-fro within the site. In the mill buildings, large open-plan spaces were not just suited to the new, large forms of machinery used to work the cotton; they were also suited to the easy observation of the mill's workers.



Figure 8: Owen’s improved settlement nevertheless retained class divides, and in fact used the principles of surveillance of the workers to enforce their desired patterns of behaviour. Owen’s own house was centrally positioned with a view not only of the mills but also of the residential streets and the institutional buildings, and controlling the main routes of communication between places of residence, work and leisure in the village, ©RCAHMS.

2.7 Research Recommendations

Future research should:

- *Tackle the big questions.* Archaeologists routinely recover and work with evidence of the major social, economic and environmental changes through which the modern world came into being. Archaeology, can and should be ambitious in the ways it uses this evidence, engaging with the big questions of modern history. Archaeology can add to and extend, question and challenge received narratives about the history of modern Scotland. Projects explicitly designed to develop our understanding of the major re-formations of the modern period should be encouraged. In all archaeological work, researchers and practitioners should be cognisant of the contribution their work can make to our understanding of these major themes and should seek to recognise, develop and explore explicit connections between localised archaeological findings and these wider interpretive co-ordinates.
- *Realise and promote the potential of a material perspective on those questions.* Archaeology and other modes of material history can bring new insight to our understanding of these big questions by approaching them from a material perspective. The Reformation, the Enlightenment, Improvement, industrialisation, capitalism and other re-formations of the modern world were all enacted in and through material environments and, in each case, the material world and people’s relationships with it were fundamental to the process. Archaeology should work to realise and promote this potential contribution: archaeology

does not just illustrate the major historical developments of the modern world, it is fundamental to our understanding of them.

- *Localise, contextualise and, in doing so, problematise historical abstractions.* As the case of New Lanark shows (see above), while the major re-formations of the modern world can be considered in the abstract and in separation from each other, when considered in context, in particular temporal and spatial locations, these abstractions can be understood as very much inter-connected and entangled. There is much value in an approach to the modern past which draws on the clarity achieved by considering developments in the abstract and at a conceptual level but which always navigates back and forth between that abstract understanding and particular manifestations of developing and changing modern life in different localities and circumstances. While writing histories of the Reformation or of capitalism, we should ask: How did they take form? How did their form vary?
- *Develop a sound understanding of the ways in which change was achieved in practice.* The Reformation was a matter of theology, politics and conceptual and spiritual change, but it was also very much a matter of change and conflict in religious, folk, economic and social practices. Industrialisation relied on developments in science and in the theory of production, but it was above all the application and development in practice of new ways of working, producing and living. Improvement was an ideal of the age, but it was also a movement to transform people, places and habits. Archaeology, with its focus on the materialisation of society and change in particular objects, places and landscapes and its concern for social, economic and environmental practices and relationships can make a substantial contribution to the understanding of the major historical developments of the modern world in terms of their complex, localised and varied practices.
- *Analyse the major re-formations of the modern era in long-term perspective.* The Reformation didn't happen in 1560. Its roots extend back into the Middle Ages and it was a process played out and contested through the 16th and 17th centuries and into the 18th century. The Industrial Revolution may have begun around 1750, but the story of industrialisation can be traced back through the 18th, 17th and 16th centuries and forward into the 19th and 20th centuries. De-industrialisation is as significant a topic for archaeology enquiry. By exploring the material and practical developments relating to re-formations like the Reformation and industrialisation, archaeology is well-placed to reveal their 'prehistories' and to track their course as they develop forward from 1560, 1750 or whatever date in the past towards the present. The major historical changes of the modern past have legacies and an ongoing presence in the present: we continue to live these processes or to feel their effects. Archaeology can thus not only provide a long-term perspective on events and processes in the past, but also on the character of the present. To realise this potential, archaeologists need to give full attention to all periods in the modern past, from the 16th century to the 20th, and to connect the modern period with the antecedent medieval period.
- *Evidence and interpret the contested and varied nature of social, environmental and economic change in the modern past.* In researching major historical changes, it is easy to present these as uniform and inexorable processes, inevitably leading to the present we have today and sweeping all and sundry along relentlessly. But these developments were promoted, adopted, practised, enacted, manipulated, negotiated, debated, contested and challenged by real historical actors. Archaeologies of the modern past should enhance our understanding of the major developments of the modern period by researching multiple

historical trajectories, including not just perceived-to-be shining examples of the mainstream but alternative developments which were once possible futures. Archaeologists should mobilise their capacity for researching the materiality and practice of historical continuity and change to reveal their complexity and variability.

- *Develop new collaborate research practices, leading to better and more powerful understandings of the big questions in the history of modern Scotland.* The re-formations which characterise change in the modern past were at once social, cultural, intellectual and material, environmental, technological, religious and spiritual. They were complex, varied and multi-faceted and their understanding requires collaboration across disciplines and across the arts and humanities, social sciences and sciences. Different disciplines can mobilise different evidence and bring with them different perspectives on the same past. Working through the problems of combining that evidence and those perspectives and finding ways of achieving integrated understandings of the modern past will require the development of new, integrated and integrative attitudes, philosophies and modes of working. A failing of previous attempts at inter-disciplinary research into the modern past has been a lack of attention to the need for *new processes and practices of research* if integrated outcomes are to be achieved.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on the present character of Scotland, by revealing and understanding the transformations, processes and actions through which the present came to be.

3. Global Localities

3.1 Introduction

Archaeologists are naturally interested in the local contexts of material practices: they excavate in particular places, survey particular landscapes, study objects which were made here and used there. Archaeological interests, evidence and methods lead directly to the immediate circumstances of past lives. Yet modern life is global in social, cultural, economic and political terms. Modern lives are conditioned by events, processes, developments, structures and institutions which extend beyond any one locality and link places across regions, countries and continents.

Should the archaeology of the modern period work towards a history of the recent Scottish past which emphasises local distinctiveness, or one which focuses on the undeniably global nature of the modern world? ScARF is a research framework for *Scottish Archaeology* and, conscious of this, the focus here is on questions of the local/global as they relate to people, things, places and landscapes *within* Scotland. This is not a research framework for the archaeology of all those parts of the globe with which modern Scots have been connected, through conquest, colonisation, trade, missionary endeavour and many other mechanisms. This is not to diminish the value of forging solid links between Scottish research and research elsewhere in the world as a way of realising a globally local perspective on Scottish archaeology. Nor is it to deny the benefits which work in Scotland can provide for extra-Scottish research. It is simply to emphasise that the primary focus of this framework is the archaeology of Scotland.

How should we approach the articulation of global trends with particular lives? Recognising that the history of the modern world is at once local and global, research under this theme seeks to relate the different scales or aspects of modern life. Here, the

terms ‘local’ and ‘global’ are shorthand for diverse relationships and the concern is for a greater understanding of the ways in which particular people and particular places were enmeshed with wider processes, conditions, circumstances and structures. In Chapter 2 above, the focus was on the articulation of individual research initiatives with understanding of key historical processes, with an emphasis on change through time. Here, the emphasis is on processes, practices, relationships and connection as they extend through space.

Research into the modern world must be sensitive to the particularities of the places and people being studied without forgetting that the destiny of those places and people were bound into – though not necessarily determined by – a wider world. It is crucial for the development of a globally and locally sensitised archaeology of modern Scotland to recognise the danger of over-stating distinctiveness or, indeed, sameness, and to problematise these concepts. Research should question the commonplace assertion that Scotland (or parts of it) were and are inherently different, distinct, special in cultural, social and material terms. Research should also adopt a critical stance towards the argument that Scots, even while abroad from home, thought and acted in distinctively Scottish ways – this is the notion of a ‘Scottish Empire’, for instance, sitting within the British Empire but distinct and capable of separation out from it (see for example Devine 2003 and Fry 2001, although it should be noted that Devine and Fry take quite different stances on the question of how the character of this ‘Scottish Empire’ should be understood). And, while we resist easy assumptions of Scottish distinctiveness, we must resist equally easy assumptions of the uniformity of the globalised modern world: a world which is ‘flat’ in social, cultural and economic terms with no remaining local texture. All such assertions do little justice to the complexities of modern life and the modern past, rely on a

blinkered view of the evidence and on much special pleading, and encourage and support simplistic positions on political, social and economic problems in the present.

In seeking a nuanced approach to Scotland's globally situated localities, there is no need to proceed from a standing start. This question of the relationship between the 'local' and the 'global' has been much debated in modern-world archaeology. In this, there have been useful attempts to identify themes which link the archaeologies and histories of widely-dispersed places, and archaeologies of capitalism and of colonialism have established their place on the agenda in both the Old and the New Worlds (e.g. Johnson 1996; Leone and Potter 1999; Orser 1996). Responding to the perceived homogenising tendencies of such 'global historical archaeologies', others have argued for approaches which emphasise the unique character of life in different places (e.g. Gilchrist 2005). Most recently,

discussions have moved on from any simple opposition of the general and the particular to the pursuit of more subtle understandings of how particular lives were affected by and contributed to wider developments (e.g. Johnson 2006; Orser 2009; see Dalglish 2009 for a Scottish example). Charles Orser (2009) has advocated a 'dialectics of scale', emphasising that it is the relationship between the particular and the general which matters and that neither perspective is adequate on its own because history emerges from the interaction of a multitude of circumstances, conditions, actions and processes, each more particular or more general than the next.

In the rest of this chapter, a selection of specific topics is discussed to highlight some of the avenues which might be taken in the exploration of modern Scotland's globally influenced local past.

Mobile material practices

The development of modern Scotland entailed the meshing of particular lives with wider developments. Material histories of this process can explain the ways in which global and seemingly abstract trends interacted with and emerged through the practices of daily life in particular places. The connections between different localities took many forms. Below are a few examples.

Mobile material

In 1860, a quantity of Tamar iron ore from Ilfracombe, Tasmania was shipped to Scotland; it returned home after processing and production in the form of cast iron railings (see Cremin and Jack 1994). The railings were smelted and cast in Lanarkshire by the Shotts Iron Company and, upon their return to Australia, were erected outside the government building in Launceston, Tasmania. In 1938, the railings were taken down to help relieve congestion on the busy Launceston pavements of St. John and Paterson Streets. They were moved to a location beside the Elphin Showground in Eastern Launceston and re-erected with a new plaque proclaiming that ‘at Edinburgh in 1860 this fence was made of the first iron ore mined in Tasmania at Ilfracombe, West Tamar’. This stands as a memorial to the first stage of the process which led to large investments in the Tasmanian iron industry in the 1870s.

Mobile practices

In the 1830s, the Monklands area of Lanarkshire saw rapid industrialisation in association with the emergence of hot-blast iron smelting technologies, which allowed a ‘Scotch’ pig iron to be produced cheaply by smelting the abundant local Blackband iron ores using ‘raw’ local coal (rather than coke, for which most Scottish coals are not well-suited) (see Photos Jones *et al.* 2008). The forge at the Govan Iron Works, an outlier of the Monklands industry, was one of the first to use this Scotch pig and, to do so successfully, it was necessary to bring in skilled iron puddlers and other forgemen from elsewhere. Documentary research has shown that the initial workforce was largely recruited from Wales, Staffordshire (the Black Country) and Shropshire. The large Welsh contingent may reflect a desire to develop a particular process at the Govan works: a one-stage variant of puddling (‘pig boiling’). This process had been very successful in Wales but did not work well with Scotch pig; after hints of serious problems in the early 1840s, the forge was rebuilt to use a two-stage version of puddling, more common in the West Midlands. Census returns for 1851-1871 show considerable movement of workers between the Govan works and other works in the Monklands district, and there was some tendency for the English workers to return home, with new workers arriving (perhaps of their own volition rather than being actively recruited) from the Highlands and from Ireland. The Govan Iron Works and its associated workers’ housing has recently been the subject of archaeological and historical investigation, in association with the M74 Completion motorway extension project. The excavations have allowed the living conditions and material culture of this very mixed British workforce to be studied.



Figure 9: Govan Iron Works Lower English Buildings under excavation during the M74 project. More information can be found on the project website: <http://www.transportscotland.gov.uk/road/projects/m74-completion/m74-dig/dig-gallery/govan-iron-works> ©Crown Copyright

3.2 Colonialism and Empire

The story of modern Scotland is threaded with the themes of colonisation and empire. In the earlier part of the modern period, Scotland had overseas colonies of its own and some of these, like the Darien or New Caledonia colony on the Isthmus of Panama, have seen archaeological work (Horton 2009; Horton, Higgins & Oswald 1987). After the dynastic union of the Scottish and English monarchies in 1603, Scots had a strong presence as planters in Ireland, not least in Ulster, where a Scottish Plantation settlement has recently been excavated (Horning 2004). From 1707 and the political union of Scotland and England, Scots played a prominent part in the British Empire: as soldiers and sailors, administrators, colonists, merchants, producers and workers, farmers and shepherds, plantation managers, slave owners, and missionaries. As a result, there is a globally-dispersed archaeology bearing material witness to the lives of modern Scots

and their colonial and imperial interactions with others.

But how can research be undertaken *within* Scotland which comments upon the global themes of colonialism and Empire? How can, in the words of Johnson (2006) “the tide be reversed” to consider colonialism here in the metropolis? What stories might be told about the local foundations for and effects of empire building?

Scotland’s industrialisation has to be understood, in no small part, in terms of the processing of raw materials from the colonies and the production of goods for export to those new markets. The Delftfield Pottery in Glasgow, for example, was set up by a consortium with interests in the New World and it produced ceramics for export, not least to the tobacco colonies of Virginia and Maryland with which Glasgow was so closely connected (Denholm 1982). The Delftfield – considered to be the first industrial pottery

works in Scotland – had James Watt as an investor and technical advisor and produced tin-glazed earthenwares (or ‘delftware’): a type alien to the Scottish ceramics tradition and, to produce which, the Delftfield had to import skilled workers from London and other established centres of the delft industry.

Relationships between Scotland and the colonies/Empire were not confined to matters of industry and economy. In this period, Scottish merchants and others took the profits of their global ventures – sugar production on Scottish-owned plantations in the Caribbean, trade in tobacco with Virginia and Maryland or in opium in the Far East – and invested them in the creation of new lives for themselves, as members of the Scottish country gentry. Many Scottish country houses, designed landscapes and estates of the period owe their origins to such circumstances. Beyond understanding the colonial origins of the capital invested in these projects, one might consider the material character of such Scottish-yet-colonial buildings and landscapes. How was the material environment used by emerging mercantile elites to establish their position within Scottish society? Were material forms and practices of estate management and organisation imported from the colonial plantations alongside the cash returns of slavery and trade? Did Scottish forms of place and landscape inspire and inform the construction of colonial settlements and estates? Research can provide concrete answers to these questions, as has been

indicated by recent studies of the history of the Malcolm of Poltalloch Estate in Argyll (Macinnes 1998) and of ‘colonial’ estates around Glasgow (Nisbet 2009) and by recent work moving back-and-forth from Scotland to Australia to consider parallels between colonial Sydney under Governor MacQuarrie and the buildings and landscapes of Argyll (Casey 2010).

What these examples show is the scope for archaeological research *within* Scotland to contribute to our understanding of the story of colonialism and Empire. Research of this sort takes advantage of archaeology’s capacity for investigating specific locations, their material character and the practices through which they were inhabited as workplaces, homes or public domains. Knowledge of such localised detail, when placed in its wider context, provides a springboard for understanding the ways in which global developments permeated life and took on form in specific circumstances. Colonies, empires and global economic structures inflect the trajectories of particular lives, but they are also constructed from and made possible by myriad localised actions and interactions. Archaeology can explore the human-scale history and meaning and the material practice of colonialism and Empire. Archaeology can connect widely-dispersed places and populations through their networks of material exchange and social interaction.

A trans-Atlantic archaeology

As the modern period progressed, Glasgow emerged as Scotland's pre-eminent industrial and commercial city, and this was in no small part due to its situation as a colonial hub. From the 17th century onwards, colonially-produced cash crops and raw materials like sugar, tobacco and cotton became the foundation of the city's trade and of its emerging manufacturing and processing sectors.

Glasgow's first colonial fortunes were made in sugar, which was imported from the Leeward Islands from the 1640s onwards for processing and sale. The manner in which this trans-Atlantic enterprise affected particular lives and localities can be seen by analysing case studies, such as the operations of William McDowall (Nisbet 2009). McDowall was born in 1678 and, in the early eighteenth century, established himself as a Glasgow sugar merchant and Caribbean plantation owner.

McDowall and his contemporaries had a material impact on the character of Glasgow and its economy. This is perhaps most obviously considered in terms of the various sugar processing factories which are known to have been erected in the city from the 1660s onwards. These processing works indicate that Glasgow's manufacturing sector was changing significantly in the century or more before the 'classic' Industrial Revolution of 1750 onwards. None of Glasgow's sugar houses survive above ground today, but future excavation may throw light on their character, as may the investigation of secondary industries: recent work at the Auld Pighoose pottery production site on Gallowgate (NMRS No. NS66SW 946) has recovered ceramic cones made for use in sugar processing.

Beyond their economic activities, sugar merchants like McDowall presented themselves through their town houses: McDowall's Glasgow home from the 1720s was the Shawfield Mansion, built in 1712 for Daniel Campbell, another sugar merchant, and later sold by the McDowall family to fellow colonial merchant John Glassford. The Shawfield Mansion is widely known amongst architectural and city historians and frequently cited as the city's earliest 'colonial' villa and an exemplar of neo-Palladian architecture. To complement their town houses, many merchants developed country estates and McDowall was no exception: he purchased the Castle Semple estate in 1727 and soon set about improving it by constructing of a new neo-Palladian mansion, laying out formal gardens and beginning works to drain Castle Semple Loch.

McDowall owned an estate on the other side of the Atlantic as well: the 'Canada' plantation on the Caribbean island of St. Kitts. The archaeology of this estate includes its industrial component – sugar crushing machinery and associated mill buildings, windmills to power the works, chimneys and boiler houses associated with the heating of the sugar juice, facilities for packing and shipping the semi-processed sugar and facilities for converting the molasses and poorer quality sugar to rum – and its domestic component, whether that be the main plantation house, accommodation for the plantation staff or the village which housed the slaves who undertook the bulk of the labour.

The links between both the Caribbean and Scottish nodes of this network extend far beyond the movement of the sugar itself. The industrial process of processing the sugar straddled the Atlantic, beginning in St Kitts and continuing in the sugar houses of Glasgow. Various other Scottish and British industries supplied the Caribbean plantations with goods: bricks for construction, lime for clarifying the sugar juice, salted Clyde herring, which was a staple of the slave's diet (food was imported because the plantations themselves were given over largely to commercial sugar production). There are architectural similarities between the buildings of colonial Glasgow and Scotland and those of the Caribbean and American plantations and towns with which Glasgow was connected. And the slaves who worked the 'Canada' plantation were bought from another Glasgow merchant, Richard Oswald, who operated a slaving fort on the Sierra Leone delta.



Figure 10: William Simpson's painting 'Old Sugar House, 138 Gallowgate, circa 1845' indicates the character of the sugar processing factories which were constructed in the 17th century in association with Glasgow's emerging colonial economy © Culture and Sport Glasgow (Museums): www.glasgowlife.org/museums

3.3 *Diasporas*

There is an archaeology of the Scottish diaspora beyond Scotland's borders which extends back from the present day to the early modern and, indeed, medieval periods, when Scottish merchant communities came to be established in port towns like Helsingør ('Elsinore') in Denmark (Appel forthcoming).

But diaspora is also a research issue *within* Scotland and archaeologists of the modern past can add to our understanding of the experience of immigration to and (short-lived or permanent) settlement in this country from

England, Ireland, Italy, Russia, Poland, India, Pakistan, Canada, China and the many other places around the world which have contributed to Scotland's population. How did people interact with things, places and landscapes to become Scottish or to remain something else? How were new, hybrid ways of being, living and thinking created through interactions with and through the material world? How has Scottish society and life changed through the arrival of others and how can material histories deepen our understanding of this change?

Relevant examples of immigration are to be found throughout the period. The 16th, 17th

and 18th centuries saw the arrival of French Protestants or Huguenots, who were involved in the development of the textile industry in Scotland, introducing new techniques of production. Picardy Place, off Leith Walk in Edinburgh, commemorates in its name the early 18th century colony of French weavers who settled there, in purpose-built accommodation. They named the area Little or New Picardy, in memory of their place of origin. The evidence of the National Museums of Scotland collections also reveals that Huguenots were involved in the production of high quality silverware like some of their London counterparts (see Easson 1950; Hallen 1888; Springall 1998).

The first recorded reference⁹ to gypsies in Britain was in 1505 when they received £7 on the orders of the Scottish king, James IV; it is unclear whether they received this for being entertainers or for being ‘pilgrims’. From the late 16th century onwards gypsies were persecuted as vagrants (Fraser 1995). As with other itinerant elements of society, identifying the material remains of their presence can be difficult, but there is much scope for this in studies of material culture and of places such as Kirk Yetholm in the Scottish Borders, where a significant gypsy community developed in the course of the 18th century (Tokely 1996).



Figure 11: This stone at Kirk Yetholm is a memorial to the gypsy community there. ©A. Spicer

In the 19th and 20th centuries, immigrants arrived from numerous countries, their journeys occasioned by diverse circumstances, coming to take up work in Scotland’s growing industries; to seek refuge from persecution or conflict; to live for a time as prisoners-of-war. Some immigrants had a fleeting connection with Scotland, some left but maintained connections of one kind or another, and others put down permanent roots. Archaeologically, knowledge and understanding of the experiences and circumstances of Scotland’s many and diverse immigrant communities can be built up through studies of the material culture that people lived with, the places that they settled in, the communities they formed or joined, and the material changes they wrought on the culture and environment of Scotland and its localities. The Italian Chapel, built by prisoners interned in the P.O.W. camp on Lamb Holm in Orkney (Burgher 1991, 61; Gifford 1992, 340); the camps and workplaces

⁹ for extracts from historical sources, see <http://www.scottishgypsies.co.uk/>

of the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit in Scotland's war-time forests (Sneddon 2007); the 'English Buildings' (workers' houses) recently excavated on the route of the M74 motorway extension in Glasgow South Side¹⁰; the Caledonian Canal, constructed by Irish, English and other workers, employed alongside local labour: these are all examples of the material environments which bear witness to diasporic lives within Scotland and which can be researched archaeologically. The archaeology of such places provides opportunities for the exploration of the dynamic processes and circumstances through which Scottish society was formed and re-formed, communities and identities were constructed and re-constructed, relationships contested and negotiated and life was experienced in its many and varied ways.

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see

<http://www.transportscotland.gov.uk/projects/m74-completion/m74-dig>

An archaeology of the Canadian diaspora

The continuation of timber supplies was a significant concern for the British authorities during the Second World War. Timber was needed for construction, to furnish pit props for coal mines, for railway sleepers and telegraph poles, but there was a shortage of labour within Britain due to the war and there were also significant dangers associated with the importation of timber by sea. The approach adopted in these circumstances was to create the Women's Timber Corps and to import forestry labour in the form of military forest corps from Australia, New Zealand and Canada and civilian units from Canada and from British Honduras (now Belize).

Between 1939 and 1945, 3,400 men came from Newfoundland in Canada to work here as foresters. The headquarters of the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit (NOFU) was in Edinburgh and the Unit operated at least 71 logging camps and related sawmills across mainland Scotland. The majority of these camps didn't exist before the Unit's arrival and had to be constructed for the purpose. Typically, the camps were constructed from wood, with concrete bases for some of the buildings. The structures included bunkhouses, a cookhouse, a dining hall, a recreation hut/canteen and the 'fore peak' where the camp foreman and his clerk and tallymen would work; there might also be stables, tractor sheds and other outbuildings. Extending out from the camp would be the sawmills and the roads, light gauge railways and other aspects of the logging infrastructure.

One of biggest and longest operating NOFU forests was Strathmashie, near Laggan in the Highlands, where there were at least five camps and two sawmills. Today, Strathmashie Forest is managed as a partnership between Forestry Commission Scotland and Laggan Forest Trust, a community development trust. In 2005, Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division collaborated with Laggan Heritage to undertake a programme of desk-based research and archaeological survey and excavation in the Forest, with a particular focus on features associated with the NOFU presence there during the war.

Twenty-five sites of potential NOFU origin were identified, including camps, sawmills and transportation infrastructure. The camps survive as tracks, platforms for buildings (the timber superstructures having gone) and other features. In some places they are remarkably well preserved, in others they are more ephemeral and have been subject to greater subsequent development. Trial excavations on a number of these sites demonstrated that excavation can identify evidence sufficient to determine the character and function of individual buildings and features and they showed that there is great potential for recovering evidence of the material trappings of daily life in the camps, not least in camp middens. Analysis of the domestic accommodation can be combined with work on the logging and processing locations, as well as on the connecting infrastructure, to build up a rounded picture of life as a NOFU forester in the war years. And this can be combined with the study of local graveyards, where headstones commemorate those who died during the brief stay here.

This mundane archaeology – concrete platforms, toothpaste tubes and ceramic cups, paths, tracks and forest railways – witnesses the working and living conditions, the tasks and routines of this short-lived Newfoundland 'diaspora'. It exemplifies the archaeology of modern diasporas within Scotland.

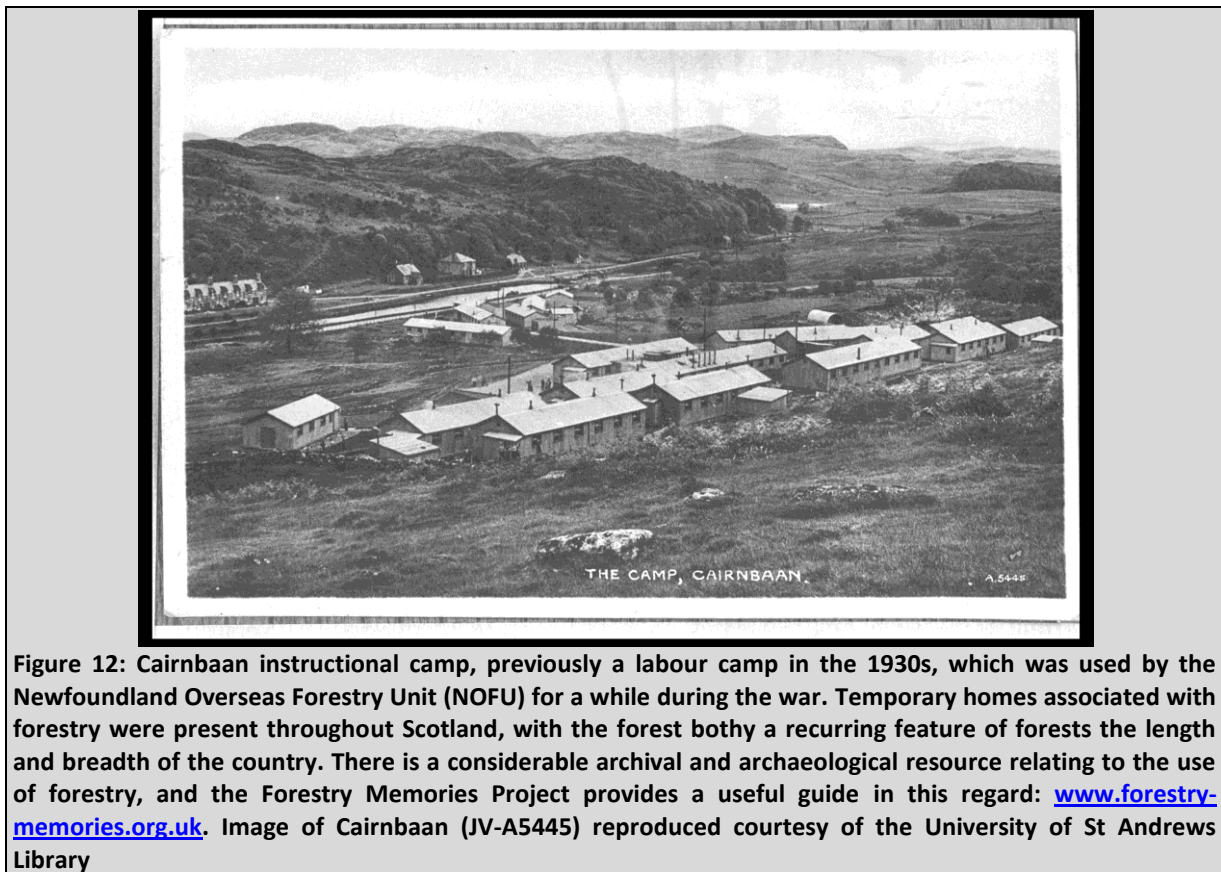


Figure 12: Cairnbaan instructional camp, previously a labour camp in the 1930s, which was used by the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit (NOFU) for a while during the war. Temporary homes associated with forestry were present throughout Scotland, with the forest both a recurring feature of forests the length and breadth of the country. There is a considerable archival and archaeological resource relating to the use of forestry, and the Forestry Memories Project provides a useful guide in this regard: www.forestry-memories.org.uk. Image of Cairnbaan (JV-A5445) reproduced courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library

3.4 Global economies and local lives

How is one to understand globalisation and the history and nature of global capitalism? Is the story of the modern world one of increasing globalisation, as diverse localities, regions and countries lose their distinctiveness and converge in a common, uniform modern way of being? Or is the story one of the persistence or emergence of distinct ways of living and being? Perhaps we should focus on the tensions between centripetal and centrifugal movements, sameness and difference, universality and particularity?

Archaeology can analyse how particular people were affected by, engaged with and responded to the emergence of national and international markets and economies. The archaeology of drove roads and grain ports¹¹,

for instance, provides insights into the ways in which people engaged with specific commercial developments. For some, there were opportunities as cattle and grain merchants or as drovers and in other roles associated with the trade. For others, the question is more one of how their lives were affected by cattle and grain production in an increasingly commercial climate. How did farming communities, living in different places and circumstances, promote, adopt, manipulate or resist change to their farming routines and to the social and material relationships those routines entailed? See for example Dalglish 2009; Davies and Watson 2007, Hamilton *et al.* 2009). The environmental effects of the new market economy might also be considered: pastoral resources were upland Scotland's key resource, providing wool and meat for markets at home and across the border; rising

¹¹ The subject of current PhD research by Donald Adamson, University of Glasgow (<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/>)

[h/archaeologyresearch/researchstudents/dadamson/](http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/archaeologyresearch/researchstudents/dadamson/)).

stocking densities, linked to changing market prices, contributed to reductions in upland diversity, particularly in the period after Improvement, and this has left traces in the vegetational record (Hanley *et al.* 2008).

