

# The Deserted Townships of Kilmory Oib & Arichonan and Kilmory Mill

Historic Building Surveys



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## Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Settlement Study in Argyll	1
3. The Archaeology of Argyll Settlements	7
4. Historic Building Surveys	13
<ul> <li>4.1 Kilmory Oib</li> <li>4.1.1 Historical Background</li> <li>4.1.2 Site Survey Results</li> <li>4.1.3 Excavation Results</li> <li>41.4 Assessment of Cultural Significance</li> </ul>	13 13 15 23 23
<ul><li>4.2 Arichonan</li><li>4.1.1 Historical Background</li><li>4.1.2 Site Survey Results</li><li>4.1.3 Assessment of Cultural Significance</li></ul>	26 26 28 31
<ul><li>4.3 Kilmory Mill</li><li>4.1.1 Historical Background</li><li>4.1.2 Site Survey Results</li><li>4.1.3 Assessment of Cultural Significance</li></ul>	38 38 39 40
5. References	43
Appendix 1: Photographic Survey Images	46
Appendix 2: Photographic Image List	65

## 1 Introduction

The following report has been undertaken by Kilmartin Museum on behalf of the Forestry Commission Scotland (Brief Reference MR/2013/26) and includes an historic building surveys of the township sites at Kilmory Oib and Arichonan along with the site of Kilmory mill all located in North Knapdale, Argyll (Figure 2). The report also includes an assessment of the cultural significance of these sites and sets them within their regional context. The fieldwork was undertaken during November and December 2013.

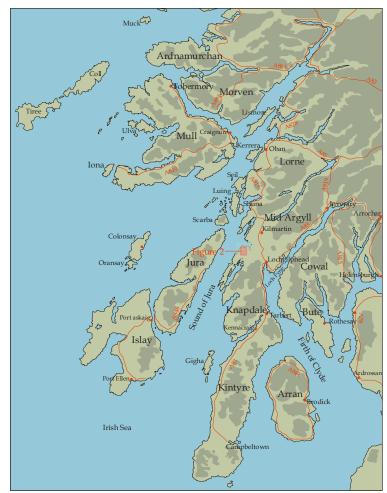


Figure 1: Location of the Sites in Argyll

## 2 Settlement Study in Argyll

The deserted settlements of Highland Scotland despite their ubiquity across the landscape were until recently a rather neglected resource. In Argyll as elsewhere early antiquarian and later archaeological survey work concentrated on prehistoric and medieval sites. Much of this earlier work was incorporated by Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) in the two published Inventories for Mid Argyll and Cowal (RCAHMS, 1988, 1992). One of the major omissions within the inventories, perhaps understandably, was that of abandoned settlements with only 16 sites described under their classification 'Farms, Townships and Shielings' (RCAHMS 1992). Lists of these sites had been previously attempted for parts of Argyll but these were not complete or exhaustive (See Campbell MSS in the Lochgilphead Archives). Further work has been undertaken by historians such as Alan Begg who published works on the deserted settlements of Kilmartin and Glassary (Begg 1998, 2002). The potential number of such settlements was highlighted by RCAHMS who listed the presence of about 500 settlement names in Mid-Argyll & Cowal that appeared within hearth-tax of 1693 (RCAHMS 1992, 32). The under representation of such sites in the archaeological record has been partly

addressed by the First Edition Survey Project, that recorded the unroofed rural settlements depicted on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey maps and which has listed over 25,000 sites across Scotland.

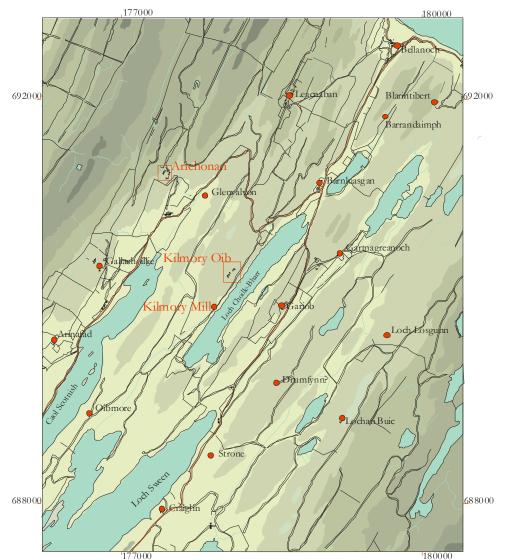


Figure 2: Location of the Sites

More recently survey work undertaken by Dr Heather James for her doctoral thesis on the medieval settlements in Mid Argyll (James 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2009) along with survey work undertaken by Kilmartin Museum (Regan and Webb 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006c, Regan 2007, 2008a, 2009) have recorded numerous settlements and their buildings. Based on these previous works, Kilmartin Museum has compiled a database on settlement sites in the parishes of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary and South Knapdale and North Knapdale. This includes named and unnamed settlements that are depicted on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey maps along with other settlement sites that have come to light during the recent survey work and their distribution is shown in Figure 3. The database also includes settlements that appear within historical documents but have not yet been identified with known sites on the ground. At present the database contains over 500 settlement sites and of these, 128 (just over 25% of the total) have been subject to measured survey. Within this body of work over 460 individual structures have been recorded which provides a solid representative sample of settlement and structural types that survive across the region of Mid Argyll.

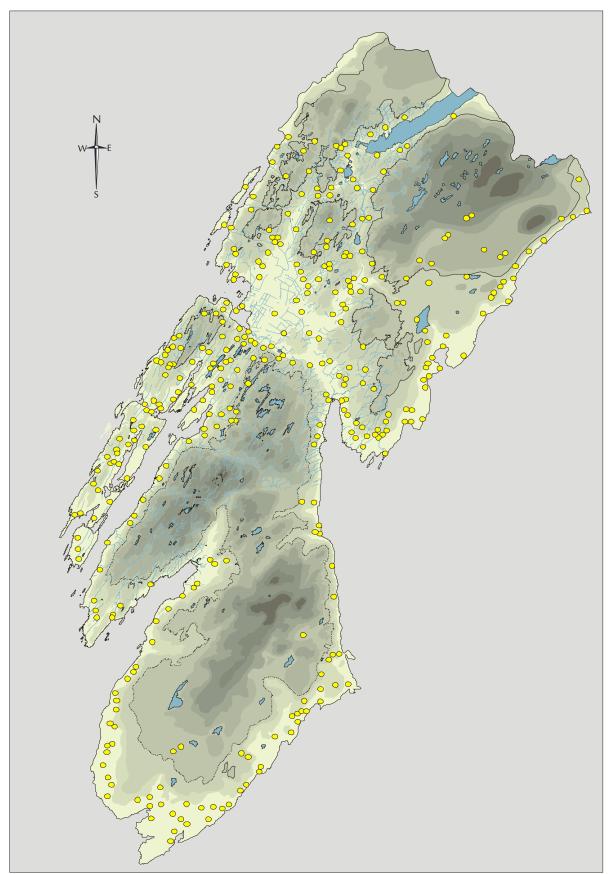


Figure 3: Settlement Distribution in the Parishes of Kilmartin, Kilmichael Glassary, North Knapdale and South Knapdale (the broken line shows the 150m comtour)