If Scotland's modern farming history is a local one linked to global imperatives, so too is its industrial history. The industrial archaeology of Scotland cannot be understood without simultaneously interrogating its local particularities and its wider connections. The fireclay industry, for example, was an enabling industry which helped to make possible the nation's wider industrial output. Particularities of geology left a legacy of high alumina content fireclay in Scotland which was ideal for the production of the heat-resistant refractory bricks needed to line the furnaces of iron and steel works at home and also abroad. The mineral was also suitable for domestic applications such as chimney linings, drainage pipes, tiles and even ornamental vases. The legacy of the Scottish fireclay works may be traced abroad in the mines and mills of America and Canada and understanding the scale and character of this international demand helps us to explain and understand significant changes to the Scottish landscape brought about through industrial extraction, processing and manufacture.

The examples can easily be multiplied. Several significant West of Scotland engineering firms specialised in making sugar extraction and processing equipment for export to the British colonies and elsewhere and sugar refining machinery for use here at home (Moss and Hume 1977). Other companies also made machinery for colonial markets, including rice-milling machinery, nut-shelling machinery, boilers, and rum-distilling equipment, as well as pre-fabricated buildings (e.g. tea-withering sheds). Scottish-built ships and locomotives travelled all over the world, and shipbuilding and precision machine tools were exported widely. The textile industries imported raw materials from a wide range of source locations and exported manufactured goods and products far and wide. In different parts

of Scotland, these global commercial and material networks would have had a different constituency, whether it was in the heavy-industrial centre that was Glasgow or in Dundee, the international capital of jute production or elsewhere.

Smaller-scale production was also profoundly affected by economic, ecological or political events in far distant parts of the world. From the 18th century, seaweed – traditionally gathered as a fertiliser for the fields – became the foundation of a flourishing industry supplying alkaline kelp to the glass- and soap-making industries (Thomson 1987, 207). Associated with this industry was a material infrastructure which survives today as kelp kilns and other features dotted along the northern and western coasts of Scotland. And this industry is part-and-parcel of the story of Scotland's crofting communities, created in the 18th- and 19th-century through a re-working of entire landscapes, settlement structures and social constellations. The kelp boom came to an end from the 1820s (Smout 1969, 327) as a result of freer and cheaper access to foreign sources of alkali, initially barilla from Spain but later guano from South America and Easter Island, and of the development in Glasgow of the LeBlanc process for the manufacture of alkali for glass from common salt. The collapse of the kelp market in around 1830 left many families in a precarious position – crofts in many kelping districts were designed by the estate to be too small to support a family through farming, to encourage crofters to take up work in industries like kelp processing.

Alongside attention to the relationship between local production for the market, and the requirements of commodity movement such as drove roads and harbours, one should consider the potential for new understandings of local consumption in a global world. Work in the last decade or more has demonstrated the value of an archaeological approach to people's interactions with mass-produced goods. Some have argued that the archaeology of the modern past shows the

emergence of a ‘mass culture’ which continues to dominate life today. The argument here is that the evident spread of mass-produced ceramics in the 18th and 19th centuries indicates that, as people in diverse localities came to use the same ceramics (mass-produced in Glasgow or Staffordshire, for example), local ways of life were eroded and a homogenised, standardised culture spread throughout the country (see Emery 1996; 1999; 2000 on artefacts from St. Kilda). Others (e.g. Barker 2005; Fleming 2000; Webster 1999) have suggested that selected ceramic assemblages indicate that people had clear and varied preferences in terms of vessel form, colour and other features and that these preferences indicate localised

differences in the acquisition, use and interpretation of mass-produced goods. Further work on the nature, meaning and use of mass-produced goods could inform an understanding of the role of such goods in the construction of modern material culture. And the study of persistent (or newly developing) non-industrial craft traditions should not be forgotten: this is a research topic which forms a valuable counter-point to research into the consumption of mass-produced goods and which can draw out some of the complexities of the ways in which people have engaged with local and wider developments in the modern world.

Global markets and local environments

The inter-disciplinary investigation of particular landscapes can strengthen our understanding of the ways in which broad economic trends and processes materialised in specific circumstances. Recent research on the Breadalbane Estate (central Highlands) has combined analysis of documentary and environmental evidence to investigate the effects of changing patterns of land management on the upland environment in two locations: the farms and shielings of Leadour on south Loch Tay, and Corries by Loch Awe (Davies and Watson 2007). The results provide new insights into the actions and strategies of tenant farmers (who were often actively involved in change), the motivations of their landlords and the local impacts of wider commercial economies.

The differing interests of the estate and its tenants are recorded in estate regulations and court records relating to trees and livestock, and in pollen evidence for changes in the relative abundance of woodland cover and grazing resources. Woods were already a scarce resource by the start of the historic period and the use of trees and wood was heavily regulated from at least the 16th century. Breadalbane estate records indicate that the woods were a multiple-purpose resource, used for grazing as well as providing controlled tenant access to timber. Because the relative value of woods and livestock fluctuated in response to market opportunities and other changing circumstances, tensions were inevitable between the needs of the trees (owned by the estate, but used by the tenants for timber and as sheltered grazing) and the animals (owned by the tenants, but the main source of rent to the landowner).

The Cromwellian occupation of Scotland in the 1650s may have provided a new market for cattle. In this period, the Breadalbane estate was in need of cash and, in 1656, the tenants of Corries and several neighbouring farms mortgaged their holdings from the estate, giving those tenants control of an area possibly used for cattle droves moving south, thus perhaps catalysing the commercialisation of livestock production on the farms. Leadour remained under the direct control of the estate at this time, but its economy also appears to have undergone change as the farm moved from a mixed economy to one specialising in cattle. There is some evidence that the estate was experimenting with different breeds – documented as ‘English cattle’ – perhaps indicating a more profound shift towards commercial and ‘scientific’ agriculture, and this a century before the classic period of Agricultural Improvement.

The Cromwellian occupation seems to have stimulated economic activity in other ways, as English merchants were involved in contracts to buy up timber in the west Highlands (Smout *et al.* 2005). And this emerging commercial attitude to woodlands continued to develop into the 18th century (Sansum 2004, Davies and Watson 2007). At Corries, conflict emerged between the commercial aspirations of the estate towards its woodlands and the commercial aspirations of tenant farmers with regard to their cattle. The environmental evidence suggests increased grazing pressure at Corries during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, despite – or perhaps provoking – renewed estate regulations to protect and plant trees there. Far from all being at the mercy of their landlords, some tenant farmers actively pursued their own agenda and engaged in the commercialisation of their farms. The conflict here is, therefore, not so much between estate-led modernisation and reactionary tenant traditionalism. It is between the commercial aspirations of the estate, tied to forestry, and the commercial aspirations of the tenantry, wishing to exploit new market opportunities for cattle.

Against a backdrop of Agricultural Improvement in the late 18th and 19th centuries, estate woods, particularly coppiced oakwoods, continued to be commercially managed, and we see woodland continuity at Corries shieling and the concurrent spread of woodland enclosure and tree planting (Sansum 2004, Smout *et al.* 2005). However, a decline in oak and pine populations in the landscape around Leadour during the second half of the 18th century suggests that estate policy on tree husbandry may not have been universally successful. In particular, the transition to a market dominated by livestock resulted in woods losing their value to tenants, who began to express increased concern over access to and control of pastoral resources. Around Leadour, between 1775 and 1786, there were disputes over access to shielings, concerns over boundary dykes and ditches, loss of winter pasture rights and enclosure of common grazings. When woods were cleared from Corries shieling with the establishment of a granite quarry in 1885, the tenant farmer made repeated complaints about the disruption that this caused to the availability and quality of grazing resources, but he did not mention the loss of trees. This is an indication of the profound changes in the value of woodland resources relative to livestock.

In cases such as this, the collaborative analysis of landscapes through archaeological, historical, palaeo-environmental and other means can develop powerful understandings of the relationships between localities and the people who lived and farmed them, on the one hand, and wider regional, national and global developments.



Figure 13: (left) Leadour, looking from the north over the remains of the farm to the southern side of the valley where the plantation cuts the head dyke and the remains of old field boundaries are just visible, © Alastair Hamilton.

(right) The setting for Glen Orchy Corries shieling showing the relatively lush high grazing (with highland cattle taking advantage of this). The shieling buildings are out of shot in the lower middle ground, within the arc of trees that hug the burnside, © Althea Davies.

3.5 Research Recommendations

Future research should:

- *Consider the global connections of localities and adopt a critical perspective on local distinctiveness and global homogeneity.* Research should seek to inform and produce critical accounts of modern Scotland's local-global relationships. These should question simplistic assertions of the distinctive and bounded nature of Scotland and its different localities and populations. Equally, researchers and practitioners should explore and question the idea that the modern past can be understood in terms of the inexorable rise of global homogeneity. Relationships between localities and the wider world, and between particular lives and wider structures, institutions, circumstances and conditions should become routine matters of comment, investigation and reflection in archaeology.
- *Adopt a dialectical approach to local-global connections in the modern past.* This approach places the emphasis on relationships between the particular and the general and holds that neither can be understood without reference to the other. History emerges from the interaction of a multitude of circumstances, conditions, actions and processes, and each locality, set within a network of connections, communications and relationships is at once similar to the next and different from it.
- *Be ambitious and seek to contribute significantly to understandings of Scotland's historical relationships with the wider world.* As also recommended in 'Reformations' above (chapter 2), archaeologists can and should be ambitious in developing archaeological approaches to the modern past. In the context of this chapter, this ambition takes the form of a concern to make a strong contribution to understanding of themes such as colonialism, Empire, diaspora and globalisation. Archaeology's particular contribution comes from its ability to explore the ways in which particular people and particular places were enmeshed with wider processes, conditions, circumstances and structures, dispersed through space and time. To realise this contribution, research must go beyond the understanding of a particular thing, place or landscape, to

understandings of those archaeological objects as part of ensembles of material, social and environmental relationships which extended beyond the locality. Future research can explore these relationships by focusing on material artefacts and raw materials and their distributional networks and connections; mobile populations, and their social and cultural linkages out of, into and within particular localities; skills and practices, and technical or cultural innovations, and the evidence for their transfer into and out of localities; and the implications of wider developments for life in particular locales, developing insight into the emergence of global capitalist markets, of dispersed production chains, of colonies and empires by exposing and analysing apart the practices, networks and relationships that material studies can reveal. The stories told will be positive ones, relating to the formation of valued relationships which span geographic and cultural divides. And they will be problematic ones, confronting us with the people, practices and processes behind present-day social, economic and environmental problems, inequalities, injustices and impacts. Problematic as these histories may be, forgetting them is not a sound strategy for overcoming their persistent and ongoing effects.

- *Develop new collaborate research practices, leading to better and more powerful understandings of the connections between Scottish localities and their wider worlds.* To achieve and promote the contribution outlined above, archaeology should engage with other relevant disciplines to collaborate in the investigation of local-global relationships. Collaborative working with other disciplines will be crucial and, in the context of this chapter, the potential which rises from collaboration with researchers elsewhere in the world should be noted. Scottish research has much to give in terms of insights into the histories of those many other parts of the globe whose histories are, in one way or another, connected to Scotland. Scottish research has much to gain from a deeper understanding of the processes of trade, industry, colonialism, Empire, diaspora and slavery as they developed beyond Scotland's borders.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on the past and the present character of Scotland, its localities and its populations by elucidating their historical relationships with wider worlds.

4. The Modern Person

4.1 Introduction

Research focusing on the materiality of life can contribute to our understanding of the historical development of the modern person and of modern society. This theme relates to research on the nature of self and on the constitution and contestation of social relationships (e.g. of family, kin, community; gender, class, age, religion and belief; tenancy and employment).

This chapter seeks to examine the ways in which people have been formed as social entities in the modern world. While previous generations of archaeologists have often assumed that the past was populated with an unvarying and universal type of ‘individual’, with the same range of experiences, aspirations, sociality and physicality as individuals in the present, recent developments in archaeological theory have questioned this assumption on a number of bases. First, it is argued, ‘individual’, ‘person’ and ‘self’ are not synonymous and should not be conflated. Second, just as there is no essential and universal ‘modern person’, so personhood in the past was constructed through culture, ideology and practice, and the nature of personal being might vary by gender, class, ethnicity and other factors and according to context and over the course of a lifetime (and beyond). The projection of a modern ‘individual’ back in time has been critiqued by prehistorians (e.g. Thomas 2002, Fowler 2002) who have referred to the work of anthropologists to show that personhood can be distributed across more than one body, that bodies can contain multiple selves, and that the distinctions between humans and animals or humans and objects are not always clearly drawn (e.g. Strathern 1988). In the modern period one of the metanarratives frequently encountered is the ‘rise of the individual’. In fact, it is explicitly the ‘Enlightenment individual’ that Thomas (2002) and others have sought to purge from

prehistory. In this they follow a tradition in the social sciences of using the ‘Enlightenment individual’ as shorthand for masculinist, atomised, asocial selves – the assumption is that this particular conceptualisation of self and person is the characteristic mode of being in the modern world. Archaeologists of the modern period are well positioned, however, to critique and refine this view. It can be pointed out that even in the heart of Enlightenment territory and at the apex of the ascent of the individual, persons have always been socially constituted and involved in interesting continuities with both animals and things.

This theme will explore the nature of modern personal and group ways of being, consider tensions between and within individual and corporate identities and how different ways of being have ebbed and flowed, changing over time. The chapter will consider first the archaeology of the body and embodiment in the modern period, moving on to a discussion of how persons have been constituted socially through their engagements with others. Finally, there will be a discussion of how research can address questions of personal difference, and of the kind of things that set a person at odds with dominant or normative ways of being and doing.

4.2 Archaeology and the individual

Unlike for many other periods it is a practical proposition in the modern period to identify individuals archaeologically. This capability provides a very useful way of hooking into public interest in the past and it creates the possibility of writing sophisticated histories that show how broad historical processes have affected particular people’s lives. However, this potential should be used as a means of researching historical processes and practices, rather than simply as a way of popularising archaeological work by hitching it to individual celebrities known from the

historical record. In fact, celebrities are not always necessary: the identification of 'ordinary' people in the past can be an attractive entry point in public and interpretative archaeologies, especially if those people are then used as starting points for a discussion of aspects of their historical and archaeological context. There is great potential for the development of 'microarchaeologies' akin to microhistories, which take a single life, artefact or incident as a point from which to spiral outwards into the consideration of the great tides of history. Such micro-archaeologies would use archaeology's recognised strengths in analysing the articulation of the global and

the local and of general historical metanarratives with personal lives.

The identification of individuals also provides an opportunity to correct popular misconceptions or unbalanced received histories. There has been a considerable bias in the popular history of the period, for example, in favour of Jacobites at the expense of others who did more to shape the nation. Detailed study of the biological individual (see below) can give an insight into the actual lived experience of the body, identifying nutritional and health statuses and common patterns of activity, which might not be the same as popularly supposed.

Searching for Scipio

In 2007, the National Trust for Scotland undertook an HLF-funded project entitled *This is Our Story* to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade. As part of this project, a travelling display was developed on the subject of the slave trade and its connections with Trust properties in the west of Scotland, including Greenbank House and Brodick and Culzean Castles. Archaeological research was used to focus attention on this subject by examining the site of Scipio Kennedy's house within Culzean Castle estate.

At the turn of the 18th century, when Scipio was around six years old, he was taken from his home in Guinea and forced onto a slave ship bound for the West Indies. He was intended for the plantations but, instead, was bought by Captain Andrew Douglas of Mains in Dumbartonshire. In 1705 Captain Douglas' daughter, Jean, married John Kennedy who, five years later, inherited the family home of Culzean Castle.

Scipio – still a slave – came to live with the Kennedys at Culzean, taking his new master's surname. During his time Scipio learned to read and write and also learned something of textile manufacture. A contract of 1725, held at the National Archives of Scotland, granted Scipio his freedom and the right to seek employment elsewhere. In the document, signed by John Kennedy and Scipio, the African agrees to remain in Kennedy's employment for a further 19 years. He married a local girl, had eight children and, when he died at the age of 80 in 1774, his son Douglas erected a gravestone to his memory in Kirkoswald graveyard.

One small part of the *This Is Our Story* project was to undertake an archaeological excavation of the possible site of Scipio's house at Culzean. The house is shown on Foulis' 1755 map of the estate as a long building with chimneys at either end, surrounded by a small garden, within a larger enclosed field. It is likely that the house was demolished in the 1780s during major landscaping works around the castle and nothing survives above ground today. Five small trial trenches were excavated in the vicinity of the house's location. Local volunteers took part in the fieldwork along with many of the Country Park Ranger staff and other NTS staff.

While the exact site of the house remains unknown, artefacts recovered by the excavations suggest it is close by. Pieces of hand-made bricks, a shield-shaped roof slate, fragments of sandstone, and

shards of crown window glass were all found. Given that the house was built in the early 18th century, it might be expected that the roof would have been thatched, but according to the documentary records a good deal of money was spent on its construction. A figure of £90 is quoted for the house which may suggest it was a fine and large house which could have been slated. It was seemingly large enough to have regularly been used to hold meetings, and reputedly the local smugglers met there. Other artefacts include sherds of post-medieval green glazed reduced ware, shards of bottle glass and what appears to be a lead seal perhaps for cloth or a bottle.

Importantly it is through the process of archaeological excavation that it was possible to tell Scipio's story and to link what was happening in this one corner of Scotland with what was happening the wider world during the 18th and 19th centuries. Further archaeological research on this site, and others like it, has the potential to bring to light the nature of life as a slave in Scotland in the 18th century and to allow connections to be drawn with the nature of slavery elsewhere in the modern world.



Figure 14: Volunteers digging on the site of Scipio's House, Culzean Country Park, © National Trust for Scotland

4.3 The Body and the Person

Consideration of the modern person begins with the body. It is often through and on the body that selfhood is created and bodies, or their remains, are one of the key kinds of evidence about personhood that archaeologists encounter. Thinkers in the social sciences have paid particular attention to 'embodiment' – the nature of experience through the body – and archaeologists can consider past embodiment and also consider the body as material culture, which is the most frequent form in which we encounter

past bodies (Sofaer 2006). Research into the body can develop our understanding of the ways modern persons were formed through their bodies, as highly individualised persons who treated their bodies as unique or as other kinds of person.

The modern person was closely defined by their body. The treatment of the body after death, and its commemoration, are important sources of evidence for understanding how the modern self was constructed. 'Embodiment' refers to the lived experience of having/being a body. In archaeology the turn toward embodiment is exemplified in, for

example, the move from studying food in the past as economy to studying consumption (Hamilakis 2002), and the move from studying landscape in terms of the material and physical features of the land to thinking about how spaces are inhabited, lived and perceived (see chapter 8 *People and Landscape*). Thinking about embodiment shifts perspectives towards the experiences of past people, how they underwent changes over the course of their lives and how they understood their own bodies, their needs and their practices.

Infant life and death has been consistently overlooked and marginalised in Scottish excavation data and the burial practices relating to young infants under-theorised throughout the modern period (e.g. Lowe 2008). And there are other areas of archaeology relating to children which ought to be explored here, including: investment in childhood as indicated by toys; relationships between changes in toys and games and changes in experiences of childhood; boundaries between childhood and adulthood as indicated by entry/exclusion into specific workplaces and industries; and the archaeology of schooling and the relationship between church and school. The archaeology of other aspects of the life-course, especially archaeologies of childbearing and of aging has also not yet been pursued extensively.

The history of medicine is central to an understanding of the modern person and this history can be enhanced by the archaeological study of human remains. Charlotte Roberts's *History of health in Europe from the Late Palaeolithic to the present* project collects and co-ordinates some of this data (see Roberts and Cox 2000, Roberts and Manchester 2005). The history of medicine can be studied not only through human remains themselves, which display evidence of surgical procedures such as amputation, trephination and bone setting, but also through the material culture of medical treatment, the environmental evidence of pharmaceuticals and the architectural evidence of specialised

treatment and research spaces (e.g. hospitals with operating theatres). Studies of health can also make use of indirect sources of evidence. For example, the remains of sewers and waste systems, which are ubiquitous in urban excavations, should not only be regarded as 'modern disturbance' or unfortunate truncations of more interesting archaeological layers below. They are evidence of historical developments in knowledge of and concern for public health. Consideration of hygienic disposal systems alongside pathological examination of bodies should reveal changes in the general health of the population.

Studies of folk medicine may also provide understanding of changes in how the body has been perceived, potentially revealing very different notions of the body to those revealed through research into scientific medical practice. Folk medicine provides a useful entry point for the exploration of the history of the idea that illness and disease is something contained within an individual body. Folk medicine practices suggest other ways of understanding illness – understanding predicated on complex networks of actors in which bodies, intentions, material culture and landscape interact with one another to produce and/or change positive or negative embodied states. Gilchrist's work (2008) on apotropaic burial objects, though primarily focused on the high medieval period, is of relevance here as such objects may have continued to be used after the Reformation (as they are, for example, in post-medieval Irish infant burial grounds (Finlay 2003; Donnelly and Murphy 2008)). Crossland (2010) provides a very useful discussion of amulets and charms – in this case witch bottles designed to harm a witch's body – as evidence of how the body and health were constituted and re-conceptualised in the early modern period.

The potential for an archaeology of sexuality has been suggested by several recent studies focusing on urban gay sub-cultures (e.g. Higgs

1999, Houlbrook 2005, Cook 2008). These have sought to identify the geography of homosexuality, focusing on where in the past gay men met and socialised. For the period before the decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1968, sites to explore might also encompass places of punishment for sodomy. 'Microarchaeologies' of gay or potentially gay individuals have not yet been attempted, in Scotland or elsewhere, though indications that the material evidence might be relevant to this area of history are suggested by an unusual access arrangement between bedchambers at Apethorpe Hall (Northants, England) – this arrangement has been tentatively linked to the sexuality of James I/VI and the Duke of Buckingham (English Heritage 2006). In a (presumably) heterosexual context, the recovery of 17th century condoms in excavations at Dudley Castle (England) indicates another, more direct, approach to the archaeology of sexuality. However, archaeologies of pre-20th century sexuality outside urban or aristocratic contexts may prove more difficult. In America a number of archaeological projects have successfully examined the experiences and values of urban prostitutes, but no comparable work has been done in Scotland (see the papers collected in *Historical Archaeology* 39(1) (2005).

Archaeological evidence of death comes primarily in two forms: recovered burials including human remains; and commemorative monuments and associated material culture. The above-ground archaeology of commemoration (e.g. Willsher 1985, Tarlow 1999, Spicer 2007) is better known for this period than the below ground evidence. Recording graveyard monuments has also been developed as a focus for community projects by the Archaeology Scotland/Historic Scotland Carved Stones Adviser project (2003). Work on commemorative monuments can address not only issues of demography, family and local history, but also attitudes to death and the dead, the relationship between the dead and

the living, religious history, social relationships of power and inequality and the construction of identity.

Work on the below-ground archaeology of death in the post-medieval period is mostly in the form of technical reports on individual sites, and many of these remain as grey literature. However, recent work includes a gazetteer of 55 excavated sites in Scotland (Cherryson Crossland and Tarlow 2012). As well as burials in parish kirkyards, these include the burials of bodies that have been subjected to post-mortem autopsy or dissection (e.g. at Infirmary Street and Surgeons' Square in Edinburgh), the bodies of strangers and victims of shipwrecks or drownings buried along the shore (e.g. at Braigh on Lewis) and executed prisoners (e.g. at Stirling Toll Booth). McCabe (2010) has tentatively identified more than 20 sites across Scotland as possible infant burial grounds, predominantly in the west of the country and often located in the ruins of early ecclesiastical sites. As these burial grounds are often considered an Irish phenomenon, further study of their occurrence in Scotland would be significant. Excavation could confirm the suggestion that burial grounds housing unbaptised infants were also used for other liminal persons, like strangers (see for example Lowe 2008, 272).

The excavation of human remains in this period is affected not only by religious and legal considerations, but also by local sensitivities. It is an area where careful negotiation and scrupulously ethical practice is necessary. This is sometimes in conflict with archaeological interests: for example, after immediate recording, post-medieval remains are nearly always re-interred rather than retained for further study, which affects the ability to carry out extensive osteoarchaeological study, but underlines the importance of carrying out as full an investigation and recording as resources permit at the time of excavation.

Grave robbing, bodies and persons beyond death

The development of a modern and scientific understanding of the body was the result of replacing the acceptance of classical authority on scientific matters with empirical observation. In the case of the human body that meant that medical students and scientists needed to inspect the interiors of actual human bodies. While the bodies of executed criminals were available to anatomists, there were not enough to satisfy the needs of the numerous medical students and private anatomy schools that sprang up in major cities such as Edinburgh. A thriving black market in corpses was supplied by 'resurrection men': corpse thieves who stole bodies from mortuaries or new graves and sold them directly to anatomy schools or students. This practice caused great public upset and there were a number of riots and disturbances focused on the anatomy schools. At a personal or local level, the fear of grave robbers is evident in the existence of mort safes, jankers (heavy stone or iron grave covers), kirkyard watch towers and other security measures (an archaeology of the fear of grave robbing).

The widespread public horror of grave-robbing is an interesting phenomenon. Although theological writings on the nature of the resurrection and of Heavenly life were quite clear that God would be able to effect bodily resurrection, no matter what the condition of the physical body, and although scientific orthodoxy increasingly saw the dead body as a broken machine, dread that the body might be cut after death remained very strong, arguably until the present day. The reasons for this are complex and not entirely rational. However, it is likely that a popular understanding of the newly dead body as still in some ways powerful and even sentient combined with a 'modern' kind of selfhood, in which the person was very closely identified with their individual body were significant (Tarlow 2012).

Eventually the Anatomy Act of 1832 gave anatomists the right to take 'unclaimed' bodies from poorhouses and similar institutions. The Act was passed in response to public unrest about grave-robbing but also in the wake of Edinburgh's Burke and Hare scandal. Burke and Hare were not grave-robbers but murderers who killed people on the margins of society for the lucrative price of their bodies. After his execution William Burke's body was dissected and his skeleton can still be seen at Surgeon's Hall, along with a book bound in his own skin.



Figure 15: Mortgages, mortsafes and heavy stone or metal 'jankers' such as this one from the kirkyard at Kilmun were designed to protect new burials from Resurrection Men (photo courtesy of Chris Stewart-Moffitt)

Personal and social identity need not end with the death of the body. A dead person continues to be part of meaningful social relationships with the living, whether as ancestor, ghost or personal memory. The aspects of personhood that are chosen for commemorative inscriptions (e.g. familial relationships, places of birth or residence, profession, etc.) can be informative about shared cultural ideals. Scottish commemorative monuments differ from those in other parts of Britain in that they normally use adult women's maiden names on the stone rather than their married names. More research is needed to assess whether this means that Scottish ideals of gendered identity were different to those current elsewhere in the British Isles. And, in general terms, this example indicates how small details in the material evidence can potentially provide great insights into everyday understandings of the body, the person, life and death in the modern past.

An understanding of emotional experience in the past has often been considered as either beyond the scope of archaeological enquiry or only possible if one subscribes to a universal psychological understanding of the nature of emotion (i.e. that emotion operates in the same way, regardless of context). Most anthropological approaches to emotion, however, find emotion to be culturally constructed, with both a biological and a cultural component; work on the history of emotion (e.g. Stearns and Stearns 1985, Reddy 1997, Rosenwein 2010) might further guide research here. Archaeologies of emotion are still uncommon in British archaeology in general, but they are represented in Scottish historical archaeology by Tarlow's study of the emotions surrounding death and bereavement as expressed in commemorative monuments in Orkney between the 16th and 20th centuries (Tarlow 1999). Potential for the archaeological study of emotion may lie more in identifying the emotional values of a society – i.e. those which receive cultural

elaboration in material and other ways – rather than in trying to capture the complex and contradictory interior emotional experiences of an individual (Tarlow 2000).

It is through the senses of the body that we experience the material world and sensual perception is an important topic for archaeological research into the modern person. Recent work has, for example, encouraged thinking about church buildings and the way in which they were used and experienced in relation to the conception and understanding of senses in the past. Late medieval understandings of sight and seeing have been analysed to understand how wall paintings were intended to be viewed. The development of archaeoacoustics has led to interpretations of the role of sound in the past. Such techniques can be applied to the modern period to provide further insights into people's sensory engagement with landscapes, buildings and artefacts. Such an approach has been taken in examining early modern music and the acoustic properties of church buildings, demonstrating what a congregation was able to hear during a service. There remains much research to be done in this field: for example, how did the material culture of preaching shape the way in which the Word of God was delivered and received by the congregation and how did the play and intensity of candle-light upon wall (or other) decorations affect experiences of church?

According to the theology of John Calvin, the faithful were called upon 'to consecrate themselves to as a spiritual temple of God' and in them 'God dwells by His Spirit'. So the body was the vessel or vehicle for the Holy Spirit, which meant that it had to be treated with respect. When it came to burial, the body had to be disposed of with decency and respect as it had once been a living temple of the Holy Spirit. Tarlow has written about the nature of belief with reference to the dead body in the post-medieval period, pointing out that different and even incommensurable

beliefs can exist side-by-side and are drawn upon contextually (Tarlow 2011). Thus theological writings – both Catholic and Protestant – might emphasise the insignificance of the dead body in comparison to the immortal soul while, at the same time, folk practices such as the medicinal use of the dead body suggest that it had some kinds of power attributed to it, and although it was not considered necessary for the body to be whole in order to be resurrected, the dissection of the body was so frightful that it could be used as a legal sanction. Beliefs about living bodies also demand further attention: how have empirical and scientific knowledge of the modern body sat alongside other traditional ways of knowing the body?

4.4 The Social Person

Although the modern individual has sometimes been characterised as an atomised individual in contrast to ‘pre-modern’ conceptualisations of the self (e.g. Thomas 2002, Fowler 2002, 2004), in fact even in modernity people are formed relationally. Thus it is to the relationships of people with their families, friends, neighbours, masters, servants and governments that research must look to see how people are made. It is also important to consider how a person can form and experience different kinds of self and identity in different contexts. A soldier, for example, has a military self (see boxed case study below), but how does this relate to the other ways in which that soldier is known and constituted as a person, through relationships of family, for instance?

People in the modern past were members of communities and of households and the changing relationships through which these social entities were formed can be revealed and interpreted through archaeological research. In rural contexts, for instance, research has explored the emergence of capitalist farming and a concomitant individualisation of the person through changes in daily routines and practices and it has studied resistance to the individualisation

of life. Included here is work on changes to architecture, settlement and landscape associated with 18th/19th-century Agricultural Improvement (e.g. Dalglish 2001, 2003), work on the implications for society, materiality and practice of the Highland Clearances and the creation of crofting (e.g. Lelong 2000; Symonds 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000) and work on the archaeology of illicit whisky distilling, interpreted as a practice through which community relationships were maintained in the face of the individualisation promoted by rural Improvement (Given 2004, Ch.8).

Some work has begun to explore the longer-term ‘genealogy’ of these classically 18th/19th-century developments, looking at the emergence of the modern rural estate in the 16th and 17th centuries and related changes in landuse and shifting relationships between individuals and groups. Relevant work here includes research on castles in their landscape context (Dalglish 2005a) and inter-disciplinary studies in environmental history (e.g. Davies and Watson 2007). Inter-disciplinary work has great potential for the development of a solid and complex understanding of the dynamic nature of self and community in the modern Scottish countryside (Dalglish 2009). This potential relates to the ability of integrated collaborative research (archaeology, history, historical ecology, other disciplines) to create a rich and nuanced understanding of quotidian routines and the interaction of people and their material surroundings (see ‘People and Landscape’ below).

Warfare and the making of the modern person

Warfare, and its most obvious manifestation as battle, is an aspect of the human experience which requires the individual to act as part of a greater whole. It is only recently that approaches to what might loosely be called military history have begun to focus on the individual rather than the mass – the regiments and armies which fight wars. While the archaeology of battle can and has been interpreted as ‘big man’ history with a focus on kings, queens and generals, the majority of the artefacts recovered from Scottish battlefields relate to the activities of individuals from the lower levels of the social strata – ‘the poor bloody infantry’ as the soldier has been described.

A great number of battles in Scotland were fought during the early modern period (16th-18th centuries), with Culloden (1746) being the last battle fought in the British Isles. They involved groups not only from Scotland but from all over Europe, with Danes, Germans, Swiss, Dutch, Italian and French, to name just some of them, taking part. These conflicts also saw various groups from Scotland participate, notably those from the Highlands and those from the Lowlands, though another distinction might be made between those from urban and rural locations. Given the phenomenon of camp followers, archaeologies of the person-in-war need to deal with people other than the soldiers (including people from wide age range – from what would today be classed as children to people of advanced age). And archaeology may provide a means of more fully understanding the role of women in warfare, which certainly extends well beyond the concept of the camp follower (during the Jacobite wars, for instance, women played a key role in mobilising troops and provisioning the armies).

Battlefields represent unique contexts of deposition which are not confined to those items related to the fighting. Examples of objects which have not been found on traditional archaeological sites include a pewter cross from Culloden – perhaps a talisman worn around the neck, probably by a Jacobite. Objects like this provide entry points to an understanding of perspectives on death in battle (e.g. the belief that death in battle would be followed by an afterlife in Heaven – something not necessarily believed by all soldiers today). Another example, now known from several conflict sites, is the silver William III shilling, which appears to have been given to soldiers at recruitment (the famous King’s Shilling). Until their discovery in archaeological contexts, nothing was known about the circulation of these artefacts once they had become King’s Shillings – it is now clear from the heavy rubbing and old age of these coins when lost on the field of battle that they were retained by soldiers and functioned as charms or worry pieces (and, as such, they might be seen as a manifestation of a practice relating to fear).

Key to any attempt to understand the idea of the modern person within the context of warfare and conflict is the concept of willingness to risk one’s life for any number of causes or relationships. How does this mindset work and how does it change over time (it has already been noted that for much of the period in question people believed in an afterlife)? How are beliefs relating to the individual’s role in such contexts manifested in the archaeological record? There is certainly plenty of evidence for fighting, killing and dying in the modern past, but our archaeologies of conflict need to go beyond that to consider under-lying questions of the kinds of selves and relationships which occasioned and facilitated conflict and which were created by it. What material evidence is there for prayer, contemplation, compassion and mercy or lack it, the tending of wounds and the treatment of prisoners? How did experiences of war differ for professional soldiers and the common levy? Barracks, forts and other installations need to be analysed not just as defensive and offensive architectures but as places within which soldiers were formed and places which played a role in the formation and re-formation of relationships in the wider landscape. How did the soldier relate to the non-military world, either in his own locality or in those places occupied by him and by camp followers on campaign?

Our understanding of questions surrounding individualisation, resistance to individualisation and the perpetuation or creation of alternative modern modes of personhood has also been advanced by artefact studies. Some would see the introduction of mass produced goods as heralding the erosion of traditional ways of life and the demise of community (e.g. Emery 2000). But while mass-produced ceramics have been tied to the creation of new, individualised eating habits, some work has challenged this meta-narrative, arguing that people adopted new factory-made wares in varied, meaningful and active ways, maintaining or transforming established (corporate) modes of dining rather than replacing them (e.g. Barker 2005). Alongside the introduction of mass-produced ceramics, the continuation and further development of local craft traditions can be interpreted as relating to the perpetuation of particular cooking and dining practices (e.g. crogan pottery in the west: Cheape 1993).

Architecture has been fundamental to the creation and manipulation of persons and social relationships in the modern period. Institutional places – schools, prisons, asylums, hospitals, poor houses and the like – can be taken as one example. Places of social control are discussed in chapter 7 (People and Places) but it is worth noting here that the relationship between institutions and their inhabitants was reciprocal –institutional buildings were created by people but also shaped the people who inhabited them (Markus 1982, 1993).

From the Reformation, the Kirk saw itself as having a role in establishing a godly community which meant that the concern for maintaining social order and decency was not confined to the irregular administration of the Lord's Supper. Individuals' behavior was accounted for before the kirk sessions, which were often composed of people in positions of local authority and government within the community. Furthermore their concern for

matters such as illegitimacy raised questions of sexual morality but also could have financial implications within the community.

Social control maintained by the religious authorities was manifest in material, spatial and architectural arrangements designed to enforce conformity and punish deviance. Kirk sessions could demand public demonstrations of repentance with the guilty individuals being required to appear before the congregation at services sitting on the stool of repentance. Examples of these survive such as in the parish church of St Andrews but other instances these have been lost in the refurbishment of church interiors. The Kirk sessions also used other instruments such as branks or scold's bridles to punish those found guilty of blasphemy, scolding and slander. Jougs were another form of parochial punishment. Examples of these instruments of punishment and others such as the sackcloth and discipline stool can be found in the National Museums of Scotland collections, and have been the subject of recent study by Morgana McCabe (University of Glasgow). An archaeological exploration of the relationship between emotion and material culture, this research shows how these discipline artefacts acted not only or even expressly upon the punished body, but upon the victim as an embodied, emotional being and on the wider community, through a culture of shame.

Practices relating to the disciplining of the self and of the body were not confined to those who were considered to have transgressed moral and social norms. As discussed in chapter 2 (Reformations), one of the key processes of this period is the creation of a capitalist self. The influence of capitalism on the formation of a particular kind of self has been argued by to produce a highly disciplined way of organising one's material culture and regulating one's actions in the world (Johnson 1996). This involves both the imposition of discipline by holders of power and also, crucially, internalised self-discipline. Being a 'disciplined' individual requires certain

knowledgeable behaviours and a high degree of regulation in social and bodily conduct.

In archaeological and material culture terms, one way in which the engagement of capitalist selves in practical action is evident is in the widespread modern concern for telling the time, seen in the appearance of sundials, clocks and bells that regulate time and labour. Sundials and clocks (Ross and MacGibbon 1887; Ross 1890; Smith 1975; Hudson 1984; Whyte 1995). are technologies for measuring time and, you might say, creating time. The contexts in which they occur provide information on where, when and why it became important to measure time in a systematic, regular and precise fashion. The need to control and quantify labour, to arrange meetings and to co-ordinate travel all affected this (the advent of rail travel indeed led to the universal adoption of Greenwich Mean Time throughout Britain, replacing the local times that differed by a few minutes).

A highly regulated world view with a preference for order, symmetry, replication, linearity and control is evident in material practices in what James Deetz, with reference to colonial America, has famously described as 'the Georgian world view'. This is produced through, among other things, symmetrical buildings of a neo-classical style; ordered and geometric landscapes and cityscapes; a preference for white and glassy finishes over earth-toned ones; a repudiation of nature and the natural; individual but replicable 'sets' of material culture such as table settings, etc.

One other aspect of the person in the world of capitalism is the person as a commodity, a material good – the paramount example of which is enslavement and the trade in people as slaves. Slaves were present in Scotland (see box case study 'Searching for Scipio') and the practice of bonded labour for life, applied by law to colliers and saltworkers in the 16th-17th centuries, did not amount to slavery but was close in its attitude towards the person

(Whatley 1987). Scots were involved in the slave trade and in the ownership and working of slaves on colonial plantations, and a key element of the commercial wealth of Scotland from the 17th century onwards was derived from slave-produced commodities like sugar and tobacco.

The archaeology of crime and punishment is of interest not just in relation to the matter of the effects on the person of institutional architecture, noted above, but in archaeology of the disciplined and punished body. Older forms of bodily punishment were public and violent, including pillories, gallows and post-mortem punishments such as gibbets and public dissections. Later, bodily punishment took the form of prison discipline enacted through the building, or sequestered corporal or capital punishment in prison yards. The places of public punishment sometimes yield archaeological evidence, such as the burials of executed criminals at Stirling Tolbooth.

And if the person must be understood by understanding their social relationships with other human beings, so too must we research relationships between people and animals. What does the archaeological evidence tell us about how specific animals were humanised and dehumanised across time? The inequality between working animals and working people in the early twentieth century reflects somewhat disturbing views on society's perceived value of life. In 1921, there was greater legislative protection for pit ponies than for the miners working with them. Meals, rest periods and protective eyewear were compulsory for the animals, largely due to economic drivers, and mine workers neglecting these responsibilities risked losing their wages and their jobs. One might also consider the impact of changing from small scale animal husbandry and slaughter to large scale butchery in abattoirs and sale of meat divorced from its animal origins. How does this change human-animal relationships?

4.5 Self against Society

Being a member of a community does not mean there was homogeneity in values, beliefs, politics or interests, and archaeologies of the modern past can explore social conflict and resistance at a number of levels and scales. At its most overt, such conflict and resistance took the form of rebellion, riot, warfare or crime. However, the contested nature of society did not just manifest itself in overt and violent action. Archaeology can do much to dig beneath the surface layers of society to expose the many, often low-level and hidden practices through which people circumvented, ignored or subverted dominant or orthodox ways of doing things, continued to engage in traditional practices despite imperatives to change, sought to live outwith the normal structures of society, and rejected mainstream values or imposed beliefs and relationships.

Take, as an example, the varied opposition to the monopoly of the established church which we see in religious non-conformity and recusancy (Dransart and Bogdan 2004; MacRobert 2010; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1997; Slade 1974; Williams 2005)¹². Covenanters have been investigated archaeologically in excavations at John Brown's House in Ayrshire and Covenanting practice could be explored further through archaeologies of place and landscape relating to the sites of conventicles. Amateur archaeological investigation has revealed some evidence of covenanters' services near Gourock cemetery at White's Well and Pulpit Rock in Larkfield, Renfrewshire. Organisations such as the Scottish Covenanters Memorial Association work to preserve the funerary monuments of the Covenanters whereas another focus has been their torture and places of execution.

The archaeology of religious resistance to the Established Church by Catholics, Episcopalians

and other nonconformists can readily be explored through the material culture of worship. Catholicism in Scotland is a relatively neglected subject. Mgr David McRoberts did much to identify pre-Reformation artefacts and the forthcoming publication of his Rhind lectures will further the understanding of this theme. But, while academic interest in the subject has been sustained to some extent through the *Innes Review*, there has been little substantial research into the material culture of Catholicism after the Reformation. The character of Catholic worship and its liturgy meant that the mass was usually celebrated indoors, in rooms that temporarily served as chapels. In some Scottish houses, evidence remains of post-Reformation places of concealment for priests or private oratories or chapels. Examples of the material culture of Catholic worship, such as travelling chalices, can be found in the National Museums of Scotland and Blairs Museum collections. In a broader context, the archaeology of religious identity (concealed and otherwise) might be explored through comparative studies of the material culture of Catholic and Protestant communities in the Outer Hebrides. The material culture of worship for the Covenanters has left fewer traces. As they gathered outdoors, increasingly in isolated locations as their persecution persisted, there is not the same structural evidence of clandestine worship which also lacked the range of religious utensils and paraphernalia of Catholicism. Nonetheless, the National Museums of Scotland also holds communion tokens issued by the Covenanters in their collections.

¹² Scottish Covenanter Memorial Association: [http://www.covenanter.org.uk/;](http://www.covenanter.org.uk/)

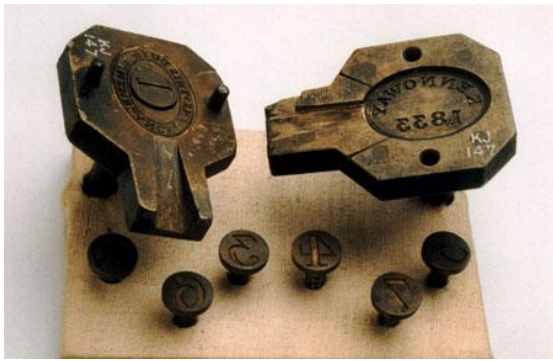


Figure 16: Communion token mould from Fife. The early modern person was heavily shaped by their interactions with the church. Whilst recent work in areas such as church architecture and changes in burial practice has made great inroads into the topic, there are still gaps where scholarship (particularly of material culture) is outdated and requires new, fresh approaches drawing, for instance, on current material culture studies. For example, communion wares, communion tokens, and the material culture of discipline have all received only limited attention since the antiquarians. Those who have worked with this material (e.g. Todd 2002), have done so primarily as historians, overlooking the objects themselves and how their materiality contributed directly to shaping modern individual and communal experiences of self, ©NMS

Resistance of another kind is shown by those groups whose values and ways of life exist in parallel with mainstream ones, but rarely intersect. Such groups include, for example, utopian ‘intentional communities’ and travellers. Glasgow Museums has a collection of four caravans, along with other material, which broadly date from 1900 to 1999. This collection consists of one horse-drawn caravan and three motor vehicle-drawn caravans. They address three subject themes: traditional Gypsy or Roma living; travelling showmen and fairs in Scotland; and the Faslane Peace Camp. The ornate, heavily carved and brightly painted Reading caravan was built in 1918 by Dunton and Sons of Reading, and rebuilt in the early 1980s. The showman’s living caravan, built in the early 20th century, is mostly in its original condition. The second showman’s caravan was manufactured to an American design around 1955 and owned by the Carter family. The fourth caravan, from the Faslane Peace

Camp, is equipped with bed, bedding, clothes, cupboards, wood-burning stove, chair and table, pictures, posters and curtains. In addition, the collection holds associated documents, images and newspaper clippings that relate to the four caravans and to the Faslane Peace Camp protests¹³.

¹³ Glasgow Museums Collections Navigator, <http://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/museums/collections-research/online-collections-navigator/Pages/home.aspx>

4.6 Research Recommendations

Future research should:

- *Develop critical understandings of the modern 'individual'.* Archaeologists of the modern past are well placed to develop nuanced understanding of the nature of self and person in modern Scotland and to challenge simplistic histories of the modern person which assume the inevitable 'rise of the individual'. Archaeological research, through analyses of the creation of self through material and social relationships and in practice, can chart and detail the individualisation of life in the modern past and, simultaneously, explore the evidence for continuing and newly-created social persons and for alternative modes of being.
- *Produce micro-archaeologies which develop observations about cultural and social trends from individual life stories.* The archaeology of the modern period is one which can explore the lives of named and documented individuals, but this can lead to a focus on the excavation of historical celebrities. The micro-archaeology approach is a powerful alternative, giving prominence to the wider historical value and interest of personal biographies. This approach moves beyond the novelty value of the archaeology of a single life to the value of such an archaeology in terms of its ability to lead to deeper historical understanding.
- *Further understanding of the modern person by researching changing perceptions of the body and the changing nature of embodied experience.* Archaeologies of the human body can problematise and defamiliarise some 'common sense' assumptions about perceptions of the body in the past and about the nature of embodied human experience. Research into the modern body and modern embodiment should, amongst other things, consider age and the life-course through human remains, artefacts like toys and other material remains; health and the ways illness was perceived and managed; the materialities and practices of sexuality; cultural expressions and formations of emotion; sensory perception and experience of the world; and changing relationships with bodily death, as it is amenable to archaeological study in, for instance, human remains, memorials and commemorations and the material traces of (the fear of) grave robbing. There is also potential for archaeology to contribute to inter-disciplinary body theory, and the body provides a topic through which scientific work on human remains (e.g. aDNA and isotope analysis) can be better integrated with archaeological and historical questions about people in the past (see also the recommendations of the Science Panel).
- *Construct material histories of the social relationships through which people were formed.* People in the modern past are not simply to be studied as individuals, but as nodes in social relationships. Archaeologies of the practices and the materialities of kin and family, farming community, industrial workforce, military unit and other social formations can add significantly to our understanding of the everyday and exceptional ways in which relationships were formed. These relationships were formed by people interacting through material objects and spaces and they were formed through practices in which material things were implicated. To understand modern social relationships, then, we need to understand their construction in and through engagement with a material world. To human-human relationships we should add the emerging field of an archaeology of human-animal relationships.

- *Reveal and elucidate alternative histories which evidence the ways in which modern people have formed themselves and constructed relationships which diverge from the main stream. Society is contested and negotiated and modern identities and ways of living and being are multiple and diverse. There is no single modern person or modern society, but many modern forms of person and many modern forms of social interaction. These different ways of being can co-exist and they can stand in conflict. Archaeology, in exploring the materiality of these forms of being and relating, can bring to light the variety of experience characterising the modern past. And it can it can develop understanding of the ways in which conformity was imposed and the ways in which it was resisted or transformed.*

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on life in the recent past and in the present by understanding the genesis and development of modern ways of living, being and relating to others and by writing the histories of alternative but equally modern lives.

5. Nation and State

5.1 Introduction

This theme challenges us to find archaeological answers to the question: What is Scotland and how did it come to be? Archaeological research can provide critical insight into the origins, development and contested history of the complex ideas, structures, institutions and relationships denoted by terms such as Scotland, Scottish, Britain, British, Europe and European.

Nation and state are terms which are often used interchangeably (e.g. the 'nations' in United Nations are the member states), but they are treated here as related but not necessarily coincident terms, nation referring to ideas of 'the people' and state to the processes, practices, structures and institutions of government. There are three reasons to single nation and state out for special consideration in a research framework for the modern Scottish past. The first is that definitions of modernity (Thomas 2004, 2) tend to consider the emergence of nation-states as an important characteristic of modern society. The second and third reasons are specific to the ScARF context. While discussion of nation and state could have been folded into chapter 4 (the Modern Person) – both nation and state comprise relationships between people – it is worth singling them out here because:

1. any research framework whose remit is defined with reference to a nation and/or state (in this case, Scotland) should reflect, explicitly, on the research context thus created, in order to guard against the uncritical perpetuation of particular national narratives. This point takes on specific meaning in relation to the modern period, which saw the development of the very nation/state which forms the context within which this research framework is being

developed (This development has a longer genealogy, of course: both nation and state existed here before the dawn of the modern age. However, their meaning and character do change in quite significant ways in the period under discussion);

2. issues of nation and state are of explicit and ongoing interest and concern in the present (national identity, the role of the state in society and in everyday life, all feeding into debates about devolution and independence). The development of a critical and historical perspective on these issues will be of wide relevance and value.

Archaeological approaches to nation and state focus on their manifestation and materialisation in particular circumstances. The general historical, sociological and political question 'how do nation and state come to be?' becomes 'how have nation and state been constructed and contested through the material world?'

It is implicit in all of this that research will adopt a critical perspective on 'nation' and 'state', refusing to take the easy option of producing unquestioning and chauvinistic booster histories which promote essentialist understandings of Scottishness (and/or Britishness) and chart the inexorable rise of the modern political order. Research in this field will consider nation and state as historical in character, originating and developing in particular historical circumstances. And, in addition to producing new understandings of nation and state, alternative narratives should be developed which question and explore the meaning and relevance of state and nation in the modern past. There is more than one Scotland and there are multiple, sometimes contradictory, ways of being Scottish. Research should

consider the complex relationships between Scottish and other co-ordinates of nation and state and it should provide insights into historical interactions between nation and state and other reference points of being (such as Gaelicness). Research should consider that, for some, experience of modern Scotland is about a lack of belonging or a problematic belonging.

In Scotland, there has long been archaeological interest in certain material forms of the State (e.g. forts, military roads), but the focus has been on empirical questions (What? Where? When? Who?). Within archaeology at least, there has been little attempt to explore the meaning of 'nation' and 'state' from a critical material perspective (How? Why?), but there is great potential to explore how nation and state came to be from this perspective.



Figure 17: Ruthven was one of a series of Highland barracks built in the wake of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion (or Rising). Prior to that time troops had been billeted in forts such as Fort William, or old Fort George in Inverness, or indeed on private citizens (it was such an arrangement which put troops amidst the people of Glencoe prior to the infamous Massacre of 1692). Built on a modified mound previously occupied by a castle, Ruthven Barracks, designed to accommodate 120 men, was completed in 1724, though it had been occupied for some time before then. Along with the roads constructed by Wade and Caulfield between 1725 and 1744 the barracks represent an

obvious military footprint on a landscape which had previously been regarded as lacking infrastructure and order. The military presence would have been made more obvious by patrolling and recruiting and it has been suggested that the introduction of door locks on local settlements such as the township at Easter Raitts is a manifestation of increasing levels of stress among the local population due to this presence. This was to boil over most violently in 1745, when Ruthven was besieged unsuccessfully by the Jacobites during the last Rebellion. ©RCAHMS.

5.2 Constructing the state: borders, pacification and defence

A key part of the coming-to-be of the modern state is the construction and de-construction of borders. In the case of Scotland, consideration should be given to the material processes and practices whereby the Anglo-Scottish border was defined and re-defined, and consideration should also be given to the more diffuse borders defined by Scotland's coasts and islands, including the Scottish-Irish border of the North Channel and the Scottish-Scandinavian border in the north (this border shifted north of the Pentland Firth in the 15th century, but continued to be contested after that time, especially in cultural terms). Consideration should also be given to the various customs ports and other entry points where movement and trade was subject to control, and it should be given to the evasion of control: the archaeology of smuggling and other illicit movements. Border questions include: How did the state define, consolidate, operate and maintain its borders on the ground? In other words, how did borders materialise and manifest themselves? What did it mean, in cultural, social and economic terms, to live in a border zone? How were Scotland's borders contested in the modern period? How permeable or impermeable was the country's 'skin' in the modern past? What effects did border creation and transformation have on people, place and landscape? Was life either side of a border different? What happens when an external border becomes an internal border (e.g. the Anglo-Scottish border after the Union of the Crowns and the Union of the Parliaments)?

Borders are much more than lines on a map showing where administration and jurisdiction begin and end: to be meaningful, they have to

be created in practice. At the beginning of the modern period, the problematic zone either side of the North Channel – problematic in the eyes of the state – was subject to a series of measures, initiatives and processes intended to bring it under the control of the Scottish then British authorities. The 17th-century Plantation of Ulster is perhaps the best known aspect of this, and much archaeological work has been undertaken on the Irish side of the North Channel to investigate the nature, meaning and practice of the Plantation. In the late 16th and the 17th centuries, though, western Scotland – particularly Kintyre, Lochaber and Lewis – was also subject to state-driven plantation, involving the transfer of lands to loyal undertakers, the creation of towns and other measures intended to transform the material, cultural, social and political character of the region. There has been little archaeological work seeking to explore Plantation as implemented in Scotland by the Scottish and British states, but this topic has great potential for deepening understanding of the process whereby the modern state was created (see box case study below).

More has been done to explore the archaeology and architecture of the Anglo-Scottish border zone, through studies of shielings, meeting places and bastle houses. Interpretation of the latter, in particular, has explicitly considered the opportunities and threats presented by life close to a border line. Research should seek to understand what borders such as this meant on the ground: this border must have seemed fluid and highly permeable, a line to be crossed (for trade, military action, raiding on the small and large scale) (Caldwell 2010). Recent research into the later medieval/early modern salt-

making industry, for example, has studied the industry on either side of the border and indicated that this development was synchronous on both sides of the border line. But all this is not to argue that the border had no reality, and evidence for its meaning can be found, for instance, in the monument to Edward I on the English side of the border, at Burgh Marsh in Cumberland. Edward I died on this spot in 1307, while preparing to cross north into Scotland with his army. His troops apparently raised a cairn to commemorate the event of his death and, in the modern era, the Duke of Norfolk re-commemorated it, erecting an obelisk on Burgh Marsh in 1685. The date of 1685 may be significant (the

death of Charles II and the succession of James VII and II). The obelisk was replaced in 1803 and, in or before 2010, was augmented with graffiti proclaiming 'Alba'. This site of commemoration continues to form a focal point for the expression of national sentiments, its border location and its historical associations no doubt playing a role in its choice for this purpose.

Archaeologies of Plantation: the Early Modern Irish/Scottish border

By the late 16th century, the Highlands and Islands had become established as a problem region in the eyes of the Scottish Crown – a part of the kingdom which exercised too much autonomy of action in the eyes of a centralising government. James VI, first as King of Scotland and, from 1603, as King of both Scotland and England, embarked on a series of projects to bring this problem region to heel. Amongst these was a programme of Plantation.

Earlier in the 16th century, the English Crown had turned to Plantation as a strategy through which it might expand and consolidate its authority over Ireland. Towards the end of the century, Scotland began to consider Plantation as a means of expanding its control of the western Highlands and Islands: in 1597, Parliament approved the creation of Plantations in Kintyre, Lochaber and Lewis. The idea was to grant these areas to loyal subjects who would transplant loyal tenants from other parts of Scotland and tie the interests of the western seaboard more closely to those of the wider kingdom by commercialising the local economy, thus making the local population dependant on a stable relationship with wider markets. Although the Scottish plantations were authorised in 1597, it took several decades for them to become a reality and, after 1603, the project was more emphatically pursued as an attempt to take a joined-up approach to the Highland and Irish problems: the Plantation of Ulster from the early 17th century and the contemporary plantations of Kintyre, Lochaber and Lewis represent a concerted effort to control a resistant North Channel and Atlantic border zone.

On the Scottish side, sporadic efforts to plant Lewis, particularly by Lowlanders from Fife, met with local resistance and a general lack of support from the kindreds of the west coast and the islands. The plantation town of Stornaway finally appeared in 1628. In Lochaber, the small town of Gordonsburgh was created in 1618, and later re-named Fort William. In Kintyre, the burgh of Lochhead – now Campbeltown – was created by the Crown undertaker in the region, the Campbell earl of Argyll. Kintyre in particular also saw significant rural plantation, involving the granting of land to Lowland landowners and to members of the Campbell kindred, and the settlement of non-local farming tenants. The main phase of this Lowland plantation seems to have begun around 1650.

Understanding of the Ulster Plantation, and the other Irish plantations, has benefitted in recent years from a significant amount of archaeological research. This work has done much to enhance knowledge of the empirical details of plantation and to interpret the Irish plantations in terms of

their material implementation and their meaning for the lives of those involved (Scottish, English, Gaelic Irish, Anglo-Irish or otherwise). This archaeological work has done much to reveal the complexities of the social, cultural, political and economic relationships characterising Plantation-era Ireland. And it indicates the potential for analysis of the plantations on the Scottish side of the North Channel, on which there has, so far, been little archaeological work¹⁴. Archaeological investigation of these west coast plantations could do much to elucidate the material and practical means by which the Scottish and British states worked to extend their authority and to pacify and stabilise their borders in the Early Modern era. The archaeology of the Scottish plantations could also do much to develop our understanding of relationships between state and people on the ground, in different localities, and to explore the similarities, differences and connections between plantations in different parts of Scotland and on both sides of the North Channel.



Figure 18: Aerial view of Campbeltown. Archibald, Early of Argyll, choose this as the location for a new settlement – a Plantation of ‘Lowland men and trafficking burgesses’ (McKerral 1948, 24) – developed at the head of the loch from 1609 onwards. The Plantation town centred on a new castle and was part of a programme of initiatives designed to bring to heel this part of Argyll, traditionally associated with MacDonalDs and other kindreds who, in the eyes of the Crown, had been acting a little too independently. The creation of Campbeltown and the wider Plantation of Kintyre should be understood in the context of wider efforts by the Scottish and, after 1603, combined British authorities to pacify and control Scotland’s western seaboard and those parts of Ireland to which it was intimately linked.

14

but see <http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/archaeologyresearch/battlefieldarchaeology/centreprojects/fortwilliamandinverloch2007/>

Borders should be seen from both sides and considered both in terms of their permeability and their meaning as physical, political, social and cultural divides. There are opportunities here for collaborating across Scotland's borders to gain a fuller understanding of border zones by working with researchers on the other side of the line.

In concert with an analysis of Scotland's dynamic borders, the ways in which the state sought to pacify the territories within its borders, suppressing perceived or actual internal discontent and opposition, should be considered. Additionally, the ways in which the state sought to defend itself against external threats, and the impacts of the 'sense of threat' created by the tangible daily presence of defensive structures and features in the landscape should be a focus of research. In this, future research can build on the recent upsurge of interest and activity in battlefield and conflict activity in Scotland (see Pollard & Banks 2010 for a review). The field of conflict archaeology is relatively new, developing rapidly over the last two decades in Scotland and the U.K. In relation to the question of national defence, the CBA 'Defence of Britain' project¹⁵ has established a baseline record, in particular for the extensive remains of World War II, including anti-invasion defences, practice works and training establishments, airfields and other infrastructure of a country on a war footing. In many cases entire landscapes were militarised, often on land acquired through compulsory purchase by the state. Some were demilitarised after the war, while others have remained active as restricted, militarised areas. The 'Atlantic Wall' on Sherriffmuir (Cowley *et al.* 1999), for instance, presents itself today as a landscape-scale complex of archaeological remains which provide a unique insight into the preparations for the D-day landings: high on moorland above Stirling the defences on the Atlantic coast of France were recreated for the training of troops, with

a sinuous track and rectangular platforms marking the shore and representing landing craft and, further up the 'beach', there is a section of reinforced concrete wall with associated bunkers and other features, pock-marked with impact craters and, in one place, completely demolished. In contrast, the Kirkcudbright Training Area in Galloway, comprising 19 square km of ground acquired by the War Department in 1942 and used extensively for tank training and testing, remains an active facility. Since the 1940s, this landscape has been used extensively for weapons-testing and training purposes. Its redundant facilities, where they survive, are a rich vein of information for a facility for which documentation and oral records are remarkably hard to come by (partly because of deliberate policies of secrecy which led to the systematic destruction of historic records and partly through casual loss/elimination as such material was seen as an irrelevant reminder and unnecessary encumbrance).

Internal pacification includes military conflicts such as those associated with the Jacobite wars (not confined to Scotland, of course) and lower-level, but no less significant, conflicts associated with industrial unrest and episodes such as the Land Wars. In cases such as these, and in others such as the clan battles and skirmishes of the earlier part of the period, the state collaborated with certain sections of civil society, who acted both in their own interests and as agents of that wider power. Undoubtedly the best known example of punitive action carried out by local forces serving the crown (but also settling long-standing local grievances) was the Massacre of Glencoe. The sites of settlements which were the scenes of such events (such as Glencoe or the old town of Inveraray, which was sacked in 1645) should rank alongside battlefield sites as subjects for further investigation.