The historic settlements and townships of Argyll and the vernacular architecture they contain have been subject to various studies which have introduced various criteria as to their dating and typologies. In the 1950's Sinclair identified three 'types' of building he named as 'Dailriadic', 'Skye' and 'Hebridean'. These were distinguished by their geographical representation and differentiated by the thickness and construction of their walls along with the use of either hipended or gable-ended roofs and the location of the fireplace (Sinclair 1953). The 'Hebridean' type was distinguished by extremely wide, double skinned walls and had a wide geographical spread, although it predominated in the Outer Hebrides. Early studies of vernacular architecture had suggested a difference in the geographical location of the 'Skye' type (hip-ended) and the 'Dailriadic' type (gable-ended) of structure, although Sinclair's work showed that in some instances both types of gable could be present within the same settlement and even in the same structure. He also concluded that the 'Hebridean' and 'Skye' types were likely contemporary structural types, the differences reflecting the use of locally available building resources. He also suggested that the 'Dailriadian' type was a more recent introduction, possibly as late as the 19th century. Sinclair did acknowledge that this three type division was an over simplification and within and across each group there was a significant degree of variation. Fieldwork in Argyll was continued by Gailey (1962a & 1962b), who could find no surviving examples of the 'Skye' type or examples of houses built of clay or turf in Argyll. The buildings he recorded were all variants of the 'Dailriadic' type with high gable ends, noticing (in South Knapdale) that the foundations of many structures overlay earlier stone foundations representing narrower buildings concluding these were a transitional type between narrow turf walled structures and the wider 'Dailriadic' type. Gailey's work led him to tentatively propose an evolution of structural types in the southwest Highlands.

1. During the medieval period (pre-17<sup>th</sup> century) the majority of houses were varied in shape (round, oval or rectangular) and built of organic material (turf, wattle, clay etc). The use of stone was reserved for the buildings of the upper strata of society.

2. Buildings increasingly from the  $18_{th}$  century saw the use of stone walls in their construction although these, for a time, retained features from the earlier period such as a relatively narrow width, hipped roofs and cruck roof supports.

3. By the 19th century the houses were wider, did not use crucks and had straight gable ends (Dalriadian).

Gailey argued that the absence of stone within buildings prior to the 18th century was due to a reluctance of tenants to build and invest in more durable structures because of the insecurity of tenure and the threat of endemic clan warfare. He also argued that from the mid-18th century iron smelting at Bonawe and Furnace meant there was less access to an increasingly denuded woodland resource for building purposes (Gailey 1962a, 239-40).

The recent work by James however has shown that even this structural chronology is open to question with the use of dry stone walls along with turf walls in the late-medieval period. The work has also shown that turf and stone and turf structures persisted in use until mid-19th century as evidenced by buildings at Keills and Kilmory. As such, she concluded that preimprovement buildings were varied in size as were the materials used in their construction with walls of stone or a combination of stone and turf, with wattle and daub. These buildings were likely hipped roofed and had central hearth with no chimney. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century, improving landlords were actively discouraging the use of turf as a building material, although as mentioned above in many places stone may have already replaced turf as the major walling material for the main settlement buildings. Recent survey work also mentioned above has recorded numerous stone built deserted settlements within the landscape of Mid-Argyll which attest to the huge investment into the agricultural economy undertaken by both tenants and landowners. The survey work has shown that the majority of the upstanding structures within deserted or adapted settlements date to the 19th century, although some may date to the later half of the previous century. The architecture of these improvements is characterised by buildings with drystone walls with square corners and high straight gables, some, perhaps the latest structures, with integral chimneys. Typically dwellings would have had windows with a thatched roof supported on a timber cruck frame.

James along with Gailey has suggested that settlement in the medieval period was dominated by dispersed farms based around available arable land, these attached to sheilings located in the higher summer pastures. Thereafter there appears to be a movement towards settlement nucleation, although James has pointed out that this process is difficult to identify in Mid-Argyll and that there may be only the 'appearance of nucleation' resulting from an increased population being accommodated in the existing settlements. From the 16th century this population growth may also have led to the increased 'splitting' of settlements with the establishment of new settlements on previously marginal land. In Mid Argyll the overwhelming majority of settlements recorded during the survey work would qualify as being townships if the RCHAMS definition is applied, most being 'a group of dwellings, farm buildings and land, held by two or more joint tenants usually working the land communally'. The fact that several individuals are listed in each settlement in the 1693 hearth-tax suggests that joint-tenancy was the common form of landholding these settlements likely supporting several families. Robertson, in a study of the settlements of south west Argyll has shown that in 1841 this was the common form of settlement that could be occupied between 3 to 18 families, the larger settlements often inhabited by a 'swollen' group including the houses of the tenants themselves along with those cottars, servants and labourers (Robertson 1967).

Study of the settlement place names, based on cartographic evidence, suggests a remarkable degree of continuity in the landscape locations of the settlements between the late-16th and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. James in her research used the First Statistical Account for the parish of Kilmartin (1792) to show that over 60% of the population lived in farms of between three and six households and it is likely that this figure is representative of the other parishes in Mid Argyll (RCAHMS 1992, 32; First Statistical Account 1792, 97). From the 19<sup>th</sup> century as we know many of these joint-tenancy farms were increasingly being consolidated into single larger farms or were cleared, as landowners sought to maximise their income from the land by increasingly turning to sheep and cattle production and it is the archaeological remains of many of these deserted farms which still occupy the rural landscape of Mid Argyll.

By 1800 both the estates in which the settlements of Kilmory Oib and Arichonan lay had been purchased by Neill I Malcolm of Poltalloch. The Malcolms of Poltalloch were a long established mid Argyll family who had principally made their fortunes in the 18th century particularly under the auspices of Neill I Malcolm. Much of their fortune derived from their plantations in Jamaica and trading in commodities such as sugar, rum, cotton, cattle and slaves (MacInness 1988). By the late 18th century Neill I Malcolm had centred his business activities in London, investing in, among other things, properties in London and estates in Lincolnshire. In Argyll much of their accrued profits from their successful commercial ventures were spent actively purchasing local estates, usually from indebted Campbell landowners, these including the estates of Duntroon, Dunadd, Dunardry and Kilmartin in Mid Argyll. By 1800 the Malcolm's had also purchased the neighbouring Arichonan estate and the nearby settlements of Bellanoch, Barndaimph, Barnluasgan and Crinan.

Neill I Malcolm was first and foremost a businessman who looked to improve the commercial viability of his recently purchased Argyll estates. He was a leading figure behind the construction of the Crinan Canal, initiated large scale drainage projects including the reclamation of the Crinan Moss and built a substantial model farm at Barsliosnach (called Experiment). Following Neill I's death in 1802, he was succeeded by his son Neill II and his grandson, Neill III in 1837. Both these men continued the improvement work undertaken by their predecessors and increased the family's interests at home and overseas. In 1858 Neill III's successor, his brother John, inherited the fourth largest estate in Argyllshire, along with estates in southern Australia and the Canadian prairies.

Under Neill I Malcolm as part of estate improvements there appears to be a move towards the consolidation of joint tenancies into single farms, particularly on his Kilmartin estates with an increased specialisation in sheep or cattle, the farms let under long leases at relatively high rents. Neill I Malcolm may have also considered similar 'improvements' with farm consolidation on his Oib Estate as it was proposed to remove 34 farmers and day labourers from the Estate just after its purchase in 1798, this however was cautioned against by John Campbell, his Inverary lawyer. Why he did not proceed in the matter is less clear but as James has pointed out it is possible the land was just less suited to improvement (James 2009). Thereafter Neill I Malcolm and Neill II Malcolm appear to have allowed customary practices to continue on their Knapdale estates, which allowed much of the agrarian population to remain. The tenants of these estates however may have seen the increased use of short annual leases open to competitive bidding. The adoption of short leases can perhaps be detected in the constant name changes in people listed in various historic sources.

Neill III Malcolm however increasingly adopted a similar management system on his Argyll estates as he had previously used on his cattle ranches in Jamaica and Australia whereby his Argyll farms were now run by estate managers or factors. He also appears to be converting many of his former joint tenant farms to sheep production.