National defence and external conflict has taken many forms during the modern period, extending from conflict with Tudor England at the start of our period (when Scotland was

¹⁵ <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/cba/projects/dob>

the Vietnam of its day, the location for a proxy war between the two superpowers of England and France (Caldwell and Ewart 1998)) through to the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. Barracks, forts and other material manifestations of such defence and conflict have been studied for some time, especially those originating in the earlier modern centuries (e.g. Tabraham and Grove 1995). More recently, greater attention has been paid to the remains of defence and conflict in the more recent past, including those of the Second World War.

Taking a critical and subtle approach to issues of internal and external conflict requires us to look beyond the empirical facts of military and civil tension to consider their cultural and social meanings and effects. For example, how important was the materiality of defence to the creation of a sense of (Scottish and/or British) nationhood? Was the presence of defence installations crucial to the creation of a sense of opposition to and fear of the Other, often crucial to the generation of a sense of national self? Taking a critical stance towards issues of state pacification and defence also requires us to question the simplicity of any historical narrative which implies the inevitability of the extension of state control and to consider the actions and processes of state from a number of different perspectives, writing more than one version of this history.

5.3 *Embedding and evading the state in civil life*

The archaeology of the state cannot be reduced to a consideration of conflict alone and archaeological research allows reflection on the peace-time relationships characterising the modern state. Archaeology's material perspective brings with it a capacity to understand the importance of frequent, small-scale and localised interactions in the construction of the modern state. As throughout, the key here will be approaching questions of the state in ways which are archaeologically meaningful. What was the role of the material world in implicating the

state in people's everyday lives? How did people respond to the state, through the medium of their material environment? How did the state manifest itself and extend its remit and authority through things, places and landscapes? What was the pervasiveness of the state at different times and in different places, and how did it effect the selves and relationships of persons, families and communities?

Research can consider questions of religion and belief, exploring the ways in which the post-Reformation national church was manifested in people's lives and the ways in which people engaged with this church or sought to pursue other, non-conformist paths. A material perspective on state and religion might consider attempts to codify, legislate and control the practices of burial, it might consider church artefacts and architecture as means through which the established church was constituted and it might consider material manifestations of alternative practices of faith. For the latter end of the modern period in particular, analysis has to extend beyond Christian denominations to consider relationships between the state and the many religions and beliefs found in modern Scotland: Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and others. How has the relationship of state and faith(s) changed through time, from the immediate pre-Reformation era through to present?

Consideration should be given to state-managed landscapes as media through which the state has manifested itself, engaged with the world and entered into people's lives. Included here are Crown hunting reserves, the 20th-century national forest estate, military ranges and state-controlled heritage landscapes. Also included are state-sponsored interventions in privately-owned landscapes, such as the Crown-promoted development of iron production in the Highlands in the Early Modern era and associated activities of woodland management for charcoal production (Atkinson 2003; Photos-Jones *et al.* 1998), as

well as the promotion of cash-crop forestry in the national interest (on woodland and forest history cf. Smout 2003; Smout, MacDonald & Watson 2005). There is great potential here for work drawing on archaeological and historical evidence, and on palaeo-ecological sources and the ‘living archaeology’ of the trees themselves. And some of the most exciting potential lies in considering questions of the state in relation to the experiences and routines of those who lived and worked in rural industrial and woodland/forest contexts (e.g. recent archaeological work in relation to the WWII-era forestry camps and operations of the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit (Sneddon 2007).

Archaeological research can provide insights into the history of modern law and order and the processes and practices whereby state judicial and administrative authority was extended throughout the country. In approaching questions of the nature and meaning of state authority, research can explore institutional architecture as a technology of control (e.g. Markus 1993; Markus 1982) and it can establish how the state administered and extended its functions in practice, through taxation, policing, surveillance and the monopolisation of violence. Conversely, we might consider the materialities of smuggling and tax evasion, civil disobedience and other ways in which the authority of the state was resisted or denied. Some salt-making sites in the West of Scotland, for instance, appear to have been

set up to evade salt duties, and illicit whisky distilling was common in the later 18th and earlier 19th centuries (see box case study below). It should also be noted that the limits or failings of the state ‘project’ can be explored through the material aspects of the state itself, if we look at them in a different light. In studying Scotland’s forts, barracks and military roads, for instance, we tend to focus on their origins in the Jacobite period, and pay less attention to their afterlives as infrastructure in the war against illicit economies. After the ‘45, these barracks and roads continued in use in an attempt to suppress the illicit distilling and smuggling which became rife in parts of Scotland at that time; the fact that these barracks and roads continued in use in this way is testimony not so much to the power of the state, but its ineffectiveness in certain areas.

In many cases, of course, people engaged with the state and supported it, consciously and actively or tacitly, and we should consider the meaning of the state in terms of the opportunities it created. The excavators of the 18th-century township of Easter Raitts in Badenoch, for example, have argued that an increase in animal accommodation there can be explained as a response to the presence of the military installation at Ruthven Barracks nearby and the proximity of the township to the military road servicing that garrison – the township’s inhabitants providing stabling and perhaps other services to travellers on the road (Lelong & Wood 2000).

Archaeologies of tax evasion: illicit whisky distilling

According to the authorities and to the intellectuals who wrote our sources for the 18th and 19th centuries, the Scottish state was to be a well-ordered and fully-controlled exemplar of Improvement and Enlightenment. The experience of the people in the towns and townships was, of course, very different. How did they negotiate attempts to transform their lives and identities? What about ‘everyday resistance’ – those minor acts of pilfering, sabotage and tax evasion by which people affirm their own agency and power in the face of authority? (Scott 1990).

Archaeology’s concern with ordinary daily practices across the social spectrum, and its unique ability to access them, provides a real opportunity to address these issues. Caches of alcohol bottles in a

prison, smugglers' secret paths and brandy holes – all of these speak not just to personal economic benefit but the negotiation of new identities and the maintenance of pride and self-respect.

A particularly striking example of this is illicit whisky distilling. With progressive hikes in taxes and duties across the 18th century, illicit whisky became cheaper to produce and pleasanter to drink than the legal variety. It also provided the distillers with the necessary means to pay their rents, now that commercially-minded landlords were demanding cash rents in place of rent in kind. By the 1820s, the quantities of illicit whisky being distilled were colossal: some 4,000 stills were being confiscated each year in Aberdeenshire alone (Devine 1994, 119-26).

The archaeology of illicit whisky distilling is still in its infancy but, even so, the work which has been done has made it clear that the distillers were creating a social landscape that emphasised sense of community, continuities with past rhythms of daily life, and their own agency and power (Given 2004, 138-166). To the people who used them, the material aspects of distilling – jugs and condensing worms, bothies and kilns, platforms and paths – were intensely important for their sense of self and community.

Contrary to later romantic stereotypes, the stills were not in remote and lonely locations, but typically 20–30 minutes' walk from the nearest settlement. They were served by well-used paths and regular patterns of movements between lowland and upland that preserved the daily and seasonal habits of the pre-Improvement landscape. Their hidden locations in ravines, under outcrops or on islands created a landscape of local knowledge, where community members could tell (often in Gaelic) stories mocking those ignorant outsiders, the gaugers who knew neither landscape nor language.



Figure 19: The archaeological remains of an illicit whisky still, nestled next to a burn on a hillside. Water was necessary for the distilling process and this, in part, appears to determine the landscape location of such stills. However, their location was also conditioned by the need to be within reach of the settled area of the landscape but also hidden from the gaze of the authorities. Distilling sites like this would have been a matter of local knowledge, forming part of a landscape of meaning as well as one of production. © RCAHMS

5.4 Being Scottish, or being something else

Research into the archaeology of modern Scotland should explore notions of Scottishness and the interaction of Scottish, British and other (local, regional, national, religious, cultural, political, class etc.) identities and ideologies.

What is the material culture of national identity and what does material culture tell us about complex ideas of nationhood and their varied and contested history? Current research at National Museums Scotland, for example, is investigating the development of national engineering styles in Scotland, and elsewhere, and much work has already been done to identify the distinctive nature of engineering diasporas (Buchanan 1986; Marsden & Smith 2005). Distinctions can be drawn here between Scottish and other forms of identity, or between different forms of Scottishness: archival material, especially sales brochures and plans, suggests that many railway companies and machine tool manufacturers identified themselves as North British either for ideological or commercial purposes. Moving from the factory to the home, some recent work has sought to explore issues of national identity through the decoration of mass-produced ceramics (especially in relation to depictions of 'national' scenes) (see for example Brooks 1997; 1999).

It will be important to remain critical here. Is modern material culture better understood in terms of identity or of ideology (ideas and concepts mobilised in relation to power and politics)? Is national identity irrelevant in analysing most material culture (and what does that tell us about the significance and meaning of ideas of nationhood)? In considering questions of identity, there is a tendency to focus on difference, and consideration of difference should be balanced with consideration of similarities across apparent social and cultural divides. Explicit attempts to restructure people's

nationhood (often through legislation) and how this has been resisted should also be explored.

There is a need to consider the multiple, complex, contradictory, shifting and fluid nature of cultural, social and political identities, and to consider how these were manifested, represented, contested and conditioned by the material worlds which people inhabited. To take one example, research can shed light on the material history of the nature of Gaelic and Scottish identities and ideologies and their interaction in the modern period. While it is important to avoid the easy perpetuation of cultural caricatures and the idea that there is such a thing as a homogenous and bounded Gaelic or Scottish culture, it is the case that perceptions of cultural distinctiveness have been significant in conditioning people's beliefs about and actions towards each other. Perceptions of a separate Gaelic/Highland culture began to emerge in the Middle Ages and took on new form in the Renaissance, Enlightenment and Romantic periods (Withers 1992). This 'outside' perspective assumed a distinct, separate Gaelic Other, whether positively conceived as the cultural essence of Scotland or negatively perceived as a wild and to-be-feared cultural counter-balance to the civilised society of the east and south of the country (those areas under the closer control of the Scottish state). From the Gaelic side, shared oral traditions and historical narratives have contributed to the development and persistence of a sense of separation from and opposition to a Lowland culture, society and political establishment (See for example Newton 2009). Rather than taking these perceptions of bounded separation as beyond question, current thinking should explore the materialities of their generation and their effects and consider the evidence which points to more multiple, fluid and hybrid identities in the modern past.

Consideration should also be given to allegiance, which is linked to but not the same as identity. Current research¹⁶ is looking at Jacobite-era material culture, for example, and its role in defining and maintaining allegiances in uncertain times, whether pro-William medallions or Jacobite glasses used to toast the 'king across the water'. And research can develop understanding of foreign stylistic influences on Scottish material culture and architecture and the significance and meanings of these influences as they relate to political and cultural allegiances. An example here is work on Scottish castles, considered by one author to be more appropriately labelled *Scottish Chateaux* (McKean 2001).

¹⁶ i.e. PhD research by Jennifer Novotny, University of Glasgow
(<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/archaeologyresearch/researchstudents/jennovotny/#d.en.122286>)

Being British, being somebody else

At St Mary's kirkyard on Rousay, Orkney, is a military memorial erected to the memory of Private H. Reid who died in 1917 at the age of 23 (see Tarlow 1999, 157-8). Most casualties of the Great War are buried in military graveyards, and this type of memorial is thus most common in those contexts. In this case, however, the individual concerned died convalescing on Orkney and the burial took place in a local graveyard.

Because Private Reid's gravestone was of a standard type issued by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), it follows the normal first World War pattern of having only a rank, serial number and first initial, together with the name of his regiment and a short epitaph chosen from a list (in this case 'Their memory hallowed in the land they loved'). The ornamentation on the stone is restricted to the regimental badge and a religious symbol (a cross). Private Reid is commemorated here as a soldier and his identity is tied to the wider corporate body of his regiment and of the army. The epitaph further emphasises this corporate identity ('Their memory . . .') and links Reid to those others who have died at war and to the nation for which they fought ('the land they loved').

There is no information on this memorial about Private Reid's home, his personality, his family and their feelings, their hopes for his eternal life or for meeting him again. These sentiments are common on civilian monuments of the period but absent from this military memorial, with its corporate and national focus. In Private Reid's case, the family attempted to make up for this by adding his name to the adjacent gravestone of his mother (who died in 1894, either while giving birth to him or soon afterwards). Here, 'Private H. Reid' is remembered simply as 'Harry', and his identity is that of a son. This memorial gives the names of both of his parents and his place of death.

This example shows how commemoration chooses to accentuate a particular aspect of a person's social being. In the case of CWGC monuments, like the community war memorials that exist throughout Scotland, that aspect was as a member of a large corporate and national whole, rather than an individualised person. These monuments materialise and contribute to the creation of persons as components of a national body. This was not always adequate to mourning families who preferred to individualise their dead and relate them to their family.



Figure 20: The CWGC memorial for H. Reid (left) and the Reid family memorial (right) to which his name has been added. Westray, orkney. Photograph courtesy of Sarah Tarlow

5.5 Research Recommendations

Future research should:

- *Develop critical understanding of the modern nation and state by researching their construction through the material environment and in practice.* Archaeologies of modern Scotland can and should engage with questions of nation and state, providing a valuable material perspective on their historical emergence and development. To contribute to understandings of this topic, archaeologists should take a critical stance towards questions of nation and state, treating them as historical subjects: not inevitable nor unchangeable, but originating and developing in particular historical circumstances; and not simply a backdrop against which life was lived, but networks of relationships constructed, enacted and contested by living actors.
- *Challenge simplistic, essentialist understandings of nation and state by producing alternative histories which evidence the multiple ways these terms took on meaning for people and the many different ways in which people have related to nation and state in the modern world.* There is more than one modern Scotland and there are multiple ways of being Scottish. Research should also evidence the complex relationships between Scotland and Scottishness, on the one hand, and other co-ordinates of nation and state, on the other, and it should provide insights into historical interactions between nation and state and other reference points of identity and being.
- *Analyse the materialisation and effects of borders, the internal ordering of the state and actions relating to external defence.* How were borders implemented or circumvented in practice? What were the material, cultural, social and economic impacts of the existence of borders and of their changing character? How was the state constructed and ordered within its borders? Material histories of internal pacification, the extension of state authority and control throughout the country and engagement with or resistance to these processes will make a valuable contribution to understandings of modern Scotland. And what can the archaeology of national defence tell us, both in terms of the military aspects of defence but also in terms of the impacts of state defensive measures and features on daily life within Scotland?
- *Determine how the state has come to be embedded in everyday life.* What was the role of material culture in integrating the state in people's everyday lives? How did people respond to the state, through the medium of their material environment? How did the state manifest itself and extend its remit and authority through things, places and landscapes? What was the pervasiveness of the state at different times and in different places, and how did it affect the selves and relationships of persons, families and communities? These questions might be addressed through the archaeology of religion and belief, through the archaeology of state-managed landscapes, through archaeologies of administration, taxation, policing, surveillance and the monopolisation of violence. They might be addressed through archaeologies of smuggling and tax evasion, civil disobedience and other ways in which the authority of the state was resisted or denied.
- *Provide insights into the historical character of Scottishness and into interactions between Scottish, British and other identities and ideologies.* What is the material culture of national identity and what does material culture tell us about the complexities of ideas of nationhood and their varied and contested history? How has Scottishness related to other identities of locality, region, nation, religion, language, culture, politics, class, gender etc.? Is national identity relevant in the interpretation of most aspects of modern life? Archaeology is well-placed to consider the

materialities and practices of situated, multiple, complex, contradictory, shifting and fluid cultural, social and political identities and allegiances.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on questions of nation and state as they relate to modern Scotland. This perspective will be achieved by understanding the material history of modern relationships of nation and state and their interaction with other aspects of self and society.

6. People and Things

6.1 Introduction

People make things. Archaeologists over the last twenty years have increasingly recognised also that things make people; that is, that identities, relationships, aspirations and understandings are created and articulated through material culture. The importance attributed to consumption and acquisition complements the traditional emphasis on production and distribution in the study of artefacts. In order to capture the human and social significance of artefacts, and to move beyond discussions of description and typology, the ScARF Modern Panel have adopted 'artefact biography' as an interpretive tool that allows a fuller contextualisation of the object. This approach considers not only the technological, stylistic and economic factors informing production, but extends inquiry into the consumption, use and deployment of material culture, and into the reuse, adaptation and eventual discard of artefacts.

Material culture is the traditional stuff of archaeology. Artefacts of the modern period are recovered in large quantities from excavations and populate museums and collections throughout Scotland, as well as being curated by private individuals. Museums have extensive collections of material culture and there is already good understanding of major categories of artefacts including silver, pewter, glass, tobacco pipes, ceramics, furniture, weapons, numismatics, jewellery, dress, and textiles. The range of techniques for analysis has widened considerably over recent years and many materials can now be dated and provenanced through chemical analysis, and their use lives

can be studied through residue analysis and other techniques¹⁷.

One of the problems generating discussion and debate at present is the matter of how to deal with the very large quantities of material culture that are typically produced during the excavation of sites dating to this period. Better strategies for selecting, sampling, recording, retaining and conserving this material are sorely needed. To develop those strategies, a sound understanding is needed of the ultimate research aims of selection, retention and curation practices: to understand what to keep, when, how and by whom, it is necessary to understand why it is being kept.

What can artefacts tell us about the modern past? This chapter seeks to provoke answers to that question by considering the life history of the object. This life story begins with production (from the sourcing of raw materials through to finished product) and moves through distribution and consumption, repair and re-use, to discard and deposition. The study of material culture involves both the analysis of large-scale mass production, wide-scale distribution of commodities and the quantitative analysis of materials recovered from the archaeological record, and the detailed study of the history and meanings of individual things. Future research will need to consider how best to articulate the various possible scales of analysis (on which, see chapter 3 'Global Localities'). A recent approach to this issue is the application of network theory to archaeological distributions: what do the patterns evident in the distribution of things, or in the spread of ways of making or using

¹⁷ For discussion of a wider range of techniques, the Science Panel SCARF document should be consulted.

them, say about relationships between people?¹⁸

The relationship between the way that artefacts, goods and commodities are produced, distributed and consumed and the development of modern economic systems – first mercantilism and later capitalism – is another important focus of enquiry. Similarly, the development of new transport networks is intimately involved with the changing scale of production in the modern period.

Much expertise is now available to aid the identification of the processes of production. Attention to the factors informing consumption is more recent in archaeology. The later phases of an artefact's life – its use, repair or adaptation, re-use and discard – have been less extensively considered, although they hold great potential for the understanding of some of the central processes of modernity: consumerism, capitalism, individualism and Improvement, for example.

6.2 Production and technology

Studies of technology (at work, at home, elsewhere) have the potential to prove informative. The centrality of technology to modern life is commonly acknowledged yet, often, technology is researched in isolation from people (e.g. in the more old-fashioned kind of industrial archaeology). Technologies always exist in relation to people and *vice versa*; a focus on technological relationships leads research in fruitful new directions.

Industrially-produced material culture of the modern period is often recovered in large quantities from archaeological sites, and for the most part it does not set the pulse racing.

However, even the least glamorous of nineteenth-century finds can be revelatory of the ways in which changes in technology enabled new forms and both answered and enabled changing values, attitudes and tastes. Window glass is a pertinent example. The replacement of small, irregular, seeded panes of broadsheet glass by high quality, crown, cylinder or ultimately plate glass of high transparency was the result of developments in glass technology (Charlton 1984, Tarlow 2007). In turn it enabled the large shop windows without which the window display – an important element of the consumer revolution – would not have happened (Girouard 1990). It also permitted the characteristic sash windows of polite Georgian architecture which encouraged the development of landscapes designed to be viewed from the house, and the kind of light interiors that demonstrated taste and gentility (Louw 1993).

The ascendancy of mass production is evident not only in artefacts themselves but also in the places where they were made (e.g. the replacement of small-scale production spaces within the house by factories), and in the tools for their manufacture.

Production did not always produce artefacts: other kinds of commodity, such as metal, chemicals, fuels or foodstuffs were mass-produced through new or refined industrial processes. In turn, many of those commodities facilitated the enhanced production of secondary goods. The extraction of far greater quantities of coal, for example, enabled the production of steel goods and powered factory machinery which produced many manufactured goods of all kinds of material. The emergence of the panhouse method of salt production in the late 15th and 16th centuries involved the development of efficient industrial-scale coalburning systems coupled with the manufacture and maintenance of very large waterproof iron pans made of riveted iron plates, housed in purpose-built industrial works, and requiring major capital investment

¹⁸ A current example of this kind of approach in archaeology, albeit in an earlier period and far from Scotland, is the 'Tracing Networks' project (<http://www.tracingnetworks.org/content/web/inproduction.jsp>)

by its owners and round-the-clock shiftworking by its workers. The requirement for large quantities of plate iron may have both stimulated and reflected Scottish-Baltic contacts, while the demand for coal was a major stimulus for the development of that industry; the production and export (to England and to much of northern Europe) of large quantities of clean white salt produced major capital accumulations which could then be circulated within the Scottish economy, as well as having substantial implications for the balance of trade, for agriculture, and for long-distance trade and seafaring. However the implications for the workforce were less positive; as already noted, the indispensable nature (genuine or alleged) of the symbiotic coal-salt industries led to the introduction of lifetime bonded labour for colliers and salters.

Mass production favoured specialisation within the productive process so that craftspeople no longer personally took the production of artefacts through from raw material to finished good. Instead, factory organisation of production separated the elements of manufacture, an efficiency propounded by economic theorists such as Adam Smith. Yet there were also a range of productive modes between artisan craft production and assembly-line Fordism, including 'putting out' and home workshop production, as well as the persistence of traditional craft methods. Archaeology can potentially say how far the workers themselves determined production processes, and how designed industrial systems were adapted.

A series of waves of new transport forms broke across the country in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from the development of toll (and military) roads, to the excavation of canals and finally the arrival of the railway. The development of the railway network, in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, brought vast changes. These included the standardization of time across the country, vastly increased mobility of

people and goods and the accelerated dissemination of ideas through the increased circulation of newspapers and correspondence.

6.3 Consumption

The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century massively increased the quantity of material goods and made them more accessible to a wider range of people. The global distribution of, for example, Staffordshire ceramics, found everywhere from Tasmania to the Hebrides, is one of the respects in which this period differs from any earlier archaeological period. This emphasises the inappropriateness of simplistic associations between distinctive material culture items or assemblages and the precise or even general nature of cultural influence. Nobody would argue, for example, that the adoption of Chinese style tea wares meant that the inhabitants of 18th-century Inverness were in any way 'Chinese'.

It has been argued that in order for the industrial revolution to take place a consumer revolution was a necessary precedent. The relative significance of the push of manufacturers and their marketers, against the pull from consumers is disputed, but historical work on consumption in early modern times (e.g. McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb 1982) needs to be considered in any approach to material culture.

The consumption of mass-produced goods has already become a topic of debate in Scottish archaeology, between those (e.g. Emery 1996; 1999; 2000) who see the emergence of mass produced goods as indicating the emergence of 'mass culture' (i.e. a situation where formerly diverse groups and communities, with localised ways of life, were swamped by a standardised, universal way of life) and those whose work explicitly or implicitly disputes this (e.g. Barker 2005; Cheape 1993; Fleming 2000; Webster 1999), pointing to local variability in 'consumer choice' and in cooking and dining habits and

to the continuation of certain localised traditions in ceramic production. The key difference here is between those who see people as passively adopting fashion and those who see the person-thing relationship as a meaningful one. Further work on the nature, meaning and use of mass-produced goods could inform understanding of the role of such goods in the construction of modern lives.

Colin Campbell (1987) has argued that people in the modern period construct themselves through the consumption of material goods. The material goods consumed help to realise and express a self in relation to others. Other goods were not about individual ownership, but were valued for their significance in linking people together as a community or signifying allegiance.

The increase in the popularity of metal detecting over the last decade or so has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of finds relating to the medieval and modern periods. These finds are largely those of individual possessions, including dress accessories and items of a similar personal

nature. While many of these objects follow the general trends of a consumer society there are also clear patterns where individuals or groups use these objects to construct a wider social identity. The most obvious example of this can be found with political objects – both medals and dress accessories – which appear to have been particularly popular from the 17th and 18th centuries. Often bearing the image of a monarch or a slogan these are an example of an object whose meaning – approving or otherwise – depended wholly on the social context in which it was used. As a wider issue such objects address not just personal identity, but of the relationship to state and society.

A highly visible trend from the 17th century onwards is the increased import of cheap and affordable goods from the Low Countries and Nuremberg, including knives, fashion items and, on a more functional level, weight sets. The wide appearance of inexpensive children's toys is also a constant of this period and demonstrates not just a market economy but social expectations of gender roles.

Cups that cheer and cups that intoxicate: material cultures of tea and whisky

With food, drink and drugs, the archaeologist finds not the product itself but the material culture associated with its manufacture and consumption. In the modern period the consumption of drinks is mostly evident in the vessels used to transport, store, prepare and serve them and in traces of their manufacture. Tea was an imported commodity which nevertheless came to have a central role in structuring social interactions. Scotch whisky is also famous around the world, and was consumed at home too, although not always acquired from legitimate, duty-paying distilleries (see box case study above on 'Archaeologies of tax evasion').

In the past archaeologists have sometimes preferred to look at the consumption of food and drink in terms of economically rational decisions, 'optimising' strategies for the ingestion of calories and the fulfilment of nutritional needs. But the contrast between whisky and tea consumption demonstrates that eating and drinking are social, cultural and ideological acts. Choosing to drink tea, rather than whisky, wine or beer, could be based on class identity or aspiration (and tea wares were produced to emphasise the respectability of this choice). The display of tea wares, as Webster has noted for the Hebrides (Webster 1999), signals adherence to a set of cultural values. The consumption of whisky, by contrast, has had associations with a different kind of identity – possibly an anti-authority kind of Scottishness.

The consumption of alcohol or of non-alcoholic drink is meaningful and archaeologists are well-placed to examine those meanings because of their traditional concern for context.

There is thus a background of a consumer society with a wide variety of goods easily available, but it also raises the attendant question of how and why such objects could be used. A clear example is the use of weight sets imported from Nuremberg which are in continental standards which would have been a technical infringement of burgh regulations. Their appearance suggests a rather more innovative concept of enterprise than that practised by the closed shop of the burghs. While it may be tempting to contextualise this as a model of resistance, such incidents are more likely individuals exercising opportunities afforded to them by the easy availability of such goods.

In spite of the wide availability of such items there was often a conscious choice whether or not they would be used. In the Gàidhealtachd at least, there remains a distinct regional culture of dress into the 18th century, typified by the large annular brooches called 'Highland brooches' in antiquarian writings. These were homemade items, often given as betrothal gifts or used as amulets. That they were preferentially used even in a society which was a keen consumer of imported fashion items, suggests an accommodation of both local and regional cultural values.

The actual use of artefacts and their complex social functions enables archaeologists to challenge or nuance the historiography of modern consumerism: Was there in fact a 'consumer revolution'? How revolutionary was it? Does consumption in modernity differ in nature or just in scale (or neither) from what went before? How much do consumer aspirations vary across social class, and in different parts of the country?

6.4 Use, repair, adaptive re-use and discard

As material culture became more plentiful and more easily accessible over the period one would expect to see less evidence of re-

use and repair, since replacement was presumably easier. Does that in fact happen? Where is there evidence of repair and adaptive re-use? Does this signify poverty? Or remoteness from markets? Or sentimental or symbolic value? What is the role of fashion in the decision to retain and repair rather than discard and buy new?

The artefact biography approach also encourages one to consider the whole 'lifetime' of an object, including the new meanings that it acquires when, for example, it becomes part of a museum collection, or constitutes archaeological evidence. Some artefacts such as religious objects (communion tokens, pilgrimage medals etc.) and souvenirs (war medals, personal jewellery) may become heirlooms and can be adapted for display in various ways.

When examining and interpreting artefacts it is important to be aware of the context in which they are used. The donations of female clothing provided the rich materials out of which Catholic vestments could be created (see Holroyd 2007; Dransart and Bogdan 2004). There is a certain irony that clothing worn by women was used to create vestments for priests to perform the mystery of the mass, when women themselves were regarded as unclean and the priests celibate. The custom of donating secular vessels for religious purposes resulted in a change of use and significance for the artefact.



Figure 21: Silver communion cup from Ellon Kirk, Aberdeenshire ©NMS

Beakers made of pewter or silver for personal reasons might commemorate a particular event or stage in the life-cycle, but their meaning and purpose changed when they were donated to become communion beakers used in the administration of the Lord's Supper (Burns 1892). For example, in the National Museum of Scotland is a silver beaker which was made in Amsterdam, sold in Aberdeen and then donated to Ellon parish church for use at communion in 1634 (see den Blaauwen 1979). A second beaker with a similar design was made in Aberdeen and donated to the church in 1642.

Material culture is most frequently recovered from its context of discard. Consumption patterns in the modern era, involving the acquisition of goods in far greater quantity than before, and their more frequent replacement, encouraged by the pace and reach of fashion and enabled by a general rise in affluence, led to a dramatic increase in volume of discarded material. Whereas

previous generations of archaeologists often failed to analyse sufficiently the processes whereby material evidence entered the archaeological record (see Binford's 1981 critique of this) current researchers are now aware that attitudes towards waste management, cleanliness, what constitutes rubbish and so on are themselves interesting cultural questions. It is also important for archaeologists of this period to investigate the relationship between the cost of material and the ease with which an object can be replaced, and the evidence for repair and re-use. How far is a decision to jettison an object one of economic rationality and how far is it related to a new set of values that encourage disposal and replacement (a 'disposable culture') instead of reuse and repair?

Not all material culture ends up discarded or broken. Some is carefully curated, or may be rediscovered decades, centuries or even millennia after their period of practical use. Periods of scholarly analysis or public display are also part of the biography of artefacts.

The Newcomen Engine from Caprington Colliery in Ayrshire now resides in National Museums Scotland as a symbol of Scotland's industrial heritage. The engine is a composite of two pumping engines supplied to the Caprington Estate in 1781 and 1811, by the Carron Ironworks. A section of pipe is all that remains of the original engine and it is not clear when it was fitted to the later model. When the 1811 engine ceased operation in 1901, it was the last atmospheric pumping engine in Scotland, and following two years of debate, it was preserved by the Burgh of Kilmarnock and erected behind the Dick Institute. By the 1950s, when many of the timber components began to rot, the Institute invited the Newcomen Society to assist with finding a suitable location for it. The Bergbau Museum in Bochum, Germany, accepted the object but could not raise the funds to transport it. The Royal Museum (now National Museums Scotland) acquired it and kept it in storage for thirty years. When the Museum was extended in the 1990s, the

object was displayed at the expense of the earlier Boulton and Watt rotative engine. The Newcomen's Scottish provenance; built by the Carron Ironworks, Scotland's first commercial industrial enterprise and used at an Ayrshire Colliery was deemed more

appropriate for the then Museum of Scotland than an English example of the work of one of Scotland's most celebrated engineers, James Watt.