Thus on 4th April 1848 the tenants of Arichonan were served with a 'Summons of Removing' and that their leases were to be terminated that Whitsunday, 27th of May and they should: '... *flit and Remove themselves, their Wives, Bairns, Families, Servants, Subtenants, Cottars, Dependants, goods and gear.*.', issued by the Poltalloch Estate (National Archives of Scotland AD14/48/319 box 714)

This directly led to confrontation between the Arichonan tenants and their neighbours on the one side against the Poltalloch Estate Factor, William Martin, and estate officials on the other, the latter eventually backed by the local constabulary. The depositions to the court as a result of the affair state that between 100 and 200 people were involved in opposition to the removing authorities, which if true would represent a substantial percentage of people from the surrounding settlements. Of those indicted for '*Mobbing and Rioting and Deforcement*' John Gillies, Angus MacMillan and Peter MacMillan are listed as resident in Kilmory. The MacMillans were brothers and sons of Neil MacMillan who was one of the tenants at Arichonan being subjected to eviction. There is a John Gillies listed at Kilmory in 1838 as liable to pay road money and he appears again in the 1841 census as a farmer aged 60, along with a wife and six children (Argyll & Bute District, Road Money Journal DR/2/6 GD 43/80/94). While several individuals are found guilty and jailed for terms between 4 and 8 months, Angus and Peter MacMillan are acquitted while John Gillies absconds before his trial.

Despite the opposition to the eviction and as reported by Robert Bruce (Sheriff for Argyleshire) the '*refractory tennants*' had been removed by 17th July 1848 (MacFarlane 2004). Despite the clearance of the joint tenants from Arichonan there are still 22 people listed there in the 1851 census, although only one of these, Dugald MacLachlan is listed as a farmer.

The causes for the opposition to the eviction are not hard to imagine but various factors may have increased the resistance. Locally, the unpopularity of the estate factor William Martin is stated as having caused resentment among the population for his and the Poltalloch Estate official's inability or unwillingness to communicate in Gaelic. The timing of the eviction with a background of potato crop failures, famine and low cattle prices would all have added to the general uncertainty and fear possibly exacerbated by rumours of evictions elsewhere.

The Poltalloch Estate was not oblivious or necessarily unconcerned about the displaced people now deemed redundant on their estates. Neill III Malcolm for example offered the possibility of settling on his estates in southern Australia and Canada with the possibility of assisted overseas passage. An estate journal of 1849 for example sets aside £178 for emigrants to Canada (Argyll & Bute District Archives DR/2/5 GR 43/80/12.12). The Estate also paid some compensation to displaced farmers and labourers that were evicted and were often offered places in other settlements of the Estate. Prior to the Arichonan eviction William Martin the Estate factor said he spent some time in '*frequent communings with the said parties and offered to provide houses for them on the Estate of Poltalloch*' (MacFarlane 2004). Apart from those indicted by the authorities for their resistance to the eviction the Estate would appear to have been less vindictive to others involved. For example the family of Neil MacMillan, prominent in the Arichonan affair appear to have joined Neil's sons Angus and Peter at Kilmory Oib just after 1848 and are still there by the time of the 1851 census. Catherine Blue is also relocated to Kilmory while the MacDougall family have moved to nearby Bellanoch, also owned by the Malcolms.

The picture of settlement abandonment of in North Knapdale is a complicated one as it probably is elsewhere. It has been shown that the common type of settlement in North Knapdale were nucleated joint tenancy farms supporting several families (James 2009) these, given the hilly nature of Knapdale, tending to specialise in cattle rearing, while maintaining a significant arable component. By the later 18th century the traditional landowning families of many of the North Knapdale estates had run into financial difficulties, whereby many were purchased by more enterprising families or individuals who increasingly brought a new commercialism to their estates, this seen with the Malcolms of Poltalloch. The new commercialism brought an increasing tendency towards the consolidation of farms and away from the joint tenancy system, with many farms by the middle of the 19th century given over to sheep production. This increasingly produced, in the eyes of the land owners a redundant agrarian population. In North Knapdale this was occurring at the same time as there was a growth in the other settlements at Crinan and Bellanoch for example, but perhaps more significantly Lochgilphead and Ardrishaig these no doubt absorbing a number of the displaced populace.