Private ownership and the cash economy on St Kilda

The remote archipelago of St Kilda (or Hirta) was finally abandoned in 1930, but has an extensive historiography and indeed ethnography, thanks to visitors' accounts between the late seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. Fleming (Fleming 2000) characterises the historiography as predominantly evoking St Kildan society as one characterised by communitarian styles of living, traditional knowledge and a high degree of isolation from the rest of the world – seen as a way of life which allowed the islanders to survive inhospitable extremes of climate and environment. A communal style of work and very limited participation in the money economy were of key importance. Fleming's critical examination of this way of characterising the St Kilda way of life, which might be described as a 'micro-archaeology', centred on the large number of locks found in association with the houses and 'cleitean' (store houses) on St Kilda. The locks are traditional wooden tumbler locks as well as more modern sprung locks and were imported or locally made. In either case they require careful maintenance and represent an investment of money, time and energy to acquire install and maintain. Reviewing historical sources, Fleming suggests that the islanders were locking their doors because they had caches of valuables and/or money which they wished to keep secret even from other islanders. He suggests that their participation in cash exchange was far more extensive than their historians suggest and that islanders deliberately pretended to a naivety about money in order to perpetuate a stereotype of St Kildans as exotic and unsophisticated, which actually worked to their advantage in economic exchanges. The locks of St Kilda thus signify not only knowledge of and manipulation of capitalist exchange but also potentially undermine the myth of egalitarian and communal existence.

Objects on the battlefield

Battlefields represent unique contexts of deposition, not just because of the nature of the artefacts deposited but also the nature of the work that many of them were being put to – the killing of people. Given that an increasing number of archaeological projects carried out on battlefields, and related sites such as forts, have produced a large number of artefacts, many of them in large numbers for the first time, it is imperative that studies of these new classes of material culture are advanced. Experimental archaeology has a key role to play here. For example, the use of replica Brown Bess muskets at the Centre for Battlefield Archaeology has made a valuable contribution to current understanding of the properties of musket balls and is now providing an insight into what the various types of damage displayed by them represent (for instance one particular type of impact damage was previously thought to have been caused by the ball striking a bone or other target which created a concave depression as it 'wrapped' around it – it is now known that these balls were damaged in this way as they drove their way into stony ground after missing their target). Such artefact studies are new and perhaps going through the same period of development that lithic studies did twenty years ago. This process is however essential, as the basic characteristics of such instruments need to be known before meaningful conclusions can be drawn as to their performance.

While working on this material it has come as a surprise to discover how little is known about simple objects such as buttons, which battlefield evidence has shown to take a wide variety of forms. This

situation needs to change as they have much to say about button production and supply, regional variation and other aspects of the history of costume (including uniforms). In the past, these items have only appeared in relatively small numbers on settlements and have been to a large extent ignored.

Battlefield artefacts tend to be viewed exclusively as ‘male’ objects. However, it is important that the relationship between women and the material culture of war is examined— what did they make, carry and use prior to seeing their men off on campaign or joining them on it. Current interests in the concept of materiality are well reflected in approaches to the field of conflict.

6.5 Research Recommendations

In order to develop understandings of modern society and its materiality, future research concerning people and things should:

- *Develop understandings of all stages in the life-history of modern artefacts.* An artefact biography approach helps to consider all aspects of an artefact's 'life' as meaningful and moves on from a traditional focus on production
- *Pursue multi-scalar approaches to artefact and material culture studies.* Research into single objects need to be integrated with new understandings of the large-scale manufacturing, distributional, economic, social and cultural processes in which they were involved. This might include consideration of ‘material networks’
- *Explore ways to deal with the large quantity of material culture from this period.* There are problems relating to recording, storage, conservation and display. In view of the large quantities of material found or curated by members of the public and presented at museums or other heritage places, the development and dissemination of good practice with regard to sampling, recording and conservation is important.
- *Build on knowledge of the empirical characteristics of artefacts to develop deeper understandings of objects as embedded in social life.* Further work is certainly needed on developing knowledge of the material characteristics of modern artefacts and the techniques and technologies involved in their production. Large volumes of modern material culture are already curated by Scotland’s museums, but much of this is little used for research at present and collections could be publicised and promoted more widely. At a time when the long-term storage and care of archaeological artefacts and archives is an urgent problem better guidance is needed to inform decisions about what to keep, what to record and what to discard. All of these are present and relevant concerns for the archaeology of the modern past, but these interests and concerns need to be situated in relation to the ultimate aims of this archaeology by understanding how objects can inform upon and were embedded within society in the recent past.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on modern life by revealing, evidencing and interpreting the recent history of relationships between people and things.

7. People and Place

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with homes, households, workplaces, places of worship and assembly. All of these have been grouped together as 'places' following panel discussions which highlighted the problems of making an artificial break between places where people lived, places where they worked and places where they came together for other reasons such as worship, sociality or entertainment. This is a broad theme incorporating a range of research areas. However, 'places' here are taken mostly to include buildings or settlements and may therefore put more emphasis on urban places; the landscape aspects of 'places' will be developed in the next section. Again this is an artificial division (where does place stop and landscape begin?), but one which will be retained

heuristically in order to give some shape to the topic. Marriage alliances and shipboard communities were all discussed as examples of topics that complicate the concept of 'home.'

Many of the issues discussed in Theme 6 'People and Things' are also pertinent here. Buildings are a kind of artefact of course, and they too can usefully be studied in terms of their biography. In fact, it is in the adaptation and development of buildings that the archaeological approach has its major advantage over traditional architectural history which is more concerned with design and intentionality; archaeology is often more concerned with seeing how buildings were actually used and how their inhabitants changed and developed them.

Burns Cottage at Alloway: the origins and archaeology of the Heritage Industry

The National Trust for Scotland recently commissioned a Historic Building Survey at the newly-acquired Burns Cottage, the birthplace of the great Scottish poet. Alloway was once a hamlet on the banks of the River Doon in Ayrshire, but it is now an affluent suburb of Ayr. The survey was undertaken in advance of refurbishment works and part of the wider redevelopment of the Burns smallholding site and museum, and the nearby Tam o'Shanter Experience, into the new Robert Burns Birthplace Museum. Associated archaeological works involved recording, monitoring and evaluation undertaken by Addyman Archaeology, and threw considerable light on the history of the site.

Burns' father, William Burnes, built 'his clay biggin' at Alloway in the 1750s and Robert was born there in the box-bed in the kitchen on January 25th 1759. Later, a byre and barn were added, the building saw use as an inn and it was transformed into a Victorian and Edwardian tourist attraction.

How much of the original building's fabric has survived from the days when young Robert lived there? Although much of the fabric was still hidden under a thick layer of lime harl, close archaeological scrutiny of the cottage documented many subtle changes in the fabric. Photographs taken during refurbishments in 1993 revealed blocked windows, construction breaks, and many changes in building material were identified and mapped. The emerging picture is of phases of repair and rebuilding, now hidden beneath a lime harl which makes the building appear homogenous and presents it as a simple cottage of mid-18th century character. Analysis of the building has shown that not much that immediately meets the eye is as early as that, and the archaeological work has revealed just how profoundly the cottage has been transformed under

changing approaches to the museological presentation of heritage sites – the building encapsulates the history of the ‘Heritage Industry’.

The cottage rapidly became iconic following the poet’s early death in 1796 and, within a few short years, it was turned into a heritage site in a sense which would be recognised today: the ‘birthplace,’ the box-bed and the kitchen interior all lovingly preserved. The use of the building as the Burns Head Inn would probably have pleased the poet. In Victorian times, however, selling of alcohol seemed unacceptable for the birthplace of a National Treasure and the Burns Monument Trust, which acquired the building in 1881, sought to return it to its 18th-century character or, rather, to create a Romanticised vision of that character. The heritage value of the cottage was already evident: William Burnes had sold the cottage for £160 in 1781; it sold for £4,000 exactly 100 years later.

The use of the cottage as a museum resulted in the addition of an exhibition space to the south. Although later demolished to re-create the 18th century ensemble, excavation within the grounds revealed the buried footings of this exhibition hall. An evaluation trench in the woods bounding the site revealed a ‘ritual cache’, the post-WWI disposal of redundant Burns memorabilia such as porcelain crested ware figurines and framed Burns Cottage post-cards!

In the later 20th century, the cottage itself saw various minor repairs, until it was re-invented again as a heritage attraction in the 1990s. Regrettably, it seems that these alterations might have rendered it a late casualty of the ‘make the past pay for itself’ philosophy of the 1980s. The many repairs and few remaining dowdy fittings had left a feeling of a sanitised interior but the up-grading included major impacts upon the fabric by the installation of audiovisual equipment and services. The site also had to be rendered robust enough for the anticipated increase in visitor numbers. Perhaps most deleterious was the imposition of an idealised view of how the past should be presented within and about the cottage – not without imagination but with little academic rigour and a great emphasis on managed entertainment. It was most unfortunate that unforeseen structural and conservatorial issues arose during these refurbishment works. These dwarfed the intentions of recreating the original cottage using traditional materials based on academic research and advice. Photographic and documentary evidence suggest that in the process a great deal of genuine historic fabric was either heavily compromised or stripped away.



Figure 22: Recording the interior of Burns Cottage, © National Trust for Scotland

7.2 Household and home

Writing about ‘homes’ in the past always runs the danger of becoming an act of ill-informed nostalgia for an imagined and idealised ‘stable’ home and nuclear household. Archaeologists can qualify and illuminate any such facile narrative. People have lived in different areas and in different ways across Scotland throughout this and earlier periods. They have not always lived in families, nor have they always lived ‘at home’; and it is important to distinguish these different kinds of entity. A household may include family members, servants and workers. A home may contain a temporary community united by their beliefs, purposes or circumstances, such as those living in barracks or on a ship, in a poor house or an asylum. This period sees the growth of a distinction between the places that people live and the places that they work leading, by the 19th century to a radical disjuncture for many people between working life and family/home/spiritual/social life. The spatial separation between home and manufacturing work is evident in the replacement of small workrooms or shops within homes by often large factories, to which the workers would travel. This trend was accompanied by changes in the way that the ‘person’ was conceived and the relationship between craftspeople and the goods they produced. For middle-class professionals it often meant moving one’s practice from the home to an office, particularly in the growing cities. This led to the development of the ‘suburban ideal’ as the suburbs became places of home and family. Diane diZerega Wall (1994) has documented this process in New York, pointing out that the separation of home and work also contributed to the ideology of ‘separate spheres’ in gender relations, as city centres became increasingly masculine spaces, and suburbs more feminine. This is, of course, an overstatement and a middle-class perspective: for poorer families female work outside the home was also normal, but it would be informative to investigate the degree to which a feminine home and

masculine workplace was still an aspirational value across society.

The separation between home and work changed class relations between employers and employees. Those employing large numbers of people often attempted to exert some influence over their workers’ home lives. This could be in the provision of housing that encouraged its inhabitants to be industrious, sober and devout (through the provision of kirks and chapels, and control of the sale and consumption of alcohol): in the case of Owen’s New Lanark various other facilities including an Institute for the Formation of Character were also supplied.

The significance of separation of work and home needs to be qualified with the recognition that other patterns were also common. Some occupations had always required that the workers come to a particular place: mining and shipbuilding are obvious cases; and in industries such as mining and mineral extraction the separation between home and work was more a factor of change in scale than the nature of the work, as small-scale workings were replaced by large-scale ones and a larger workforce, sometimes working shifts, was more likely to be housed at least seasonally in barracks. Seasonality in work and home places should also be considered: the use of shielings and similar seasonal exploitation of land for pasture or agriculture seems to vary locally and it is interesting to see how that changes (and where it does not) with Improved forms of land exploitation.

Architectural techniques and materials – both polite and vernacular – can provide insights into custom, economy and aspiration. In the case of timber buildings of the early modern period, for example, despite palynological evidence for areas of ‘ancient’ pinewood and well-documented evidence for exploitation of native pinewoods, albeit affected by issues of quality and difficulty associated with transportation (Stewart 2003; Smout *et al.* 2005), the Scottish post-medieval buildings

investigated to date do not contain old slow-grown pine. Where timbers are native or are thought to be native, they come from young trees which started life in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, possibly from plantations established by landowners (Mills 2008). Slow grown wood may have been destined for specialist uses such as ship-building or for export.

In rural areas the places of the rich and of the poor are interesting in their modes of contrast. Wealthy landowners lived on large estates in fine houses and gardens. While there is extensive art historical literature on the design of these houses, there is extensive opportunity for archaeological approaches to their use, especially those which reflect the long-term history of changes and adaptations in the locality. Recent work on the technology of country houses illustrates this potential¹⁹. The creation and reproduction of the relationships of class were organised through material culture among other things and the technologies and spaces through which they were made are worthy of study.

The process by which the laird's house of the 16th and 17th centuries changed from requiring some form of tower at the focus of the house to one that would be recognised as a house or mansion has been touched upon by various researchers, but it too has regional trajectories chronologically that need to be better understood and the influences that played upon them internally and externally.

The aristocratic house also changed in other ways. It evolved from the intimate terraced gardens of the 16th-17th centuries (currently being worked on by Marilyn Brown at RCAHMS) to the elaborate avenues and parterres of the designed landscapes of the later 17th and 18th centuries. At the same time physical changes in the environment of the great house are important. The change from

the hunting parks and forests of the medieval period to the deer park as part of the polite environment of the designed landscape needs archaeological and ecological research. Deer were not the only domestic animals, however: how far and for what reasons cattle or other animals were kept in park enclosures should be addressed.

Of course, most people in rural areas were not rich. The lives of the rural poor are often under-documented, or can only be seen historically as refracted through legal or financial records. Archaeology plainly has a contribution to make here in examining the experiences and the texture of life for the rural poor through their things and places. This need not only mean that archaeology can reach the parts that history cannot reach, but that textual sources should be worked with closely to integrate all sources of evidence for the study of the past. In selecting houses and settlements for archaeological research more effort should be exerted to identify study areas with good documentation. For instance, in Islay there are abandoned 18th-19th-century townships for which there are 1850s inventories of the woodwork and data on the occupants.

It is becoming apparent from work in Bute and Aberdeenshire that there are social hierarchies in rural settlement that find expression in the pattern of settlement and in the type of buildings that were occupied by different types of tenant, from cottar to crofter or tenant. For the rural population, especially the tenant, the house was both the core of the working farm and the household. Archaeology has barely yet touched upon these differences, which regional studies of field remains and targeted excavation could address. The ubiquitous myth of the byre-dwelling as the paradigm of a pre-Improvement farmhouse needs to be tested. Some evidence from the Western Isles suggests that this was an Improvement of the 19th century, while regional studies in mainland areas such as Caithness and Aberdeenshire have not found the byre-

¹⁹ Palmer and West forthcoming; see also the Virtual Hamilton Palace Project (<http://hamilton.rcahms.gov.uk/>).

dwelling to be the house-type there. Similarly the extent and nature of transhumance in Scotland needs looked at more closely (see chapter 8 'People and Landscape').

In towns and cities the places of the poor have often not survived, or their archaeological investigation presents problems given rapid changes in urban landuse and the complexity of urban stratigraphy. One of the challenges is to impress upon colleagues in planning departments that 19th-century working class housing, where it survives in inner city areas, is potentially of considerable archaeological value. Moreover, the popularity of the back-to-back houses in central Birmingham (owned and managed now by the National Trust) and the tenement house museum in Glasgow is testament to the interest of the general public in the way of life of ordinary people.

The everyday lives of ordinary people may be evident in their rubbish, even when the architectural evidence of their homes has disappeared. The rubbish pit is a ubiquitous feature of urban archaeology, and analysis of its contents can demonstrate the composition of the household as well as some of their aspirations. From the 19th century, the disposal of rubbish was more likely to be centrally organised, at least in urban areas, and to involve the removal of waste from the area of the households which produced it. Even before this time the predominance of organic materials in everyday life and construction, and habitual recycling of these materials at the end of their life (see soil management below) mean that the archaeological record is limited by preservational biases. Sediment chemistry can provide some insights into the distribution of activities within buildings and the redistribution of materials from hearth to field (Wilson *et al.* 2005, 2009), although unfortunately preservation conditions appear too poor to rival the sensory insights into living conditions, use of space and social hierarchy provided by insect remains in floor layers in the North Atlantic islands (Buckland

et al. 1992). Cesspits and drains appear more valuable sources for revealing the range of foodstuffs, pests and hygiene. Dickson and Dickson (Dickson and Dickson 2000) have dealt with the medieval period; similar syntheses for later periods are needed, though archaeological reports and grey literature are likely to provide useful snapshots, e.g. flax-retting on Lochtayside (Jennifer Miller, pers. comm.). Soils deepened by manuring, together with written sources, can provide insights into the development of urban areas (Golding and Davidson 2005), as well as an interesting point of comparison with written regulations on the disposal and value of waste at the rural-urban interface (Davidson *et al.* 2006).

Research in housing does not and should not stop at the 19th century. The interdisciplinary study of 20th-century urban housing is an interesting area to begin pulling apart questions of the relative impact of public and private agendas on housing provision. Twentieth-century slum clearance generated new estates and new forms of housing such as the tower block²⁰.

Ongoing dialogue with historians, architects and sociologists is necessary to identify where archaeology can make useful contributions to an understanding of modern housing.

²⁰ see the tower block resource www.towerblock.org and Docomomo Scottish chapter: <http://www.docomomoscotland.org.uk/>



Figure 23: WWII graffito on the wall of the Engineering Works in Leithen Cresnet, Innerleithen, which was painted by Polish soldiers billeted there. Ephemera such as graffiti are often very valuable indications of the experiences and values of people who have left little other written (or drawn) record of their intimate and personal lives © RCAHMS

It would also be interesting to consider how far folk practices are evident in 'modern' homes: are there apotropaic deposits or artefacts? Such folk practices are notoriously poorly identified and may be misidentified or discarded when uncovered (Hoggard 2004; Merrifield, 1987; Crossland, 2010)²¹. To what extent are older conventions of domestic architecture followed even when the function of the home has changed? The persistence of a 'best room', parlour or spence might be one example of this. The need to have a room

suitable for entertaining guests or for use on holiday and ceremonial occasions was often sufficiently keen even in the 20th century that the everyday indoor business of the household was all conducted in the kitchen or family room, despite the consequent crowding.

Housing needs to be understood in its social and geographical relationship with places and relationships of work. The case of miners' rows is a good example of these relationships.

²¹ The Deliberately Concealed Garment's Project www.concealedgarments.org contains a database of garments concealed within building fabric and promotes the recognition of this folk practice.

Miners' Rows

The rapid growth of deep-coal mining in the 19th century necessitated the building of thousands of mining villages to house the expanding working population. Former agricultural communities across the central belt were quickly transformed into industrial complexes. The successive Acts of Parliament regulating the industry, and the annual reports that underpinned them, provide a fascinating insight into the changing perspectives on social values. Nowhere is this more evident than in the study of workers' housing where the complexities of working relations are demonstrated through bricks and mortar.

In a modern context, homes are invariably considered private domains; at the height of industrial activity, workers' housing was quite the opposite. Mining villages were at times a source of almost paternal pride for mine owners, and at others, a way of penalizing their workforce. The annual reports of Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, Parliamentary Commissioner, recorded that in 1854, the houses at Rosehall belonging to the iron and coal works of Messrs. Addie, Miller and Rankin, afforded occupants approximately 70 cubic feet of air per person due to overcrowding, poor ventilation and meagre accommodation which contrasted sharply with the contemporary entitlement of an adult male prisoner who was afforded a minimum of 500 cubic feet in each cell.

The majority of mining cottages were owned by the employers and rent was levied in proportion to the living space available. One significant exception was the Duke of Buccleuch's estate in the Lothians where accommodation was freely provided until the general rising of 1842 which severed the trust between employee and employer. The pervading nineteenth-century view expressed in the annual parliamentary reports was that a better standard of accommodation resulted in a better quality of workforce. Indeed, in the early developments at Garsherrie, many of the potential workforce declined employment on account of the lack of day school provision (an action that was described by Tremenheere as 'distinctly Scottish'). This sentiment did not lead to a dramatic improvement in living conditions. Civic buildings such as schools, libraries and shops were created largely at the miners' expense and even as late as 1910, many communities still lacked access to water, proper drainage or garden grounds and lived in damp, overcrowded conditions.

Many of the miners' rows still in existence today, many of them physically improved by extension, are viewed as *bijoux* and desirable accommodation for two people. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, they might have housed a family of six. The hierarchies of accommodation reflected the hierarchies of the workplace. Streets were assigned by standing in the community – the migrant workers largely grouped in the less desirable areas to contain their influence. The notorious Mungo MacKay, Mine Manager at the Lady Victoria Colliery, docked wages for poorly kept gardens and this practice was commonplace across the mining community. Accommodation was dependent on employment and there is plenty of evidence that testifies to the ruthlessness of employers – 34 of the widows of the Blantyre Mining Disaster, Scotland's worst mining incident which claimed approximately 206 lives, were evicted within six months of the accident.

Archaeological research may reveal the manner in which mining communities inhabited and personalised their living spaces and challenged the dichotomy between public and private living space.

7.3 Workplaces

Places of work include not only the factories, plants and yards of industry, but a range of other locations which constituted 'the workplace' for people in the past. Of course, for many people the workplace was the same as the home – this is true for many farmers, for example, but also of for some forms of manufacture, service and seasonal work.

The move from home production to factory or workshop based industry is one characteristic of the industrial revolution (see chapter 2; Palmer and Neaverson 1998). Working in a factory entailed remodelling the worker in terms of their exchange value within a capitalist system, epitomised by the inclusion of clocks and bells on factories, evidence of the new capitalist segmentation of time and an emphasis on the measurability of labour. It also transformed relationships between working people and the owners of the means of production. Spatial analysis of workplaces during the ascent of capitalism notes the emergence of designs that facilitate surveillance and control, as well as the rational organisation of production into stages. Nevertheless, the archaeological study of workplaces can also sometimes pick out the voices of the workers, who did not always submit to new capitalist regimes of production, but instead circumvented or subverted the intentions of the bosses (for an English example see Belford 2001).

The previous theme – People and Things – considered the impact of mass production and factory-based industry on the world of material goods. Scotland's industrial archaeology is testament to the country's great productivity under the factory system. Remains of factories such as the Nobel Explosives Factory, situated between the sea and the River Garnock, west of Irvine, are still evident in the landscape, although most of these buildings are now demolished and the sites cleared. The Nobel works were so vital that during World War I, a coastal battery was built on the shore to defend against possible sea-based attacks. The factories themselves also need to be considered and the way that they organised both the industrial process and the relationships between workers and their managers, as between workers and their products. The emergence of a class based social order was closely related to the development of industry in factories. The space of the factory could be organised to constrain physical movement of the worker, and to enforce bodily and time discipline through supervision. The use of artificial sources of power, and particularly of light (gas, argand or electric) enabled capitalist exchange of labour time to cut free of normal constraints of the season or time of day. In Scotland, where the discrepancies in day length between summer and winter are quite pronounced, this had an even greater effect than in England or continental Europe.



Figure 24: Nobel's Explosives Factory, © RCAHMS

As well as structuring working and home lives, industry also affected working and living environments, although the literature on landscapes and environments, particularly in urban areas, is limited. The sulphur released into the atmosphere by iron-working and coal-burning reduced air quality and caused the acidification of sensitive upland freshwater systems, especially lochs, over the period c.1800-1850 (Flower *et al.* 1987, Battarbee *et al.* 1988, 1989, 1996, Jones *et al.* 1989, Birks *et al.* 1990). Water acidification increased concentrations of toxic inorganic aluminium and in some instances, the deterioration in water quality adversely affected fish stocks and fish reproduction, with implications for higher predators, including humans (Birks *et al.* 1990, Kernan *et al.* 2005) In addition, industrial air pollution contaminated water with metals, like lead and zinc, soot particles and persistent organic pollutants. Lakes in closer in proximity to

industrial areas have been more strongly acidified, but even remote lakes were affected (Battarbee and Allott 1994, Fowler and Battarbee 2005). Activities like lead mining caused strong localised pollution, but at water-powered sites, heavy metals were also distributed to the wider area, including lochs (Farmer *et al.* 1997) and valued floodplain soils (e.g. Hutchinson 2003).

Despite indications of pervasive pollution signals, even in remote areas, there is a lack of research into the effects of industry (e.g. mining, hydro, forestry) on the environment and landscape or the associated health impacts that can be compared with regulatory and health and safety literature (e.g. Mills 2010) or complex debates over development of natural resources and landscape aesthetics (for example, see Payne 2008 for 20th-century hydroelectricity development; van Oosthoek

2001 for the history and development of forest planning in Scotland).

Waste was an inevitable by-product of production and home life. Organic 'waste' products were a valued commodity for agricultural communities. Reuse of manure, bedding, hearth, building and roofing materials (e.g. turf, heather, peat) was key to agricultural productivity. This is evident in emerging urban areas, like Elgin where the use of town waste on the burgh's arable lands from at least the 17th century up until the mid-19th century created deepened topsoils (Davidson *et al.* 2006). Even in remote areas, similar practices enriched soil fertility, but in some areas this raised concentrations of heavy metals in cultivated soils to levels that would be considered harmful to human health (Davidson *et al.* 2007, Meharg *et al.* 2006).

Given the advances in understanding of human health based on techniques such as isotopic analysis of bone, it would be valuable to use a combined documentary, geochemical and archaeological science approach to assess the health impacts of changes in living conditions, industry and working environments (e.g. Meharg 2005, Stride 2009)²².

To identify the criteria that constitute a workplace, it is also necessary to define what constitutes 'work'. This involves stepping back from androcentric assumptions about work as paid engagement in the commercial economy and needs to reconsider the often unpaid contributions of women and children to the domestic economy. Other models of working can include seasonal- or life-phased patterns of working.

²² see also the Research Framework Document produced by the Archaeological Science Panel.

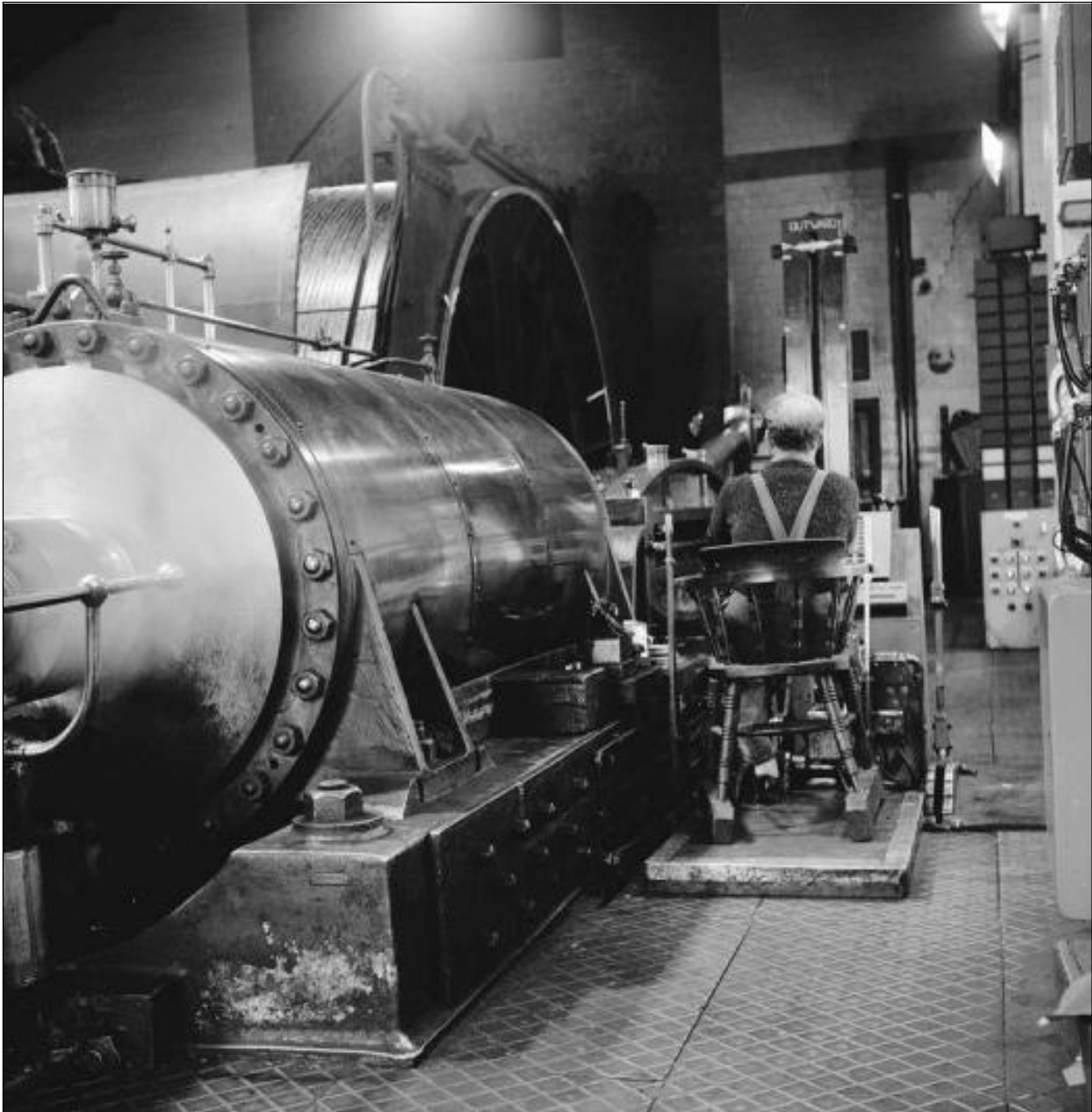


Figure 25: The winding engine at Lady Victoria Colliery, servicing the then deepest pit in Scotland, © RCAHMS

The Lady Victoria Colliery was opened in 1893 as Scotland's first super-pit. It ceased production in 1981 and now effectively represents the technological and social developments in mining from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. Owing to its formidable origins - boasting the largest winding engine in Britain with a shaft of 500m depth (which was pioneering for its day) – the colliery survived until the end of deep-mining in Scotland. As a result, it captures both the emergence of new

technologies – the transformation from 1,000kW steam turbines to a 5,000kW generator; the 1954 Egon Riss Gantry from the Pithead to the Baths and Canteen; the 1960s Thickener and Fines Treatment Plant; and preserves areas such as the Picking Tables and Smiddy which remained largely unchanged throughout the Colliery's lifespan. By 'reading' the site, one can trace developments in coal production and processing as well as changing attitudes to working conditions and health and safety.