## 3 The Archaeology of Argyll Settlements

Few settlement sites in Argyll have been systematically excavated, however work has been carried out at the following sites; Loch Glashan (Fairhurst 1969), McEwan's Castle (Marshall 1979, 1982), Ardnadam (Rennie 1984), Castle Sween (Ewart 1989), Bruach an Druimein (Abernethy forthcoming), Gunna (James 1998), Cleigh (Gilmour & Henderson 1999), Crarae (Alexander 2003, Kirby 2005), Barr Mor (James 2004a), Glennan (James 2004b, 2005a & 2005), Kilmory Oib (2008a), High Morlaggan (Regan 2010b and 2011a) and Glenshellach (Ellis 2013). More limited excavation has also taken place at Gartnagrenach (Conolly 2000), Tigh an Darrich (Baker 2001), Oakbank (James 2003a), Craiglass (Regan & James 2005), Lagan (Regan & Webb 2006b), Robbers Den (Regan & Webb 2006b), Loch Losgunn (Regan & Webb 2006b) Auchindrain (Regan 2010a & Regan 2011b) and Dun Cholla (Breen & Raven 2013). This work has returned various results but several trends can perhaps be teased out that affect the potential archaeological survival at Kilmory Oib and Arichonan. Medieval to late medieval settlement evidence has been recovered at Crarae, Loch Glashan, Gunna, Barr Mor, MacEwan's Castle, Ardnadam, Bruach an Druim and High Morlaggan. This work has shown that where medieval to late medieval structures survive or there is evidence of associated activity this tends to be on sites where later structural activity is limited. However it has also been shown that evidence of earlier settlement activity can survive below later settlement structures, such as at Kilmory Oib or High Morlaggan, although these remains are generally fragile and often fragmentary, with floors, hearths and surfaces surviving as 'soft' deposits, generally beaten earth or prepared clay, which are easily disturbed by later activity. As such, few excavated structures have returned evidence of structural longevity from the medieval period through to the 18th-19th centuries. This of course may reflect absence of such continuity, or more likely, the fragility of early evidence and the potential for it to be destroyed by later settlement development. Excavation has not only demonstrated that earlier structural activity can be recognised below standing structures but the standing structures themselves can have several phases of use. At High Morlaggan for example a building, Structure 3, had originally been a byre and was later reduced in size again used as a byre before becoming a dwelling then finally a storehouse (Regan 2011a). The excavation work has also highlighted the relative lack of diagnostic finds from many of the pre improvement settlement sites which appear to be generally aceramic until the early 19th century, when industrially produced pottery begins to appear on sites increasing in presence until the mid 19th

century when it becomes relatively abundant within the highland zone (as highlighted by the 13,000 sherds of pottery recovered from High Morlaggan mostly dating between c.1870-c.1900).

As mentioned above 128 settlements in Mid Argyll has been subject to archaeological survey and with 465 individual structures recorded. The overwhelmingly the majority of these settlements lie in what now appear to be remote or inaccessible places, whether in upland areas or within commercial forestry plantations. Most of the township sites have been much reduced and in many cases only the last occupied structure being the only building present that retains any upstanding features. Only at a very few sites can the majority of the settlement buildings can still be seen or readily understood, for example of the 465 buildings surveyed 205 have no discernable features, although 30 of these had evidence of internal subdivision. Of the rest architectural features within 115 buildings suggested their possible function, with domestic dwellings indicated by fireplaces (40) and windows (78), with barns and byres indicated by opposing doorways (20), air vents (12 with 8 of these with triangular vents including examples the at Kilmory Oib and Arichonan ) and drains (4). Within the surveyed settlements 60 have three or more recognisable buildings, the majority (41) having between three and six buildings. Only 4 of the surveyed settlements have 10 or more structures, these including the settlements of Kilmory Oib and Arichonan. For many settlement sites, perhaps not surprisingly the best preserved structures are those that were occupied last, or have been converted to other uses.



Well preserved building at Dunmore later converted to a kennels



Roofless but well preserved building at Arinafad Beg, the rest of the township is in a more ruinous state



Barn structure at Leac na Ban

Structural survival within most of the settlements is of course varied with architectural features such as fireplaces windows, etc apparent within the better preserved structures or within better preserved parts of buildings.



Partially demolished/robbed structure also at Leac na Ban



Well preserved gable with features at Craigmurrail



The chimney stack is the only well preserved part of this structure at Auchlech



Thatch pegs in a gable at Lagan



Building with substantial remains but few features at Arliluig



At Knock substantial building footings survive but again few architectural features remain



Tomdow remains in the forest



At Tom Ban the settlement depicted on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey has disappeared below the bracken

Within the corpus of the surveyed settlement sites Arichonan and Kilmory Oib are particularly good survivals with relatively well preserved buildings forming discrete settlement groupings. Both the settlements lie within North Knapdale where the above mentioned survey work and documentary research has provided a landscape framework in which to place the settlements. Of the 106 settlement sites that lie within North Knapdale, including currently inhabited and deserted settlements, 46 of the latter have been surveyed. Further historical and cartographic research has established that at least 60 of these settlements had been established by the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 4). The settlements themselves are situated at regular intervals along the seafacing terraces of the North Knapdale landscape. The survey work combined with evidence from maps, aerial photographs and satellite images has enabled a plotting of cultivated areas within the Parish, which shows intensive use of the land around the settlements themselves.