Seasonal places of home, work and assembly: transhumance and shielings (see Bil 1997; Dixon 2009; Boyle 2007; RCAHMS 1995b)

Transhumance and the construction of shieling-huts as summer shelters are widespread on the Scottish mainland and Western Isles, but absent from the Northern Isles. This practice had two interrelated purposes, to make use of upland pastures to produce cheese and butter from the cows and sheep by the inhabitants of the permanent settlements and the removal of grazing animals from the infield in the growing season. Huts, generally smaller in length and breadth than township houses, varied with the vernacular construction of the area. Corbelled stone roofed structures or beehive huts and multi-cellular structures occur in the Hebrides, whereas turf-and-timber were common materials everywhere, leading to tell-like mounds from repeated use in some areas (see Cheape 1997 on comparisons between areas). Strictures from estates with respect to the use of turf and timber led to increased use of stone during the 18th century and early 19th centuries. As well as the shieling-huts, smaller subsidiary structures occur with them in the central Highlands, possibly a variant of the multi-cellular huts of the Hebrides, suggesting a separation of function, such as the dairy from the habitation. Midden heaps are a common feature in front of the huts and offer the chance of recovering information about the economy.

The economy of transhumance may, however, be more complex. Whisky still sites can be found in the vicinity of shieling sites and may explain the occasional presence of corn-drying kilns for malting the barley. The presence of rigged areas at some shieling sites may indicate episodes of cultivation too, or else outfield exploitation. Conflict with other land-uses is another factor. Hunting reserves in forests specifically precluded access for grazing, as in the central Cairngorms by several of the surrounding estates and this is reflected in the absence of shieling-huts. The grazings did not go out of use with the end of transhumance, but were usually turned over to sheep and the numerous sheepfolds, sheep-dips and stells are evidence of this, as well as bothies occupied by shepherds. Although the conversion of land to sheep-runs was the occasion for the ending of transhumance, this occurred in the Southern Uplands in the 17th century as opposed to the late 18th and 19th centuries in the Highlands. Pollen sequences from shieling grounds indicate that cultivation was a far more common aspect of land-use than may be anticipated from limited written evidence on shieling use (Adam 1960; Davies submitted). This flexibility may have provided a means of coping with stress or capitalising on economic opportunities.

Excavations of shielings (e.g. Atkinson *et al.* 2003) have been limited and there is room for more, with exploration of the different types of structure, the transhumance economy and the dating of their use. However, Stewart (1990) suggested from examination of a township in Balquhider that excavation may provide relatively limited evidence for material culture and practice. The modern period offers the chance to investigate the people involved and the farms from which they came, looking at the whole social and economic base. The question of the extent of the practice also needs to be better understood. Shieling was not practiced on Coldingham common, for example, the inhabitants of the surrounding towns being obliged to return their herds to their township grazings at night. How far was access to summer grazing limited to upland edge towns, and how did the inhabitants of the Northern Isles manage summer grazing? The closeness of shieling-huts on Skye to the arable fields suggests an expansion of arable over time as they seem too close to be necessary or, indeed, permissible. Such changes in settlement perhaps forced a change in the summer grazing pattern. Indeed, recent research on Lochtayside, suggests that the pattern of transhumance changed over time although the reason for this needs further exploration. Some research has been done on the effects of the change from summer grazing to a sheep economy on the land cover, but not in sufficient detail to enable direct comparison with the literature on socio-cultural and economic impacts and concerns over nutrient depletion under extensive sheep grazing are unproven

(see Section 9.2). Recent research on south Lochtay indicates that shielings served a different role in this new sheep economy, with some sites undergoing profound ecological changes during the first half of the 19th century, corresponding with the period of rising sheep numbers, with increasingly homogeneous grassland replacing a species-rich grass-heath mosaic. This is part of a wider decline in landscape and species diversity associated with increased stocking densities, and driven by market prices (Hanley *et al.* 2008). It is a sober reminder that the current concerns over global biodiversity loss are not a new feature of Scotland's landscapes. Was transhumance itself an agent for change in the ecological balance? The growth of droving is also part of the modern rural economy and how this worked alongside transhumance and what changes occurred in the rural landscape has been little researched archaeologically. Finally, a long-term perspective is necessary to see how changes to the environment and the economy changed the placement and nature of shielings over the period and up to today.

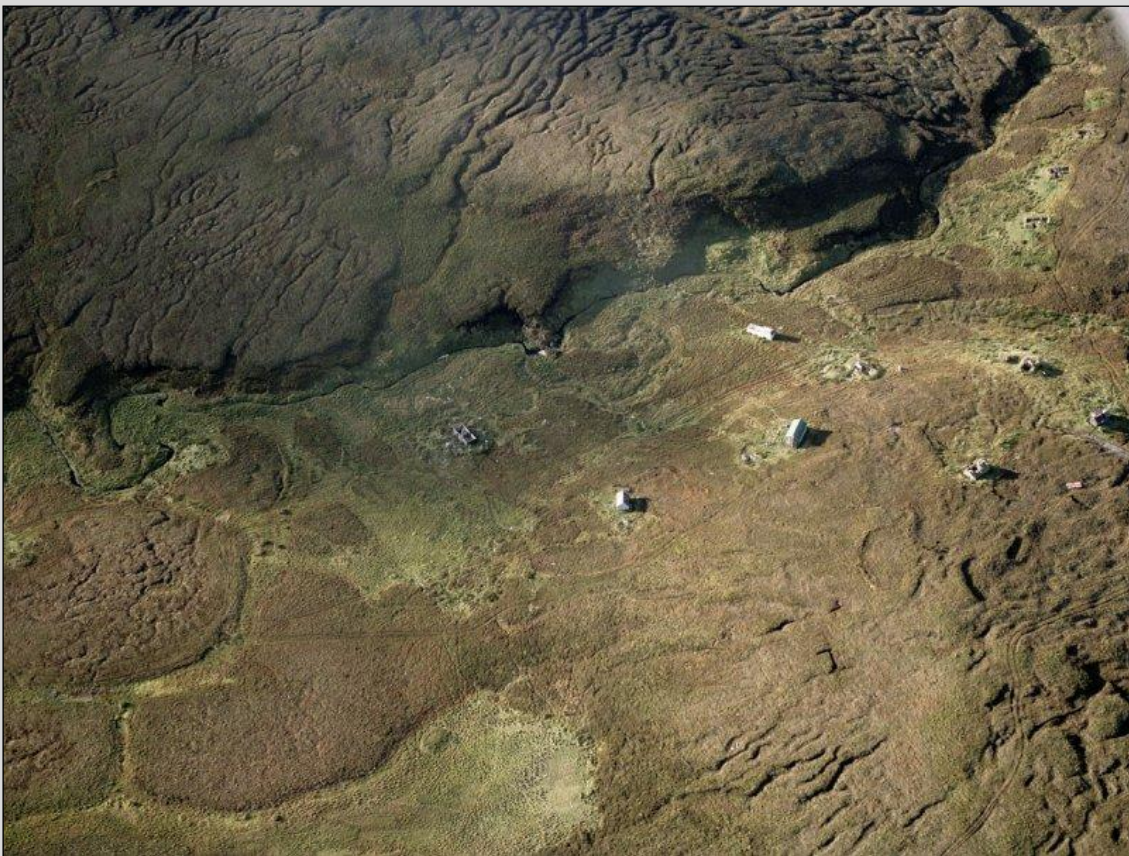


Figure 26: Ruined shieling at Airigh a' Bhealaich, Lewis. Part of a group of shieling huts, the 8m by 4.8 m building was of stone and turf construction with two rooms, © RCAHMS

7.4 Places of Assembly and public buildings

Buildings are not only for living or working in. They are also the spaces in which people meet, and carry out collective and communal activities. They are often constructed collectively and relate to the shared values and aspirations of communities. Such

buildings include places of authority (town halls, civic buildings), institutions (schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, asylums, prisons, poor houses), places of leisure (inns, clubs, bars, theatres, cinemas, assembly rooms and dance halls, sports facilities and entertainment venues) and places of worship (kirks, chapels, synagogues, temples, numinous places in the landscape – holy

wells, sacred stones or significant natural places, although these would need to be elaborated materially to be amenable to archaeological study).

Institutional buildings had a major role in creating the modern person, and enforcing the kinds of physical and spiritual discipline that would both punish and reform deviants, shape model citizens, and '*pour encourager les autres*'. Those buildings are considered more fully in chapter 4 'The Modern Person'.

Some of the most significant places for people in the past have been places of worship. The changing pattern and place of worship within people's lives is one of the significant changes during the modern period. This is reflected in the changing attitudes towards places of worship.

In 1996, John Dunbar and Simon Green published a seminal essay (Dunbar & Green 1996) which established the current state of research on Scottish churches and new work that needed to be done (for further reading see Dunbar 1996; Fawcett *et al.* 2010; Green 1996; Hay 1957; Howard 1995; McRoberts 1959; Spicer 2003b, 2005, 2007; Yates 2009). On the architecture of these buildings, there has been more recent research (Howard 1995; Spicer 2007). However work needs to be undertaken on 18th and 19th century Scottish churches. The recent research undertaken by Richard Fawcett, Richard Oram and Julian Luxford has provided valuable insights into the churches of the diocese of Dunblane and Dunkeld that needs to be extended to other dioceses. Christopher Stell for the RCHME produced several volumes

identifying and providing a history of English non-conformist places of worship (the Welsh Commission have produced a similar survey); this is something that is lacking for Scotland.

The usual historiography claims that the Reformation dramatically altered the appearance of places of worship as they were reconfigured to meet the liturgical needs of the Reformed Kirk, while the furnishings and other features of Catholic worship were largely swept away. Undoubtedly the Reformation did have a major impact, but the pace and nature of change can be challenged by archaeology: the evidence of Foulis Easter demonstrates that liturgical change could be a relatively slow process. However, instead of a distant figure facing the altar behind the rood screen and mumbling the mass, the post-Reformation minister was expected to be visible and audible to the whole congregation. The new liturgical focus was to be the pulpit erected in the nave, usually centrally placed with the seating for the congregation ranged around it. Seating took on a new importance for while it continued to mark status within the community it also provided a means of control in preventing congregations from moving around the building during the service. In spite of the importance of the post-Reformation church furnishings for understanding the character and experience of worship, they have not been the focus of sustained and critical evaluation. The acoustics of preaching, for example, is just one aspect of research that has not been explored in the post-Reformation Scottish context.



Figure 27: Foulis Easter. The pulpit became the focal point of the reformed kirk interior, emphasising the significance of the word and of mutual surveillance over the mystery of image and sequestered ritual in the Catholic liturgy, © RCAHMS

Although the appearance of many religious buildings is due to the architectural changes of the 18th and 19th century, recent research for the dioceses of Dunblane and Dunkeld has demonstrated significant continuities in the church fabric. As yet these research findings have not been examined in relation to other parts of Scotland. This research has also considered the reconfiguration of former chancels, which were no longer required, to form burial aisles and lairds' lofts. In other

instances the location of the medieval churches did not accord with local centres of population which led to the building of new places of worship in urban centres or in the centre of the parish.

Archaeological investigations of religious buildings have provided some insights into liturgical change. For example, excavations at Whithorn have revealed evidence of the remodelling of the building with a raised east

end for an altar enclosure in accordance with the religious policies of Charles I in the 1630s. Excavations elsewhere, such as Tarbat and particularly St Nicholas's church in Aberdeen has revealed the continued use of places of worship for burial in spite of the opposition of the Kirk authorities. Further archaeological exploration has the potential to yield more information about the phases of construction and development of these buildings and their use over a prolonged period of time.

Churches continued to be built to a basic rectangular plan after the Reformation, especially in rural parishes. New architectural forms emerged with the T-plan church being particularly characteristic of the need to accommodate large congregations and for a central location for the pulpit. Early experimentation with centrally planned churches such as Burntisland was not repeated until the classically inspired erection of churches like Bowmore, Islay or St Andrew's Edinburgh in the 18th century.



Figure 28: Burntisland church. An early post-Reformation structure built to accommodate a central pulpit with a square 'nave' surrounding the central focus. Recently restored, the building can accommodate a large congregation using galleries as well as stalls around all four side 'aisles', © RCAHMS

The emphasis here has been primarily upon the architecture of the early modern period but the developments of the 19th century which saw the Disruption of 1843 and the construction of both Roman Catholic and Episcopalian places of worship remain an important area requiring further investigation and archaeological intervention where judged necessary and appropriate.

A reflection on current attitudes towards religion could be gauged by a study of current uses of former religious buildings. T. Pollmann's *Herbestemming van kerken* (1995) was an examination of this issue in the Dutch context. A similar approach might be taken with Scottish churches, which could also provide the basis for further consideration on conservation and guidance on how best to engage with contemporary society over the interpretation and management of religious buildings.

Considerable research remains to be done on religious artefacts and church furnishings. Although there are items on display in national collections, these are isolated examples and need to be considered in a wider context with related objects. The furnishings of Scottish churches is one neglected area of research and in which changes in use or closure of buildings means that moveable items are at possible risk. Although work has been done on pre-Reformation pulpits for example, there is no sense of how many post-Reformation pulpits are extant, the periods they date from etc. Furthermore, other furnishings such as pews, lairds' lofts etc need to be subject to close examination. This will provide a better understanding of the manner and effectiveness of the dissemination of Reformation ideas. Jane Geddes (2000) provided a detailed case study of one particular building. More case studies of important religious buildings are needed or unpublished research made accessible. Addyman and Kay Ltd, for example, contributed a report on St Giles Cathedral for the architects Simpson and Brown. How such

reports can best be made accessible for further research needs to be addressed. Other worthwhile resources for the archaeology of churches and church buildings include the NMS Scottish Life Archive, and two church surveys: Scottish Church Heritage Ltd; and the Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches.

Architecturally the study of places of leisure and entertainment also come under this theme. This includes inns, clubs, coffee houses, theatres and later cinemas, assembly rooms and so on. There are also less salubrious leisure places – brothels and bars, spaces used informally for drink or drug taking, or illegal trade. Recently the whole of Glasgow's Horseshoe Bar was reconstructed in the Riverside Museum after the original had been recorded by GUARD. There is great public interest and appreciation for this kind of heritage which is readily understandable and sometimes personally meaningful to many people. Similarly, there are also possibilities for an archaeology of sport – swimming pools, football stadia, golf links and so on – although their potential has yet to be fully developed. Archaeology Scotland's current project on football stadia in Edinburgh²³ is an example, however.

One aspect of 'People and Places' which should be emphasised is the way that people make places that are 'home' even when far from the places where they grew up. Examples include the fabrication of a Catholic chapel from a Nissen hut by Italian POWs in Orkney, or the efforts of the Polish workers at Inverleithen mills to make a home for themselves.

²³

<http://www.scottisharchaeology.org.uk/?q=node/280>

7.5 Research Recommendations

In order to develop understanding of the relationship between people and place in modern Scotland, future research should:

- *Develop understandings of all stages of the life history of modern places.* A biographical approach to place is potentially very enlightening, plays to archaeology's strengths and articulates well with the kind of detailed and interpretive buildings archaeology being carried out in Scotland today.
- *Explore the reciprocal relationship between people and place and the practices through which places were lived and inhabited.* Places are meaningful through their daily use as well as their design. Understanding the reciprocity between people and place, as places constrain and enable a certain set of relationships, and as people reshape their spaces to suit their needs, understandings and aspirations, is the central focal object of study.
- *Build on empirical knowledge of places to interpret their character and significance in human terms.* There is a great deal of high quality and sophisticated primary recording and interpretation of individual structures and places; the next step is to utilise this material, moving beyond recording to questions of social interpretation such as class or power relations.
- *Develop more collaborative modes of enquiry for the investigation of modern places.* Both scientific understanding and an imaginative approach to identifying archaeological questions are necessary for a more holistic approach to interrelations between people, health, place and environment.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on modern life by revealing, evidencing and interpreting the recent history of relationships between people and place.

8. People and Landscape

8.1 Introduction

Landscapes are webs of connected places and multiple relationships between people and their urban, rural, coastal and marine worlds. A decision has been made in this context to distinguish ‘landscape’ and ‘place’, which is partly a question of scale – landscapes contain and involve places but extend beyond them – and partly one of the nature of the differing activities, practices, relationships and meanings through which places and landscapes are known. This distinction is, however, an expedient one and landscape research will involve research into places as well.

In archaeology, as in other disciplines, landscape has been conceptualised in different ways (Johnson 2007, 2-4; Thomas 2012):

1. as the land itself (the land surface, its physical properties and features);
2. as a matter of perception (cognition, meaning, apprehension);
3. as a matter of relationships and experience (bodily engagement, practice, task, movement).

1) In the first sense, one landscape is distinguished from another by the particular nature and constellation of its material characteristics. This way of knowing landscape is often held to be a particularly modern, objectifying one (see Johnson 1996, chapters 3 & 4; 2007; Thomas 2004, 178-9). This landscape can be captured and represented in a singular, comprehensive manner (a map, a topographic description, a landscape painting) and it is a landscape separate from people: an array of assets or resources to be exploited or manipulated by us or protected from us. Much landscape archaeology sits within this tradition: identifying, representing, classifying and ordering landscape features; managing historic environments, assets and resources.

2) In the second sense, the land and its features exist external to the subject, but the landscape is only ever known by a human subject. This opens the door to the consideration of alternatives to the conceptualisation of a landscape as the sum of its physical parts. This second habit of thought considers the material character of a landscape, but does so in terms of its subjective apprehension and meaning. Landscape is as much a construct of the mind and of culture as anything else: the landscape as thought and perceived. In adopting this definition of landscape, we shift our focus from the physical attributes of the land to the ways in which people perceive their world in sensory, ideological and emotional terms.

3) In the third sense, landscape is a matter of human social, material and environmental relationships: relationships between people, other living things and the inanimate world. Here, the job of landscape archaeology is to investigate how people engaged with their world in practice. This is landscape as known through movements, tasks, activities and routines; a complex of quotidian, episodic or exceptional interactions through which people moulded the land and its ecology and through which they themselves were moulded as subjects.

The upshot of this is that landscapes need to be understood in the round: the material aspect is fundamentally important but, alone, it is land, not landscape (i.e. point 1 above). Landscapes come into existence with the presence of people, and the same area of land can be host to multiple landscapes, known and experienced in different ways. This does not mean that any attempt to research past landscapes is futile because it requires us to access the thoughts of people long dead or to comprehend a bewildering array of individually-specific ways of perceiving the world. Rather, subjectivities are culturally, socially and historically constituted and the

subjective landscape is, as much as anything else, a matter of customary practices and habits of thought, historically varying ways of knowing and doing, and socially variable access, experience and power. Landscapes are known and experienced through interaction with their material aspect and this interaction involves practices which leave behind them material traces. Landscape experiences and knowledges are thus open to archaeological enquiry.

Research under this theme will investigate the changing character of the land in conjunction with the dynamic character of landscape relationships at different times and in different circumstances. We need to know how we have formed and transformed the land and its ecology, and we need to know how we have been formed and transformed in the process. Landscape is a particular avenue into questions of self and society in

modern Scotland (see *Modern Person and Nation & State*) and it is a matter of great contemporary relevance: in coming to know the landscape's past we come to understand the origins and character of our current relationships with the land, the environment and with each other.

The sections which follow explore this topic from four particular viewpoints amongst others. Throughout, it is taken as read that our understanding of modern landscapes must be founded on a sound knowledge of the empirical evidence of their development and that there is an undoubted need for further primary work identifying, recording and analysing archaeological remains on a landscape scale. Having accepted this general point, the focus of the chapter is not on the need for further primary work but on the themes and questions which such work might help us to address.

Landscape archaeologies of Modern Scotland

Archaeologists have approached the modern Scottish landscape from all three of the stances outlined above (see Dalglish 2009 for a review).

Landscape is recognised in national and international public policy (e.g. Historic Scotland 2009; Council of Europe 2000) and, in the 1990s, Historic Landuse Assessment (HLA) (see Dyson Bruce *et al.* 1999 and www.rcahms.gov.uk/hlamap.html) – a method for the broad-brush characterisation of the historic environment at landscape scale – was developed by Historic Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland to facilitate consideration of historic characteristics and features in landscape management and planning. Since the late 1980s, more detailed landscape studies have also been a core part of the survey work of RCAHMS (e.g. Dixon 1993; 1994; 1995; Cowley 1993; 1994; Boyle 1994; 1998; RCAHMS 1990; 1994; 1995; 1997; 2001; 2007). In parallel, commercial archaeology has extended beyond the individual site or monument to the landscape-scale identification of archaeological features and the assessment and mitigation of landscape-scale development impacts, such as those associated with wind farm, road and pipeline developments and quarrying. In certain contexts, such as the assessment of impacts on the *setting* of a monument and its amenity, issues of landscape perception have been introduced to heritage management contexts.

The modern era has seen the heavy alteration of the Scottish physical landscape through processes such as industrialisation, afforestation, Clearance and agricultural improvement. Modern features predominate in the landscape today and the remains of previous phases of the landscape's past survive in a patchy way. As such, the modern past has become a particular focus of enquiry in landscape studies. The work outlined above has established landscape archaeology as a mainstream concern in Scotland and has done much to raise the profile of the archaeology of the modern landscape. This work has extended the understanding of the material character and development of

Scotland's modern-era landscapes: their features, structure and evolution and their origins in different land use practices and historical processes (Dalglish 2009).

Some archaeologists have sought to investigate the perceptual and experiential character of modern landscapes, drawing on wider theoretical developments (e.g. archaeological phenomenology and practice theory). While it is hard to identify a unified body of work in this field, common characteristics are an emphasis on the importance of human experiences and relationships, and of cultural memories and meanings; an acknowledgement of practices and movements as important entry points for understanding these experiences, relationships and meanings; interest in landscapes as bound up with relationships of power; and a belief that the relationship between people and landscape is a recursive, mutually constitutive one. Such studies have focused, above all, on the social, cultural and physical transformations associated with the Clearances and with agricultural improvement in the 18th and 19th centuries (E.g. Atkinson 2000; Dalglish 2003; Gazin-Schwartz 2001; Given 2004, ch.8; Lelong 2000; Symonds 1999a; 1999b; 2000).

Adoption of a landscape perspective has extended and transformed the approach to the archaeology of the recent past. In this, archaeologists have built on long-standing cross-fertilisations with cognate disciplines such as historical geography and history, and stand to benefit from the recent emergence of environmental history (E.g. Smout (ed.) 2002; 2003; Smout, MacDonald & Watson 2005; Hamilton *et al.* 2009; Davies & Watson 2007; Davidson *et al.* 2006; 2007; Davies & Dixon 2007; Hanley *et al.* 2008; Mather 1993; Tipping 1998; 2000; 2004; Foster & Smout (eds) 1994). There is increasing recognition that landscape is a common concern and a meeting ground for many different disciplines. Collaborative and integrated research is demonstrably powerful as a means of extending and deepening the knowledge and understanding of the landscapes of the modern past and present.

8.2 Inhabited landscapes

Linking the material aspect of landscape with matters of perception and experience are the movements, tasks and practices through which people inhabited their world. Archaeologists create knowledge of the material elements of past landscapes and of those historic elements and patterns which have persisted into the present and which continue to structure our lives today. These material characteristics were both created by people and creative of people: the results of action and the conditions which facilitated or constrained action. We can build on our knowledge of the material to interpret past actions, movements and routines and, from there, to construct an understanding of how people may have experienced the world in different ways.

In recent years, archaeologists of the modern Scottish past have begun to do just this. Studies of agricultural improvement have linked changes in settlement form and

pattern, field systems and the use of upland pastures to a shift away from co-operative farming practices towards individualised ones (Dalglish 2003). Here, tangible changes to the land are linked to changes in the ways the land was worked and lived and, from there, to the transformation of social relationships. Interpretations of Clearance landscapes in the north of the country have explored the rupture in the routines of daily life which would have followed from the emptying of inland glens and the resettlement of their inhabitants as crofters on the coast (Lelong 2000).

Future research should extend from and critically evaluate such interpretations of past landscape relationships and meanings. It should do so by taking advantage of the rich evidence available for past practices, habits, tasks and movements. Fifty years of work in rural settlement studies – a long-standing cross-fertilisation between archaeology and historical geography – in combination with

the more recent rise of archaeological landscape survey has provided us with a solid grounding in the material of modern-era settlement and land use. Work by academic, professional and non-professional archaeologists has demonstrated the potential of this material for our understanding of changing, varied and constantly-emerging farming practices and social relationships.

Scotland's industrial archaeology has also taken a landscape turn (e.g. Adamson 2008; Boyle 1998), and our understanding of industrial work and life will benefit greatly from studies which interpret past inhabitation of the landscape on the basis of material evidence including transport and communication routes, pits, quarries, mines, waste heaps and other extractive infrastructure, and production facilities linked to the exploitation of natural resources such as wood, coal and ore. Such material evidence speaks to the congregation of labour or its dispersal across the landscape, the relationship between home and work and the extension of labour relations into the wider urban and rural landscape, the flows of resource procurement, processing, manufacture and shipment, the practices, tasks and movements of industrial life and the tangible effects of industry on the environment.

To these long-established fields of rural settlement studies and industrial archaeology we can add two more recently-established fields: environmental history (a collaborative endeavour involving historians, environmental scientists and others in the investigation of past human/environment relationships) and battlefield and conflict archaeology, through which we have come to understand something of the material character and the movements and practices of landscapes of military and civil, small- and large-scale confrontation (See *Nation & State* above).

Future research should capitalise on the rich and voluminous material evidence for the

modern-era Scottish landscape and it should both build on and question established traditions of scholarship. These traditions separate out the tangled relationships of landscape into distinct analytical categories, and more integrated approaches will provide different and often richer perspectives. We could also do more to question the received narratives of modern landscape history: Was the Scottish landscape really as radically transformed through improvement and industrialisation as we, and our improving and industrialising forebears, have suggested and to what extent have pre-improvement, and pre-industrial landscape structures persisted to influence our lives today (see Boyle 2009; Dixon & Fraser 2007)? Many studies of modern Scottish landscapes have described the changing modern landscape in quite blunt, uniform, homogenous ways, but just how true to life is this? Landscape is a matter of experience and relationships, and thus it is a dynamic, variable and always multiple phenomenon.

Realisation of the potential of the material – archaeological, environmental, historical – requires us to understand that it was bound up with and is evidence for the practices, tasks and activities through which landscapes were inhabited and created: hunting, ploughing, planting, felling, mining, walking, marching, droving, shieling, pilgrimage, the daily commute, holiday-making and much besides. The modern landscape is a complex of experiences, with a complex past of differing and diachronic sequences of development.

A landscape of task, season and meaning

Waughenwae Knowe lies at the transition between the improved farmland occupying the floor of Strathearn and the high ground of the Ochil Hills. On top of the Knowe, a D-shaped enclosure contains rig-and-furrow cultivation remains and, in places, the rig appears to extend beyond the enclosure. This may represent a post-medieval in-take of land: a temporary enclosure for penning livestock to manure the ground before it was ploughed; after manuring, the enclosure became redundant and the plough began to break it down. Above the enclosure, incised lines run down the hillside representing tracks leading down from the high pastures. These braided trackways skirt round the Knowe, to the left of the D-shaped enclosure, and appear to cut through an earth bank. The bank may be associated with a number of structures and enclosures visible nearby.



Figure 29: Aerial photograph of Waughenwae Knowe, Perthshire. The remains of the field system, rig-and-furrow, farmstead, and trackways can all be seen, © RCAHMS

This landscape is being investigated by the *Strathearn Environs & Royal Forteviot (SERF)* project²⁴. Survey of the Ochil Hills has identified a rich landscape of modern-era archaeological remains to the south of Dunning and Forteviot, and this survey has provided evidence for interpretation of the tasks and meanings through which this landscape would have been constructed and known in the modern past.

Braided trackways – deeply-eroded grooves (up to 2m deep) – run up and down the steeper slopes, petering out when those slopes give way to level or more gently-sloping ground. The tracks appear to have been created as cattle dug their hooves in when climbing or descending, and they have no doubt been accentuated by water erosion. The tracks tend to occur as groups of parallel and cross-cutting lines, perhaps representing the repeated passage of livestock over a number of years: the most extensive section comprises up to 12 individual, inter-weaving lines.

²⁴ <http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/archaeologyresearch/projects/serf/>

Because they are only visible where they have been incised into the steeper slopes, the tracks only appear as short lengths. However, when studied at landscape scale, it is possible to connect the individual lengths to form longer routes and to relate them to other archaeological remains, such as the enclosures and cultivation remains on the lower slopes of the hills. In 2009, members of the SERF team walked one of these routes from its apparent end-point high in the Ochil Hills down to the farms around the village of Dunning (Dalglish & Given 2009). The start point was the Common of Dunning (NO 01740 08885), a natural bowl nestling in the hills. The Common is on record far back into the medieval period and appears to be the destination of many of the braided trackways. Climbing out of the Common, moving north, one passes over Chapel Hill – a name which may indicate the boundary between the Common and lands granted, in the late Middle Ages, to endow a chapel at Glasgow Cathedral. The summit of Chapel Hill is traversed by a large, denuded earth bank which may once have defined the edge of the Common more precisely and funnelled droves of livestock along certain routes. Moving over Chapel Hill, the sense of enclosure felt when standing within the large bowl of the Common gives way to extensive views down to Strathearn. The place-name and constructed earth bank marking this boundary coincide with a significant visual transition in the landscape. From here, various routes can be followed to descend from Chapel Hill to the farmlands in the strath below: the different groupings of braided trackways represent repeated journeys to and from particular farms or particular groups of farms. As the tracks approach the low ground, they interact with other archaeological features (as at Waughenwae Knowe). In places, the tracks respect the banks which once enclosed cropped fields, skirting round curvilinear head dykes which define the core lands of individual farms. In other places, the tracks crash through earlier boundaries and take a more direct route down from the hill.

These routes may have been followed since the Middle Ages, but the nature and meaning of their use will have changed with time and circumstance: today, there is a local memory of a route over to the Common known as the ‘Corb Road’ and thought to have been used to bypass the nineteenth-century turnpike (toll) road which winds through these hills (the B934).

Taken together, the various archaeological features, place-names, topographical features and historical documents relating to this area provide a rich body of evidence from which to construct an understanding of the tasks, practices and movements through which this landscape was known, such as the seasonal movement of livestock to and from the common pastures. The evidence allows us to consider the affordances and constraints of the landscape: boundaries of ownership and controls on access, the management of potential conflicts between crops and cattle, movements across a varied and changing land surface. And the evidence points towards the experiences, perceptions and relationships which may have conditioned the landscape as it was for those living and working within it: particular routes followed at particular times of year, natural and built features linked to meanings and landscape knowledge, visual and bodily engagements with the land, co-operation in certain tasks but not in others, the coming together of discrete communities into larger groups at particular times of year, relationships between different groups of farmers and between farmers and landowners.

8.3 Perceived landscapes

For those involved, the practical and bodily engagements through which landscape is experienced are not always the subject of explicit reflection. Landscapes are known, as much as anything else, as practical knowledge: the culturally, socially and

historically-specific common sense which allows people to get on with things. But, in certain circumstances and also from time-to-time in daily life, people do perceive landscape in a conscious way. It is important, then, that we complement and connect our knowledge of the landscape-as-experienced

with understanding of the landscape as perceived and represented. This includes investigation of particular traditions of thought relating to landscape, and it includes matters of meaning, significance and value. We should take account of the material and non-material culture of landscape apprehension and representation, including art, poetry and literature, cartography, political discourse and public policy. And the ways in which people have intervened in the world under the direction of particular philosophies and understandings of landscape should be explored and, conversely, how certain material interventions have changed perception and meaning.

Is there a modern way of perceiving the landscape? Many archaeologists have answered 'yes', arguing that our singular 'modern world view' is particular to us and not to be projected back into the more distant past (e.g. Thomas 2004, 178-9, 199). This modern world view prioritises vision above the other senses and separates the human subject out from the world: the modern person is a disengaged observer looking in on the landscape. This is the root of landscape painting, of cartography and archaeological landscape survey. It is the root of a Renaissance-derived capitalist understanding of landscape as commodity – a resource to be exploited, manipulated, bought and sold – and of an understanding of the world which separates nature from culture, conceptualising the natural as distinct from the human and in need of protection from the harm that can be caused.

There is something in this narrative of a modern way of perceiving landscape. It is possible, for instance, to point to the coincidence of the beginnings of the modern era and the emergence of 'objectifying technologies' such as the map (Timothy Pont's maps of the 1580s and 1590s being the

earliest surviving detailed maps of Scotland²⁵). However, research must move beyond the idea that any simple belief in the inexorable rise of the 'modern world-view'. Research should seek to cast critical light on this subject, understanding the so-called 'modern world-view' as a particular, historically-specific way of perceiving landscape and asking: How did this manner of perceiving emerge in practice? How has it been instilled in modern human subjects? The effects which this perception of landscape has had on the world, through its manifestation, for example, in landscape design, management and planning might be considered. And it might be asked: if this way of perceiving is particular, not universal, what other (modern) ways of perceiving landscape are there?

The matter of landscape perception is open to archaeological enquiry because there is a close, if not straight-forward relationship, between conscious perception, the material character of the world and people's engagements with that world. For the modern era, enquiry into this relationship benefits from rich archaeological evidence complemented by rich documentary, artistic, literary, toponymic and other representations of the world. Yet, despite the availability of these other sources, the question remains an archaeological one because people in the modern world, just as at other times, come to perceive and understand their world through particular engagements with it, and not least with its material, tangible characteristics. It is not possible to understand modern perceptions of landscape without researching the varied and changing ways in which people have acted in relation to their landscapes and the ways in which conscious perceptions of landscape have emerged from such interactions. Landscape perception is a subject for meaningful disciplinary collaboration.

²⁵ <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/>.

Research should uncover the genealogy (*Sensu* Johnson 1996) of objectifying modern perceptions of the land, as some recent work has begun to do. Such work has considered, for instance, the emergence of the modern landed estate in the 16th and 17th centuries through changes to the geography and landscape connections of castles (as they became less centres of lordship and more the homes of property owners (Dalglish 2005a)). Environmental historians have charted changes in land use, revealing a dynamic balance of arable, pasture and woodland cover linked to the increasing commercialisation of the land (e.g. Davies & Watson 2007). Moving forward in time, studies have seen agricultural improvement as a series of changes to the physical landscape which were linked to the Enlightenment and its concern for rational and transformative engagement with the world, and to emerging capitalist understandings of land and society (e.g. Dalglish 2003). And, for urban areas, archaeologists have considered civic improvement as a material playing out of the same ethos and impulse (Tarlow 2007).

The counter-point of Enlightenment rationality is the equally-objectifying Romantic sensibility which is so strongly associated with the Scottish landscape. We might seek to know how particular landscapes have developed in relation to the emergence, popularisation and perpetuation of Romantic landscape visions, as exemplified by the works and legacy of Walter Scott. Archaeologists have studied the popularisation of Scott's landscapes through their representation on ceramics (Lucas and Regan 2003; Lucas 2003) and investigations might be extended to consider how Romantic understandings of particular landscapes have inflected their development in material and lived terms.



Figure 30: Aerial photograph of Loch Katrine ©RCAHMS. Loch Katrine represents many of the different landscape relationships which have come to characterise modern Scotland. It is a Romanticised landscape, leisure destination and tourist hot spot, known through a body of literature and art which includes Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. It has a functional purpose as the cornerstone of Glasgow's water supply – the still-functioning Victorian dams and sluices, aquaducts and pipelines built for this purpose form part of its modern-era archaeology. And it is a landscape known and inhabited for centuries by farmers, shepherds and foresters: their lives are evidenced in the archaeological remains and long-established woodlands (some recently dated to the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries) which fringe the loch.

There is much for future studies to do in tracing the genealogy and biography of objectifying perceptions of landscape and the relationship of this kind of perception with past (and present) actions and interventions in the world and this is a research problem for archaeologies of all Scottish landscapes: urban, rural, coastal and maritime; designed, industrial, cleared, 'improved', Romanticised and contested.

Future research on this topic must adopt a critical stance, challenging easy assertions about the universality and uniqueness of such 'modern' ways of perceiving the world. Explorations of the genealogy of the object landscape must include and be contrasted with explorations of other modern perceptions of landscape: we need to consider that the landscape has always been multiple and varied in its perception. It might

be considered that processes of landscape modernisation, commercialisation and industrialisation may not have been simple expressions of an underlying rationality. They may, rather, have been improvised and negotiated processes: negotiated in particular environments, in relation to established customs and practices and to the contingencies of changing circumstances. And we might consider how other, different but no less modern, ways of knowing the landscape emerged or were sustained.

The same physical space can be perceived in different ways, in connection with the different ways in which people approach and engage with that space: the Highlands of the 18th century were familiar and re-assuring for some but alien and threatening for others, and this might be explored this in seeking to understand the ‘opening up’ of the Highlands through military roads, barracks and forts and other means. Landscapes need to be understood in terms of their social difference:

landscape perception can vary with gender, age, class and other co-ordinates of self. Research should be carried out into the enactment of the modern Scottish landscape as a matter of religion, spirituality and belief: the relevance, meaning and practical implications of the idea that the landscape is a revelation of God; the ways in which theological understandings of the landscape have justified or challenged modern ways of using or interacting with the land; the supernatural or magical landscape; landscapes of healing or witchcraft; landscapes of folk belief and folk meaning. Here, a connection between the material history of the landscape with the landscape as revealed through place-names, poetry, song, folklore, collective and individual memories and other evidence should be sought

Landscapes of belief

The Shandwick Stone, Nigg, and its landscape exemplify the complex cultural meanings associated with modern landscapes and the manner in which meanings can change significantly. This case demonstrates the need to engage with the intangible, the unreal and the imaginary in past landscapes – elements generally dismissed as irrelevant or unknowable by research philosophies which favour empirical observation. Bias against research into the valency of belief in the landscape was recognised some years ago (Merrifield 1987) but, with notable exceptions (see Gilchrist 2008), continues to constrain archaeological scholarship.

The Shandwick Stone is Pictish in origin but persisted into the Early Modern landscape and still stands *in situ* today. There is a demonstrable connection between Pictish sites and Early Modern fairy beliefs: such sites, and others including fairy hills and holy wells, were integral to a modern magical perception of landscape which intersected the normal, ‘mundane’ sensory environment (Henderson and Cowan 2001). This alternative landscape is one which can be accessed through maps and documentary evidence and through fieldwork (Henderson and Cowan 2001).

A second religio-magical dimension of the Shandwick Stone rests in its association with infant burial. Folk tradition records that the Stone was associated with an infant burial ground similar in tradition to the Irish cillíní (Finlay 2000, Donnelly and Murphy 2008). In recent years, a number of such sites have been identified in Scotland (McCabe 2010b). Typically, these sites are found in association with locations of existing religious significance, most commonly disused pre-Reformation churches (a preference also evidenced in Irish contexts (Finlay 2000)). Shandwick – not on a former ecclesiastical site – appears to buck this trend, but its location is in keeping with the use of sites of pre-Reformation significance. In Ireland, host sites include not only old church grounds but also

crossroads, ring forts and other prehistoric sites – sites typically associated with fairy beliefs (Finlay 2000).

Scottish infant burial grounds appear to have been meaningfully sited in the landscape in another sense: the consistent proximity of infant burial grounds to small flowing water courses and/or views of expansive bodies of water suggests that water was an essential feature, and this may refer to baptism practices and was perhaps an oblique attempt to baptise otherwise lost souls (McCabe 2010b).

To understand the nature of the Shandwick Stone, its modern as well as its Pictish past must be considered, recognising that it continued to be perceived as busy supernatural hub within a wider landscape. Such sites were home to physically-attestable fairy beings (witch trial records provide ample evidence that people believed they could interact with such beings), and to fairy-like dead infant beings. These beings were tangible and active in the world: flitting through the landscape making sounds, flashing in and out of vision, and even passing on a deadly condition through physical contact with their grave, known as grave merrells ((Henderson and Cowan 2001; McCabe 2010).

The ways in which magical worlds were experienced and shaped in human thought are clearly evidenced by the material traces of the use, avoidance, naming and remembering of landscapes and their constituent places. The Early Modern period is often seen as a time in which our familiar modern, rational modes of thought were beginning to take shape. Shandwick testifies otherwise, revealing the now-intangible entities which shared the world in the Early Modern psyche.

Today, the Shandwick Stone has been reduced to its Pictish aspect and encased in glass to preserve its integrity as an early historic monument. It is presented and managed with little reference to its folk past. This act of cultural forgetting and severance reflects three major absences in archaeological scholarship: 1) the under-representation of infants, who in this case have been erased from the landscape's biography; 2) a bias towards the rational, leading to a lack of engagement with religious beliefs in general, and with non-conformist beliefs in particular; 3) the absence of study of early Modern and earlier believed-in beings which can be seen archaeologically through the material aspects of the practices referring to their existence and the landscape associations of the places with which they were associated.



Figure 31 The Shandwick Stone, Nigg. This Pictish cross slab was an important part of the early modern landscape, becoming a focus for stories and beliefs, © RCAHMS

8.4 Political landscapes

People are constituted through particular experiences and ways of seeing the world, but are not constituted in isolation. Landscapes are material, ecological and social relationships and need to be understood, amongst other things, in terms of their political and contested nature. Landscapes are not freely known: the land is owned, organised and controlled and this allows certain ways of perceiving and experiencing landscape and limits or denies others. Yet, while this is true, the power relations of landscape are never fixed and settled, but always open to variation, manipulation and contest. Archaeology can shed light on questions of ownership, organisation, control and contestation by interpreting the materialities and practices through which landscapes have been formed, inherited and transformed.

In terms of the organisation and re-organisation of landscape, we can investigate the administrative structure of landscape and its significance for particular lives. Take, for example, parish boundaries, the re-organisation of which was not simply a matter of church bureaucracy but one with implications for the routines of life, requiring people to travel new routes and distances to worship or for burial, re-working the pattern of connections between settlements, churches and burial grounds and making certain churches redundant (and, in doing so, creating the possibility for their association with alternative practices and beliefs; see box section above).

The practices and material transformations through which modern ways of owning can be studied by researching how particular ways of managing and controlling land came to be established and by analysing how particular interests and visions have been realised and pursued through the landscape. The characteristic pattern of landholding in Scotland today – the large estate – emerged from changes in the way land was controlled and managed in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Studies of Early Modern castles in their landscape context have analysed some of the ways in which feudal lords or clan chiefs transformed their landscape relationships to become modern landowners (Dalglish 2005a). The modern landed estate also emerged through significant changes to the management and use of the wider landscape. Building on medieval roots, large-scale commercialisation of the landscape became widespread in the 16th and 17th centuries (e.g. Dodgshon 1998; Davies & Watson 2007). In certain ways this was an incremental and organic process, but land management and land use change were also subject to conscious re-planning then and later in the modern era and archaeology and cognate disciplines can shed new light on such planned change and on its negotiation and contestation in practice (see e.g. Dalglish 2003; 2005a; 2009; Given 2004, chapter 8; Lelong 2000; 2008; Symonds 1999a; 19999b).

Alongside studies of the material history of privately-owned rural estates, archaeology can and should deal with matters of organisation, control and management as related to civic and state intervention in the landscape. Urban planning and development control has a long history in Scotland, with medieval origins (Gray 1996). Through the material evidence we can comment on the long-term, medieval-to-modern history of urban planning, the implementation of planning in practice, the effects of planning actions and regulations on particular urban landscapes and communities and much besides. Recent archaeological excavations occasioned by the construction of an arm of the M74 motorway through the South Side of Glasgow²⁶ have, for instance, investigated the archaeology of Victorian sanitation and environmental health provision, analysing the introduction of water, drainage and sewage infrastructure (see Dalglish 2005b for a wider discussion of this topic). Civic improvement,

²⁶

<http://www.transportscotland.gov.uk/road/projects/m74-completion/m74-dig>

more generally, has been a focus of archaeological enquiry, in terms of its mechanisms and material manifestations, its national and international character and its local adoption, transformation or rejection (Tarlow 2007; Mayne & Murray 2001).

During the 20th century, the State intervened more frequently in the landscape, in concert or conflict with established interests such as those of the estate owner and the civic authority. As with those other forms of ownership, management and control, the practices forming State presence in the landscape are amenable to archaeological enquiry. Over the last century, the State has taken powers to shape, manage and control major tracts of land: the designation of scenic areas, national parks and other landscapes singled out for special treatment; the acquisition, nationalisation and transformation of estate for forestry, military, industrial and other uses in the national interest; the strategic development of transport infrastructure, such as railways and motorways; the implementation of agricultural policies, with tangible effects on the character of the fields, soils, buildings and other features of Scotland's farming landscapes and on the nature of rural life; and the passing of planning legislation and other instruments controlling the use and development of the landscape. Some past State interventions are evident today in relict military and industrial landscapes; many continue to structure the landscape-as-lived today. Some of these State interventions in the landscape have already seen some investigation by archaeologists and other material historians, including landscapes related to Second World War forestry operations in the central Highlands (Sneddon 2007), the Second World War and Cold War archaeology of the defence estate at Cape Wrath²⁷ and the coal mines in the nationalised era (Oglethorpe 2006). Future work should

extend consideration of State intervention in the landscape and enquire into the material and social effects of this intervention which, in one way or another, has transformed the form and character of most of Scotland's landscapes and significantly altered the manner in which they are lived and perceived.

Given the significant part which actors such as the estate-owner, the planning authority or the state agency have played in shaping the modern landscape, it would perhaps be easy to conclude that the role of archaeology here is simply to illustrate the history of private, public or third sector policy implementation. In part, this is the job at hand, but archaeological research, with its concern for human interaction through and with the material world, can shed light on two questions of deeper significance for our understanding of the politics of landscape in the modern past: What was the practice of landscape control, organisation, planning and transformation? To what extent was central authority over landscape accepted, aided and supported, challenged or resisted by others?

Grand schemes of agricultural and civic improvement, Clearance, landscape design and modernisation all, at some point or another, had to leave the drawing board to be implemented in practice, with varying results. In doing so, they would have been confronted with other actors and interests and with local conditions and circumstances. One task for an archaeology of the modern landscape is to assess the impacts of processes of landscape change and re-organisation on the populations affected – on their surroundings, their experiences and relationships and their perceptions. But to leave things there would be to render those populations passive in the history of modern Scotland. We need to consider the extent to which farmers, workers, developers and others supported, implemented and influenced landscape change on the ground, the extent to which pre-existing traditions and practices inflected the path of planned processes like improvement and the extent to which the

²⁷ <http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/defending-the-past.html>

given physical characteristics of the land channelled change down certain avenues and closed off others. Alternative histories need to be developed which chart the extent and the boundaries of surveillance in the landscape, and thus the limits to control imposed by the physical and social landscape (e.g. Le Beau 2011); histories which explore the possibilities for resistance to and defiance

of imposed authority, such as we see with the physical or cultural re-inhabitation of cleared landscapes (e.g. Lelong 2008); and histories which evidence the creation of other, non-sanctioned ways of being, as seen for example in landscapes of illicit whisky distilling (Given 2004) or folk belief (see box case study below).

Re-drawing the religious landscape²⁸

In the wake of the Reformation there was an attempt to redraw the sacral or religious landscape of Scotland. The reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, there was an attempt to 'deconsecrate' or destroy places that had become the focus of religious devotion and to discourage people from frequenting them: holy wells, caves, sites associated with the veneration of saints. Such places and the practices associated with them were regarded as superstitious by the Kirk. Secondly, there was an attempt to reorganise the ecclesiastical landscape, so that the Kirk could more easily meet the religious needs of the people, as it perceived them to be. The parochial landscape that the Reformed Kirk inherited had emerged from different religious traditions and was not uniform across the country. Some parish churches lay in remote locations that were not readily accessible from all parts of the parish throughout the year. The Kirk's requirement of weekly church attendance meant that the existing ecclesiastical organisation of the landscape was not sustainable. Furthermore, although Scotland had only around 1100 parishes at the Reformation, the Kirk struggled to find suitable pastors to serve these cures.

There was therefore an attempt to redraw the ecclesiastical landscape so that churches were readily accessible and parishes were of a manageable size. This meant the creation of new parishes or the alteration of parish boundaries so that settlements and farmsteads were assigned to their nearest parish church. This involved the careful measuring and mapping of the distances within the parish between settlements and the nearest church. In some instances this led to abandonment of existing parish churches for new sites, although the burial ground often remained in situ. The archaeological potential for investigating these changes in the religious landscape has been shown through the recent examination of the lost medieval parish of Gogar (Morrison, Oram & Ross 2009).

This redrawing of the parochial landscape contrasts dramatically with the situation in England (including the northern uplands where in some other respects cultural developments were closer to Scottish than to southern English norms). English parish/township boundaries and church locations were rarely altered until the 19th century. While the Scottish policy of rationalist reorganisation could be viewed as a precursor of Enlightenment attitudes, the contrasting Scottish and English policies could alternatively be viewed more symbolically, as contrasting statements of severance from and continuity with the Medieval religious landscape. Given the importance of churches as meeting-places for their communities, of the Kirk as social and moral controller of the community, and of parishes and townships as civil administrative units, the redrawing of the parochial landscape will have had implications far beyond the religious aspects of life.

²⁸ see Brown, K M et al, 2007-9; Clarke & Claydon 2010; Coster & Spicer 2005; Cowan 1961; 1967; Halvorson & Spierling (eds) 2008; Hindle 2008; Mitchell & Christie, 1896; Peterkin, 1838; Spicer 2005; 2007; 2010; 2011; forthcoming; Thomson, 1839-45; Thomson, T & Innes, 1814-75; Todd 2002; Walsham 2011; Whyte 2007.



Figure 32: Graveyard of St Mary of the Lowes church, in the Scottish Borders, a church abandoned due to parochial reorganization (the new church was built at Yarrow), © A. Spicer

8.5 Human ecologies

Landscapes are relationships between people and they are relationships between people and the material environment, but they are also relationships between people and other living things and between people and the natural environment. Indeed, thinking in landscape terms challenges us to integrate these distinct social, material and environmental relationships (see Olsen 2012). The sections above discuss research into the human-material dynamics and the social and cultural experiences, perceptions and politics of landscape. Here we turn to human-environment relationships.

The modern era has seen the development of a particular way of thinking and acting which places people and the natural world in opposition to one another – us versus ‘the environment’ – witnessed, perhaps above all, in the significance of climate change as a cultural and political as well as a scientific issue. Research should consider the changing relationship of people and environment in the modern past, investigating the ways in which people have exploited, impacted upon, managed, cared for and been influenced by the environment. Research should also help us to reflect upon and critically evaluate the very idea of a separation of people and environment, culture and nature. To what

extent does the history of our interactions with our world support or challenge this idea?

The genealogy of modern human-environment relationships can be traced from the rural or semi-rural industries of the Early Modern period (e.g. 17th-century iron production in the Highlands (cf. Photos-Jones *et al.* 1998) or the Early Modern salt and coal industries (cf. e.g. Adamson 2008)) to the industrial landscapes of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries (e.g. RCAHMS 1995a). Energy landscapes range from the monumental bings of the on-shore (shale) oil industry in West Lothian to water-powered mill complexes like New Lanark and the early renewable energy facilities of the North of Scotland Hydro-electricity Board. Energy links the marine, coastal and land-scapes, with oil and gas platforms connected by pipelines and across the sea’s surface to the energy infrastructures of the land mass. Throughout the modern period, people have engaged with woodlands, but done so in many different ways, from the small-scale wood pastures associated with farming practice, to the ornamental woodlands adorning many designed landscapes, to the larger-scale commercial charcoal- and tanbark-producing woodlands which fed the iron and leather industries, to

the block plantations of created by private and state landowners in the 20th century²⁹.

character of our relationships with each other and with our surroundings.

In the modern period, humans created nature, both in the sense of promoting the idea that culture is separate from (and stands in opposition to) nature and in the sense that people have had profound impacts on the environment through pollution, through the physical alteration of the land, through (beneficial and negative) effects on biodiversity and in many other ways. The origins of many of the characteristics of Scotland's natural environment are inextricably bound up with changing patterns of settlement and of resource management, seen in the of human management and stock grazing on woodlands, the species diversity of former field systems and shieling sites and, conversely, the loss of species-rich heather moors through intensive grazing from the Improvement period onwards (Tipping 2000, Davies and Dixon 2007; see also Stevenson & Thompson 1993; Chambers *et al.* 1999; Stevenson and Rhodes 2000; Hanley *et al.* 2008). And if modern environments are the by-products of past land use practices, they are also the conscious creations of modern conservation and environmental management practices, materially affected by their designation as wildernesses, ecological reserves and areas of scenic beauty, the active management of land and habitat to produce certain desired types of environment and the re-introduction of species (Hetherington 2008, Manning *et al.* 2009). In all of this, people have, consciously or not, significantly altered Scotland's environments and, in doing so, significantly changed Scotland's landscapes, not just re-shaping the world we inhabit but re-shaping us too by altering the

²⁹ under the broader banner of 'environmental history', there has been a lot of work in recent years in woodland history and in the interdisciplinary analysis of people-woodland relationships (e.g. Davies & Watson 2007; Holl and Smith 2007; Smout 2003; Smout, MacDonald & Watson 2005).

An integrated approach to the modern environment

Environmental evidence provides a very different perspective on the history of Scotland's landscapes from the human-centred view provided by many other sources. A significant challenge, but one worth taking, will be finding ways to integrate these perspectives (Hamilton et al. 2009).

Environmental evidence provides an independent strand of evidence which can be combined with written records and material remains. Together, these sources allow for more powerful historical analyses of human-environment relationships. Here the environmental evidence is not optional 'background' but an essential part of a multi-stranded approach, where the different lines of evidence and enquiry complement or challenge each other, producing fuller and more rigorous accounts of past landscapes.

Currently, the main limitations acting against an integrated approach are a shortage of environmental data and a tradition of poor integration in the theory and practice of landscape. Most palaeo-environmental analyses have focussed on prehistory and on millennial time spans which are inappropriate for integration with the finer-resolution histories which are the norm for the modern past and for understanding change on a human generational scale. Added to this, many pollen records of vegetation and land-use change originate from large lakes and bogs which provide a composite of regional-scale patterns. Such evidence is appropriate to historical interpretation at the regional scale and, in this, it concords well with regional studies based on archaeological, documentary and other sources. But archaeology, documentary history and other disciplines can also consider landscapes of a more localised kind and, here, the environmental evidence can lack the spatial resolution necessary for meaningful integration.

A secure chronology is an essential prerequisite for effective integration of environmental and historical sources. Errors associated with radiometric dating techniques (like radiocarbon dating) routinely span +/-80 years. This has led palaeo-ecologists to seek confirmation for known historical events in pollen diagrams, rather than treating these as independent sources which can be used to test hypotheses regarding causal mechanisms (Tipping 2004). However, alternative dating methods are readily available for the last c.150 years to reduce this problem.

Integrating quantitative environmental records with often largely qualitative written sources also requires careful efforts of disciplinary collaborations if new insights are to be generated into the influence of changing values on resource management choices (e.g. Davies & Watson 2007). Data are now increasingly available to understand landscape trends (primarily in the uplands) through the modern period. Increasing recognition (in the UK, Europe and beyond) that historical legacies rather than recent land management decisions determine many current ecological patterns and that past land-uses have contributed to current conservation values (e.g. for Scotland: Tipping 2000, Davies & Dixon 2007), such as biodiversity, indicates the relevance of integrated research into past human-environment interactions: this research into the past is fundamental to a sound understanding of the present and for adequately predicting future trends and thinking and acting in relation to the future landscape.

8.6 Research Recommendations

Future research on modern landscapes should take a critical approach to landscape: questioning and exploring the concept 'landscape', reflecting upon the methods through which landscapes are investigated and working towards new histories of the modern landscape which help towards an understanding of how people have related to their world, how they have been formed as subjects in so doing and why this is relevant to engagement with landscape today.

Future research should:

- *Conceptualise and research landscapes in relational terms.* The historic material characteristics of the land – whether relict archaeological features or historic features still in use today – are one aspect of landscape. Landscapes cannot be reduced to those physical features and need to be understood as social, material and ecological relationships. It is those relationships that research should seek to understand, adopting a reflexive approach and studying how people affected and formed the world around them but also how they were formed in their interactions with that world.
- *Evidence the multiple nature of modern landscapes.* The same area can be experienced as multiple landscapes, because landscape is formed of the particular relationships between different people and between people and the world. Landscapes of Improvement, industrial landscapes, designed landscapes or other landscapes cannot be explained in a singular way, as they would have been known and lived in different ways by different people.
- *Investigate the full sweep of landscape types, across all periods of the modern past.* There has been a heavy bias in the archaeology of modern Scotland towards farming landscapes, especially those of the 18th and 19th centuries. Certain kinds of industrial landscapes and other categories such as battlefields have also seen significant attention. However, to fully understand the past lives of the modern period, in terms of their landscape relationships, due attention should be given to the variety of landscapes forming rural, urban, coastal and marine Scotland. There should also be greater symmetry in the treatment of landscapes from different periods in the modern past: the history of the modern landscape runs from the end of the Middle Ages through to the present and includes landscapes whose character is strongly influenced by their most recent history and landscapes whose character speaks strongly of the centuries before.
- *Develop and adopt integrated and integrative modes of practice.* Adopting landscape as the subject of enquiry requires us to transcend the established sectoral divisions of industrial archaeology, battlefield archaeology, rural settlement studies and so on. Landscapes defy those separations and need to be understood in the round. Equally important as an integrated approach within archaeology is an integrative approach to disciplinary collaboration: the complex relationships forming modern landscapes are best understood by meaningfully working across disciplinary borders.
- *Connect past and present in terms of their landscape relationships.* Research should work towards landscape histories which make sense of and throw critical light on present-day relationships between people, the material world and the environment. Archaeologies of the modern landscape can explore the origins and dynamic histories, the time-depth and the beneficial and pernicious character of past landscape developments and, in so doing, can provide a much-needed historical perspective on landscape relationships in the present.

How did things come to be as they are now? What are the legacies of past landscape relationships, in social, political, material and environmental terms?

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to provide a deep perspective on modern life by revealing, evidencing and interpreting the recent history of landscapes, understood as relationships between people, other living things and the physical world.

9. Modern Past, Modern Present

9.1 Introduction

This last theme takes as its entry point the ‘relevance’ of the modern past. This past has particular resonance in the present: modern-world archaeology studies the genealogy (or genealogies) of current society, questioning and exploring the direct origins of the present. In providing this historical perspective on the present and critically questioning our many taken-for-granted understandings of the modern world, research in this field has the potential to challenge our assumptions about the nature of our present condition and of its inevitability, as well as providing food for thought in imagining and deliberating about the future

The research topics outlined in this document touch on many issues of present-day concern, including the relationship between individual and society or individual and state, the nature and meaning of self, community and nation in the modern world, consumerism and materialism, globalisation and locality, land access, rights and ownership, our relationship with the environment, the contested processes of rural commercialisation, agricultural improvement and the Clearances, religion, belief and society, and much else besides. The modern past is a past which continuously conditions, inflects, intrudes upon, and enables the present, yet it is not a past which determines current lives in any simple and absolute way. Any relationship with this past is therefore a complicated one which research can help all of us to know, understand, foster and transform.

Research under this theme is not primarily concerned with the modern past in and of itself, but with relationships with that past in the present. This, then, is research which links past, present and future in an explicit and critical manner. Some of the questions requiring further work are: How is the modern past currently understood? How do people today engage with that past? How is the

recent past (re)presented? What is the position of the modern past in contemporary political and social discourse (how does politics use the past, and in what ways is political debate shaped by understandings of the past)? How might we characterise relationships between academics, professionals, institutions and the public? What is the role of the archaeologist of modern society, in modern society? What ethical issues arise in dealing with the modern past in the modern present?

Future research might usefully focus on the relevance of the modern past (and particularly its material aspect) in specific circumstances, moving beyond general, broad-brush statements of relevance to a deep understanding of issues of politics, ethics, meaning and identity in context. In this, research might consider the relevance of the recent past for a variety of constituencies: academic and professional; communities of locality and interest; the national public; the Scottish Diaspora; descendents of those caught up in the colonial and imperial projects pursued by Scots; and others (see e.g. Basu 2000, 2001, 2004; Dalglish 2010; Driscoll 2010; Macdonald 1997). Research should be sensitive to the complexities of these constituencies: each category is shorthand for a complex of different, often conflicting relationships and interests and simplistic characterisations of different professional and public groups should be avoided. Research in this field should seek to adopt a critical stance and refuse to be seduced by seemingly natural generalisations. The specific issues, problems and questions which might be addressed are many – a flavour of the potential is indicated in the sections below.

9.2 *Archaeology: a modern way of knowing past and present*

Archaeology, and the other historical disciplines which consider the materiality of the past, emerged in the period under study.

Understanding those disciplines is therefore part of understanding the nature of the modern world – to understand the modern world one must understand the particular ways in which modern people have come to know the past. Research under this theme includes studies in the history of archaeology and cognate disciplines. While the historiography of prehistoric, early historic and medieval archaeologies is relevant here (all are modern ways of constructing history), particular emphasis might be placed on the historiography of the archaeology of the current era. In the context of this modern-period framework, particular attention might be paid to the ways in which archaeologists and other ‘material historians’ have contributed to perceptions and understandings of the modern past and, in turn, the ways in which archaeologists have been influenced by those wider perceptions and understandings.

Archaeological thought and practice emerged and have developed in dialogue with the wider social, cultural and political contexts within which archaeologists work. Archaeology influences and has been influenced by understandings of the particular

character and circumstances of modern life. Perhaps the first real archaeological engagement with the modern world was through Victorian ethnographic studies of the life and material culture of the Highlands and Islands (see box case study below). Industrial archaeology emerged later, in the decades after the Second World War, in the midst of a period of de-industrialisation when historians and others sensed that industrial Scotland was becoming a matter of history and heritage. More recently, battlefield and conflict archaeology has emerged as a distinct field of enquiry. And archaeology is increasingly turning its attention to the contemporary world: ‘the archaeology of the contemporary past’ and ‘contemporary archaeology’, denoting archaeological engagements with the present within living memory and the world as it is still being lived and created.

Research under this theme would analyse the character and the history of these archaeological engagements with the modern past and present and, in doing so, it would develop an understanding of the nature of modern-period archaeology and of its relationships with the modern world.

Archaeology and the persistent myth of aboriginal Scotland

The history of academic engagement with the material aspects of the modern rural past demonstrates the reflexive relationship between scholarship and its wider cultural, social and political contexts. Studies of rural life have developed in relationship with wider traditions of thought, and to understand the nature of archaeological practice and the knowledge it produces, those relationships need to be understood.

The earliest studies of Scotland’s recent-period rural archaeology were undertaken in the mid and later nineteenth century (Dalglish, 2003, chapter 2). At that time, the emerging discipline of archaeology was primarily concerned with the study of prehistory and with developing the theoretical and methodological tools necessary for the investigation of the prehistoric past. In that context, there was a strong interest in ethnology, or the comparative study of cultures. The thinking was that interpretations of prehistoric societies could be placed on a stronger footing by drawing parallels with modern ‘primitive’ societies who used similar technologies and, it was assumed, had a similar way of life. In Scotland, Victorian archaeologists argued that archaic forms of settlement, material culture, and social practice had survived more-or-less intact into the present in certain parts of the country – above all, the Highlands and the islands off the west coast. Assuming a continuum between prehistory and the present, these early archaeologists embarked on the study of living traditions and their material aspects (e.g. blackhouses, shielings, pottery and other artefacts) to provide ethnographic parallels for use in the interpretation of prehistory.

Scotland's early archaeologists were influenced by and contributing to a certain mythology surrounding the Scottish Highlands and Islands. This mythology has deep roots (Withers 1992; Berry 1997; Kidd 1993): during the medieval period, literature associated with the Scottish Court cast the Highlands and its inhabitants as wild, untamed and primitive; in the eighteenth century, Enlightenment theorists argued that all societies developed along a set evolutionary path and concluded that the Highlands were a few step back on the evolutionary ladder when compared with the Lowlands and England; from the later eighteenth century, an emerging Romanticism held that the essence of Scottish society had been preserved in pure, primitive, authentic form in rural Scotland, especially in the Highlands – there, still living, was the Scottish way of life *ab origine*, as it was in the beginning. Immersed in this tradition, archaeology of the 19th-century saw the contemporary culture of the Highlands and Islands as a 'window on the Iron Age'.

In the twentieth century, the continued power of this narrative is clearly to be seen in the new discipline of Folk Life studies which emerged after the First World War and which took forward the study of Scotland's landscapes, settlements and material culture in connection with the investigation of rural practices and traditions. This branch of scholarship – perhaps, above all, associated with Isabel Grant, author of *Highland Folk Ways* (1961) and founder of the Highland Folk Museum – has concerned itself, in particular, with the study of traditional (read 'conservative') rural life. In Folk Life scholarship, acknowledgment of the extent to which rural society and the countryside have changed since the 18th century is paired with a continuing belief that life before 1700 then lacked history: pre-improvement society was traditional, timeless, unchanging and, for the early folk life scholar, the job was to record the last vestiges of these old ways before they disappeared altogether.

This assumption of historical stasis was challenged by geographer and archaeologist Horace Fairhurst in 1960 (Fairhurst 1960, 73), when he questioned the prevailing method of projecting 'into a more distant past the conditions prevailing in the early eighteenth century'. This statement represents an emerging rationalist and empiricist approach to the Scottish rural past, one founded on the belief that any knowledge of that past should be founded on empirical evidence and reasoned argument rather than Romantic assumptions. Much archaeological work today sits within the tradition which Fairhurst represents, concerning itself with the search for empirical evidence and interesting itself, in particular, in interpreting the dynamism of rural society– the focus is now more on identifying and understanding change than on assuming continuity.

Yet, alongside this and standing in conflict with it, the idea of a traditional and essential Scottish way of life has continued to influence archaeological scholarship just as it has persisted in the popular imagination. In a speech in 2004 (at Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Skye, June 18, 2004), then First Minister of Scotland, Jack McConnell discussed land reform as a corrective for the Highland Clearances, which devastated a traditional way of life: "the settlement pattern that had served people for more than a thousand years previously, virtually vanished". A mass of empirical evidence contradicts this assumption of historical stasis before Improvement and the Clearances, yet archaeologists have continued to bolster the idea as much as they have tried to challenge it. Some have made explicit statements in favour of this notion of a historical stasis: "Arichonan was a *baile* [township] – an ancient nuclear community whose form may well have evolved from settlement patterns in the Iron Age." (Ascherson 2002, 199). Others have supported it more implicitly, by perpetuating the traditional/modern duality of the modern past, presenting pre-Improvement/Clearance society through a lens of homogenous, cohesive, deep-rooted, slow to change community. Here, pre-Improvement ways of life continue to serve in the role as a counter to a commercialised, atomised, fast-moving, unstable and exploitative modernity (See Dalgligh 2010, 391-394). Archaeology

continues to be influenced by the myth of aboriginal Scotland and to contribute to its continued vitality.

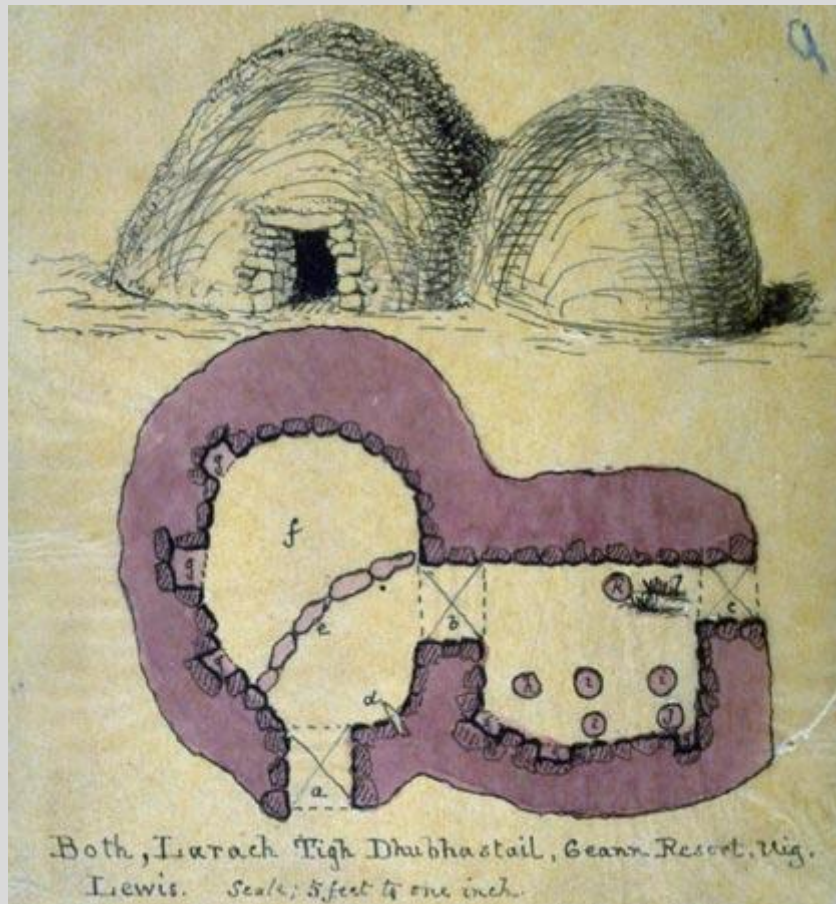


Figure 33: Illustration of *Both, L'arach Tigh Dhubhastail, Ceann Resort, Uig, Lewis*. Produced in 1859 for ethnologist/archaeologist Captian F W L Thomas, who considered this shieling hut an example of a prehistoric dwelling still in use, © Scran

9.3 (Re)presenting the modern past

Understandings of the modern past are communicated in numerous ways and, through research, it is possible to understand how this past is presented, how its presentation changes from context to context and how the present and future are contested through different representations of the past.

Recent research has, for example, done much to develop understanding of representations of the Highland Clearances in local and national museums, situating them both in relation to wider developments in heritage presentation and in relation to struggles over this past in the context of present-day concerns over land ownership and control, inequality and cultural and economic

marginalisation (e.g. Macdonald 1997b; Gouriévidis 2010).

Research under this theme should analyse, de-construct and evaluate representations of the modern past in museums of different kinds, in art and literature, on film and TV, in other contexts and through other media and technologies. In particular, the focus should be on representations of the material culture of the recent past and the manner in which this material is tied to particular narratives of modern society and modern relationships with the material and natural worlds. Research should interrogate the relationship between representation of the recent past and the social, political and economic context of that representation.

The Callanish Blackhouse: contested representations of the recent past

Purchased in 1934, one of the National Trust for Scotland's earliest strategic acquisitions was a blackhouse in the crofting township of Callanish, Lewis. The subsequent history of this building provides a good example of the way in which the material fabric of everyday life is re-worked to re-invent collective histories, infusing representation of the recent past with a political dynamic.

The 1930s was a period of profound and rapid change which saw the aspirations of small agricultural communities shift in the context of ongoing emigration, intensifying industrialization and increasing mechanization of the rural economy. In the Western Isles, this socio-economic transformation occasioned the abandonment of 19th-century 'blackhouses' (the local architectural tradition) in favour of 'white houses' whose architectural features derived from mainland traditions. By the mid 1930s, the townships of Lewis consisted of rows of white houses interspersed with abandoned blackhouses; those few of the latter form that remained in use were either occupied by the older members of the community or had lost their domestic function.

One of the key figures occupied in researching and recording this fast-disappearing vernacular heritage was Isabel Grant, a member of the National Trust's Executive Committee. On her recommendation, the Trust sought to acquire a vernacular domestic building on the Isle of Lewis. Rooted in 18th-century theories of societal development and Romantic philosophies, the academic perspective which framed Grant's proposal equated spatial remoteness from the centre – in this case, the industrialized heart of Empire – with retarded development. Thus the social and material world of the blackhouse was considered to offer a rare opportunity to observe otherwise long-vanished ways of living.

The blackhouse ultimately acquired by the Trust was a mid 19th-century building, modernized in the 1890s by the removal of its central open hearth and the addition of a 'best room' with a gable-end fireplace. From its Edinburgh centre, the Trust sought to return the building, which it believed to be very much older, to a perceived 'original type'. Its conditions of purchase therefore required the crofter to restore the building to its 'original condition' (in reality, a theoretical construct), which among other things involved demolition of the recent extension.

In 1935, as the re-worked blackhouse was being fitted out as a museum of rural life, a local committee newly established to oversee its management brought an entirely different set of aspirations to bear on the building. The committee, comprising members of the Stornoway establishment, considered the structure liable to mislead the public, not being a 'typical old time crofter's house'. Heated correspondence makes it clear that the committee's essential objection was that the blackhouse embodied the way of life of a stratum of society it felt unworthy of recognition. The rural heritage it wished to preserve for the ever-increasing numbers of cultural tourists was one of well-to-do crofters and township leaders. Playing down themes of poverty and exploitation which pervaded the island's recent history, the committee envisaged an 'ideal' blackhouse which would embody strength of purpose and character in the island's past. Their proposal to demolish the existing building and construct a much more elaborate example with no known parallels was ultimately rejected by the National Trust, but a compromise was reached whereby part of the existing fabric was retained in a complete recasting of the building as a 'superior' dwelling house.

The views of the Callanish crofters themselves were only sought in the immediate post-war period, when Trust funds were tight. Local subscriptions to help maintain the building were not forthcoming, and it was effectively abandoned. Although strong bonds of lineage and continuous

inhabitation had linked the crofting community to individual blackhouses, they also represented nearly a century of oppression, political inequality and hardship. The post-war crofters were realizing their own aspirations to modernity, leaving past materiality behind.

Then, from the 1970s and 80s, island communities began to draw upon blackhouses as an emotive symbol of a distinctive and valued local heritage in opposition to centralist histories. Since then, this vernacular architecture has been enfolded in a broad spectrum of initiatives with impetus from both external and internal communities, which draw on different aspects of the past to make sense of the present in varied ways and move towards different, desired futures. These alternative histories can be contradictory and they can be contested; they are always strategic and conditional.



Figure 34: Callanish blackhouse ©RCAHMS

9.4 Popular knowledge and public collaboration

The modern past is constructed by academics and professionals but it is also a matter of public knowledge and concern. Research can evidence, analyse and interpret popular understandings of the recent past and, in particular, its material aspects and relationships. In what ways is the modern past made meaningful by people in the present? Which aspects of this past - which narratives, things, places and landscapes have meaning for people and why? Amongst other things, reference might be made here to the industrial past, to graveyards in relation to family and local history, to the archaeology

and landscapes of the Clearances, to battlefields and other sites of conflict, to the iconic place or landscape (St Kilda, New Lanark) and to the mundane. Research can also explore the relationship between popular and academic/professional understandings of the past. As discussed above, this is a two way relationship: archaeologists, through their work, feed into the process of generating a meaningful past; archaeologists, in their work and as persons within society themselves, are influenced by wider historical knowledges, narratives, myths and beliefs.

Research in this field might consider questions of the character and meaning of the recent past from the point of view of different

constituencies: the role of historic places and landscapes in the creation, maintenance and re-creation of identities in modern-day Scotland and amongst the Scottish diaspora (Basu 2000, 2001, 2004; Lelong 2008); the character of the archaeological, historical and heritage narratives which underpin notions of national identity (E.g. Ascherson 2002); the past as perceived by landowners (E.g. McCrone & Morris 1994; Stewart *et al.* 2001), or by crofters (E.g. Macdonald 1997a; 1997b); and others besides.

Complementing research into popular knowledges of the recent past and their interaction with the knowledge and understanding produced by academic and professional archaeologists is research into the more direct public interaction. Such interaction between archaeologists and the public takes various forms, from relatively brief and superficial encounters to longer-lived and more meaningful collaborations.

Community archaeology and public engagement are areas of growing interest and activity and ones where the modern past features prominently – more than a few of the most successful professional/public collaborations of recent years in Scotland and across the U.K. have concerned the archaeology of the recent past (e.g. *Scotland's Rural Past* project, the *Defence of Britain* project). These interactions, relationships and practices are the subject of growing discussion and analysis (E.g. Dalglish forthcoming), but currently remain under theorised and poorly understood. Research is needed into the philosophies, politics and practices of public and community engagement, specifically in the context of the archaeology of the recent past, in order to develop a sound and critical understanding of the nature, consequences, possibilities and problems of participatory and collaborative practice.

Linking Communities to Historic Environments (LCHE) Research Review

Debate over the theory, ethics, politics and practice of public and community archaeology needs to be grounded through research analysing the nature and circumstances of such engagement, past and present.

The *Linking Communities to Historic Environments* project was a six-month research review, undertaken by RCAHMS in 2011 and funded under the Arts and Humanities Research Council's *Connected Communities* programme. The review aimed to identify historic changes in community engagement that have occurred over a period of up to 50 years. Over this period, the roles of public and third sector heritage organisations have changed and their approaches to community engagement and the historic environment have been many and varied. The LCHE review has revealed differences between 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches, and illustrated the changing nature of 'connectivity' between communities and their broader historic environment. There are obvious tensions and challenges when it comes to community engagement projects and the review sought to identify these.

During the course of the research review a number of conclusions emerged, including:

- While there is a plethora of public and community engagement research and research review material available, little of this is specific to the historic environment and to community engagement in Scotland – literature about community engagement, within the historic environment sphere, is often based on world experiences that do not necessarily easily compare to Scottish experiences;
- The manifold demands of communities need to be met through institutional changes within the historic environment sector and institutional change combined with external partnership working could improve meeting the demands for community engagement;

- Research into community-led, historic environment projects and undertaking increased community-based engagement through Scotland's historic environment will contribute to the five Strategic Objectives of Scottish Government's National Performance Framework;
- Future directions could include creating engagement networks on three levels – national, regional and local – by working with national organisations, regional councils and networks and at parish and local community-council scale, respectively;
- The historic environment can be used as a tool to engage a far broader range of people and consideration needs to be given to how inclusiveness might be extended through more imaginative projects and partnerships, which draw in skills and expertise from outwith the historic environment sector. In this way, capacity can be built not only within the discipline and profession but also within communities themselves.

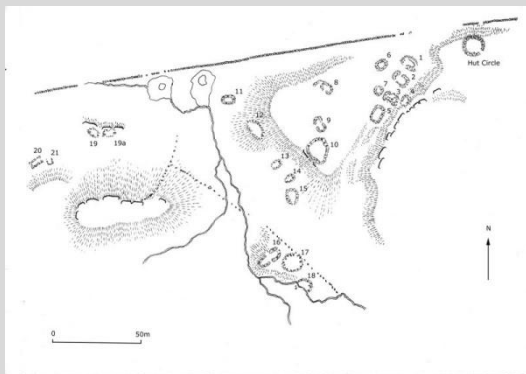


Figure 35: Scotland's Rural Past survey at Torranns, Mull, producing a survey of the archaeological remains, © RCAHMS

9.5 A political past

The archaeology of the modern past concerns itself with the direct origins of the present – the social, economic, cultural and environmental relationships, processes and actions which have led to the current situation. The archaeology of the modern past also concerns itself with alternatives – other modern ways of life, other possible paths to the present, historical trajectories cut short. The modern past is a political past, concerning as it does explanations and interpretations of the origins and character of the world inhabited today.

The politics of this recent past are a subject for research. The archaeology of the recent past is always in a direct or indirect relationship with present-day concerns and interests and it is important that that relationship is better understood, developing explicit knowledge about the political nature of the past in the present and a sound basis

for critical, meaningful and sensitive archaeological practice.

The potential range of issues is broad. Recent work has, for instance, explored the relationship between different understandings of the recent rural past, including its archaeology, and the politics of land reform (Dalglish 2010) and the past features strongly in the ideologies surrounding present-day tensions between landowners and crofting tenants (MacDonald 1997).

Many of Scotland's communities were formed in the context of industrialisation and de-industrialisation has had tangible social, economic and material effects which continue to resonate, whether in the countryside of Ayrshire or Fife or in urban contexts like Glasgow. Industrial archaeology speaks directly to present day concerns and the histories created through industrial archaeology have the potential to confirm,

challenge or complicate historically-grounded political narratives in the present.

The religious past is a prominent feature in political debate and action, relating so closely as it does to present-day social and political concerns. Archaeologies of Scotland's modern-era religions have the potential to become entangled in the telling and re-telling of received narratives, and they have the potential to question received traditions and habits of thought by exposing some of the complexities and contingencies and the fluid and changing nature of religion and belief and considering the practical, everyday and pragmatic aspects of life.

In the modern period, Scotland contributed to and became entangled in global processes, structures and institutions: capitalism, colonialism, Empire and slavery, to name a few. Research can consider how the archaeology of these subjects is handled in contemporary historical and political discourse and how in the future it might be possible to engage with the legacies of Scotland's past global entanglements.

Battlefield and conflict sites and landscapes – places like Culloden – are increasingly a focus for archaeological research and they have, for some time, been the focus of heritage conservation, management and interpretation. These sites and landscapes play an important role in political narratives and their meaning, character and history are contested, often hotly so. These historic places and the political character of engagement with them require ongoing research.

The question of human relationships with the environment is at the forefront of 21st-century political debate and action, and the history of these relationships is central to an understanding of how the world has come to be as it is and to debate concerning the paths we should take in the future. There is a strong narrative suggesting that the history of human interactions with the natural

environment demonstrates our exploitative stance towards nature, and ecological and restoration philosophies proceed from a particular understanding of the past and its continuing impacts in the present (see Midgley 2007 for the social construction of natural pinewoods). Some recent research has evidenced the significant impacts of modern human actions on the environment, as in relation to the the quality and biodiversity of uplands, impacted by economic and land-use changes such as the development of intensive sheep grazing (Stevenson & Thompson 1993, Smout 2000, Tipping 2000, Dodgshon & Olsson 2006, Mather 1993, Hanley *et al.* 2008). Other research, though, has underlined the complexity and variety of human-environmental interactions, challenging, for example, the idea that Scotland's woodlands have historically been depleted through mismanagement and exploitation (Stewart 2010, Smout 2000, Davies 2010, 2011). In this era of environmental and socio-economic uncertainty relating to climate change, examples of past human responses to climatic variability provide a useful reminder how cultural values and perceptions colour action. And research can challenge the tendency to apply misconceptions regarding the character of climate change, notably in relation to the 'Little Ice Age' (Dodgshon 2004), and to conflate climatic and socio-economic drivers for landscape change (Tipping 1998). Research under this theme could usefully explore the role of different understandings of the past in environmental discourse and provide new ways of understanding and reflecting upon present-day environmental issues.

Research can consider both how particular historical narratives are created, maintained and transformed and how reflection on the past, engendered by archaeology and other material historical disciplines, can contribute to new understandings of the present and approaches to the future.

The Resonance of religious buildings

Religious buildings stand as important confessional statements within both the rural and urban environment. Monumental cathedrals such as Glasgow or the ruins of St Andrews are evocative reminders of the complex liturgies and ceremonies that were associated with the medieval mystery of the mass. At the Reformation, some cathedrals, like St Andrews and Elgin, were abandoned for local parish churches which were more suitable for the more intimate arrangements required for preaching in the Reformed Kirk. The cathedral at Glasgow was abandoned before being divided into several separate churches. At a parochial level the buildings were reconfigured and where there was a chancel it was frequently abandoned, often becoming a burial aisle. These were structural alterations that were not always successful in their attempts to reorganise the ritual space that had been constructed for different confessional practices. As Burns noted: 'What a poor pimping business is a Presbyterian place of worship! Dirty, narrow, squalid: stuck in a corner of old popish grandeur such as Linlithgow'.

The restoration of churches, such as Haddington and Stirling in the twentieth century, has recreated to some extent the medieval appearance of these buildings, and something of their Catholic grandeur. This has, however, been at the expense of the more recent Reformed church interior which has been regarded as an intrusion. The 17th-century sectarianism which divided the parish church of Holy Rood in Stirling is now only a matter of historical and photograph record, rather than an archaeological and architectural statement. Here, then, a heritage concern for the original and most ancient form of the building has resulted in the erasure of direct and tangible reminders of the Reformation history of these buildings and the communities to which they relate.

Churches have, of course, been transformed in more recent times as well: Al-Furqan Mosque in Glasgow and Dundee Central Mosque were established in former churches while, in Edinburgh, the United Free Church of Scotland building in Queensferry Road, Blackhall, became a mosque in 2009. Some structural elements commonly found in churches, such as galleries, translate well across faiths, but other features need to be altered, adapted, removed or added to meet new religious purposes.

The evolution and adaptation of such buildings to meet the demands of different denominations and faiths speaks to Scotland's complex religious history and these buildings have a place in the histories and ongoing stories of many groups within Scottish society. These buildings have played a prominent role in key social, religious and political changes in the modern Scottish past and they have much to tell about still-resonant historical conflicts and differences between groups. But they also speak of shared spaces, beliefs, traditions and practices and of commonality, co-existence and creative adaptation.



Figure 36: The ruins of St Andrews Cathedral viewed from St Rule's Tower, © RCAHMS

9.6 The ethics of modern-world archaeology

The archaeology of the modern past informs understanding of the present and debate about the future. The recent past is a matter of public knowledge and interest and archaeologists interact with others in the construction, interpretation and presentation of this past. Given this, ethics is a central issue for research relating to the modern past.

This is partly a matter of researching the moral or ethical attitudes of different constituencies towards the telling of recent history and towards the material remains which have come down from the recent past. Research can provide evidenced, nuanced, considered and critical understandings of professional and public attitudes on moral and ethical matters. What explicit and implicit values and principles do archaeologists adhere to in practising their craft? What values are held by different public constituencies in relation to modern artefacts, human remains, places and landscapes, and in relation to the manner in

which archaeologists and others engage with these things? Crucially, research can consider these questions in context, through in-depth case study analyses which draw out the assumptions and values which take form in particular circumstances and through considerations of the manner in which specific situations are handled.

Researchers and practitioners must engage in an ongoing process of critical reflection and action in relation to their own practice. In common with all the other ScARF panels, the Modern Panel recognises that the practice of archaeology has real consequences in the world and therefore recognises the need for appropriately reflective and ethical practice. A number of Codes of Ethics for archaeology have been drawn up in recent decades including the World Archaeological Congress Code of Ethics³⁰, the Institute for

³⁰

http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about_ethi.php

Archaeologists Code of Conduct³¹, the European Association of Archaeologists Code of Practice³², and many others. Guidelines and rules dealing with archaeological responsibilities vis-à-vis the treatment of human remains, looted artefacts or those of insecure provenance, the global antiquities trade, and professional standards and relationships with colleagues and employers are the principle areas of attention, along with a general responsibility towards safeguarding or preserving the archaeological record. In the context of the archaeology of the recent past in Scotland, some areas are likely to be more significant than others. While dealing with looted artefacts is not a major problem, the treatment of human remains is a more pressing issue, not least because public feelings are often more intense when dealing with recent-period burials. As discussed above, the recent past is also bound up with matters of self and society (identity, community, politics and so on) and archaeological practice therefore frequently enters into relationships with the interests of others. Other areas of particular concern are the current vogue for popular genetics and the participation of archaeologists in development projects which may have detrimental environmental impacts. And there are recurrent tensions, in museums and out in the field, between economic, social, cultural and spiritual uses and meanings of the archaeology of the modern past (e.g., Ambrose 1989).

There can be a tendency to equate ethical practice in such areas with adherence to codes of proscribed and prescribed behaviours, such as those listed above. However, any set of rules is unlikely to be flexible and sensitive enough to deal with the complexity and contextuality of practising modern-era archaeology. Archaeologists should be encouraged to reflect on the

political and ethical contexts of their work and in that way to be alive to the interests of multiple others. Colleagues are advised to engage in ongoing discussion of ethical implications of their work, to seek consensus and in cases of genuine disagreement to work towards negotiated solutions which do not compromise their core ethical values. In all this, research can provide a sound and deep foundation for ethical reflection and action, by revealing and promoting understanding the interests which are potentially relevant in particular circumstances and by indicating and actively developing approaches to the application of ethical principles, including new collaborative modes of working.

³¹

http://www.archaeologists.net/sites/default/files/node-files/code_conduct.pdf

³² <http://www.e-a-a.org/codeprac.htm>

9.7 Research Recommendations

Future research should:

- *Link past, present and future in an explicit and critical manner.* Recognising that the modern past has a particular resonance in the present – as the exploration of the direct origins of that present – research should go beyond the search for knowledge and understanding of the past to investigate relationships between that past, the present and the future.
- *Develop a sound understanding of modern-period archaeology as a scholarly pursuit and as a social and political practice.* Archaeology itself, as a modern way of knowing the past, is an important topic for research. In the present context, particular emphasis can be placed on the need for further creative and critical research revealing and understanding the character and history of archaeological engagements with the modern past and present. This research will be crucial for the development of a sounder understanding of the developing role of archaeology in the modern world.
- *Provide insights into the ways in which the modern past is presented and represented in the present.* Understandings of the modern past are communicated in numerous ways and, through research, it is possible to understand how particular versions of this past are created, disseminated and promoted, how interpretation of the modern past changes from context to context and how the present and future are contested through different representations of the past.
- *Evidence and interpret popular understandings of and engagements with the modern past, particularly its material aspect.* Research in this field should consider the character and meaning of the recent past from the point of view of different constituencies, complementing research into national narratives concerning the recent past with understanding of the significance and meaning of the recent past for different communities within and beyond Scotland.
- *Critically review public engagement practices in modern-world archaeology and develop new modes of public-professional collaboration.* Community and public engagement have emerged and continue to develop as important aspects of modern archaeological practice. Professional-public relationships have firmly moved beyond the one-way dissemination of information to more active forms of engagement and collaboration. Yet, this development in practice has not been accompanied by sufficient research and debate surrounding the philosophies, politics and practices of public and community engagement, at least not in the particular contexts of Scotland and the archaeology of its modern past. Research is needed to develop fuller and deeper understandings of the character, consequences, possibilities and problems of public-professional relationships in relation to the recent past. Research is needed to generate practices through which archaeology can make positive interventions in the world.
- *Evidence and understand the politics of the recent past, particularly as related to the material aspects of that past.* Investigations of the origins of the present and of those other modern ways of life which came to an end on the way to the present are inevitably bound up with questions about the nature, legitimacy and direction of social, environmental and political matters. More research is needed to evidence and understand the politics of the recent past, the ways in which particular historical narratives are created, maintained and

transformed and the ways in which reflection on the past, engendered by archaeology and other material historical disciplines, can contribute new perspectives on the present as a means of envisioning the future.

- *Advance knowledge and understanding of the moral and ethical views held by professionals and members of the public in relation to the archaeology of the recent past.* Given that the archaeology of the modern past informs understandings of the present and feeds debate about the future; given that archaeologists work with the material remains (and human remains) of recently-living communities; and given that archaeologists interact with others in conducting their work, ethics must be a central issue for future research. Research is needed which reveals and investigates the moral or ethical attitudes of different constituencies towards the telling of recent history and towards the material and human remains which have come down to the present from the recent past. This research should provide evidenced, considered and critical understandings of professional and public attitudes on moral or ethical matters in this area.
- *Embed processes of ethical reflection and beneficial action into archaeological practice.* Ethics is not just a subject for researchers to study but something which should be built into the very doing of archaeology. Researchers and practitioners should be encouraged and supported to engage in an ongoing process of critical ethical reflection and action in relation to their practice. Research is needed which provides a sound and deep foundation for ethical reflection and action, by revealing and promoting understanding of the interests which are potentially relevant in particular circumstances and by indicating and actively developing approaches to the application of ethical principles, including new participatory and collaborative modes of working in archaeology. Research practice should connect the creation of knowledge about the past with the pursuit and realisation of social, environmental and other benefits in the present and for the future.

In all of the above, the over-arching aim should be to further understanding of our relationships with the modern past and to link past, present and future in an explicit, ethical and active manner.

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