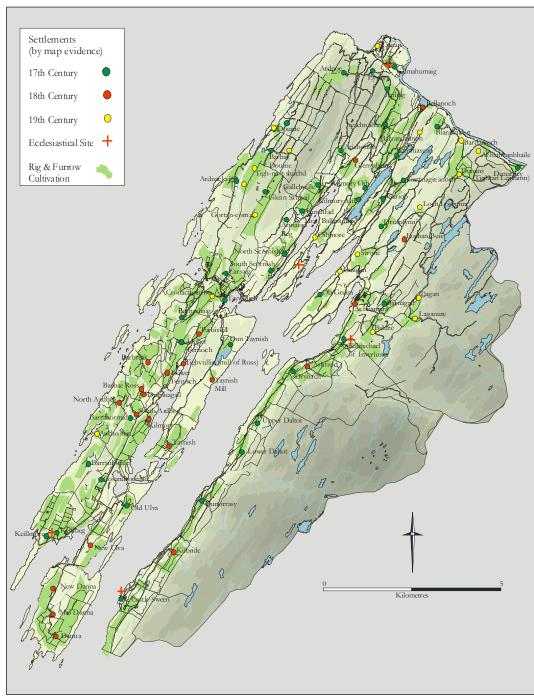


Figure 4: Settlements within North Knapdale

## 4. Historic Buildings Surveys

4.1 Kilmory Oib Township Grid Reference: NR 781 902, NMRS No. NR79SE 40

## 4.1.1 Historical Background

Knapdale, as with much of Argyll was involved in the dynastic struggles between the various leading families of the areas. For much of the 14th century this involved the Stewart Earls of Menteith and the MacDonald Lords of the Isles, their fortunes attached to wider political alliances and increasingly with their relationship to the Scottish Crown. For example in 1336, John of Islay received from Edward Balliol a grant for lands on Skye, Lewis, Kintyre and Knapdale. In 1341, with the return of David II from exile, Knapdale, along with Islay and Kintyre were returned to Robert Stewart (the king's nephew and heir). Between 1346-57 the Earl of Menteith gave numerous charters to lands in his Knapdale estate to Gilspic Campbell of Lochawe, which perhaps indicates the growing importance of the Campbell family in the area. In an undated charter (c.1353) 'John Lord of Menteth' grants lands in Knapdale to 'Gillespic Campbell of Lockae' the 'pennylands' of 'Arnannu (Ardnoe) Eruery, Ariluig, Arienrioch (Arichonan?), Bercorara, Leachenaban, Drumlynd (Drumfynn?), Craglyne (Craiglin), Obinhan (Oib?), Bealalah, Tonardri (Dunardry), Danna, Glen Cagiduburguill, Arigeargage (Ardnakaig), Lagan, Kyllmychel (Inverlussa), Cragnanyach (Drynach?), Lergnahunsend (Ashfield), Drumhaherisage, Metnach, Achagnadarach (Oakfield), Achagngarthe, Brackwerneill (Brackley), Kylladuersealan (Kirkduskland), Atichuan (Attichman) and Invernell (Inverneil)'. Through the Lochawe patrimony, part of the lands of Oib were held by the Campbells of Duntroon and a 'Johne Campbell of Ob alias Iain MacConcill Glas' is named in a Glassary writ c 1560, John Campbell (or Ian MacDonald Glas) of Oib dying in 1572 (Campbell 1912). Thereafter the title and lands of Oib were often conferred on the second son of the Duntroon family.

The settlement of Kilmory Oib lay within the land or estate known as Oib (also Oab or Ob meaning in Gaelic bay or inlet) which covered two peninsulas at the head of Loch Sween, these bounded by Caol Scotnish at the E and the head of Loch Sween W of Achnamara. The W peninsula on which Kilmory Oib lies, was known as Oib Campbell, while the E peninsula was known as Oib Greim. The name of Oib has been embraced by several settlements in the vicinity including Kilmory Oib, Oibmore, Oib Greim (sometimes Oib McIlvernock) and Gariob. This creates a difficulty when studying historical sources, as the name Oib was often used when describing individuals or landholders from any of the above settlements or the area in general. As such, the name Kilmory Oib is rarely used to identify a specific settlement or an individual belonging to it. The name Kilmory can also cause confusion when looking at historic evidence as it was also adopted by two other relatively close Knapdale settlement sites, these being Kilmory Ross (south of Tayvallich) and Kilmory Knap in South Knapdale. Of these three settlement sites only Kilmory Knap has an associated chapel. Kilmory Oib however lies N of the medieval burial ground of Achadah Na Cille (meaning in Gaelic field of the chapel) and it is possible the Kilmory element of the name retains the memory of a former chapel.

There are several historic references to the Oib estate under the Campbells of Duntroon as to its size and value. In 1633 there is a bond from Archibald Lord Lorne to Niall Campbell of Oib granting him a charter for '4 merks of Oib, 1 merk of Geroib and 4 merks of Laggane all in Knapdale' (Campbell 1912), the charter also states that 'all the family writs have somehow perished', which may account for the absence of earlier historical references. In 1751 the rateable value of the land held by James Campbell of Oib was £27.15.5. (Argyll & Bute District Archives, Valuation Rolls for the Shire of Argyll 1751).

The earliest map evidence of the settlement is depicted on Bleau's map of Knapdale of 1663 (this based on Timothy Pont's survey c1590) this showing a settlement site of '*Oib*' situated to the W of '*Loch Chalhbyr*'. The site is marked by a cross, presumably signifying a chapel or church (Blaeu 1564).

The earliest evidence we have for the tenants of Kilmory Oib is from the hearth tax of 1694 in which four individuals are listed at 'Kilmory', these; Alexander McIlvernock, Malcolm McIlvernock, Robert Campbell and Donald McMillan, which suggests the township comprised of four tenancies (National Archives of Scotland, NRS Ref E69).

The estate remained with the Campbells of Duntroon until 1785 when Neil Campbell of Duntroon and Oib was declared bankrupt after the collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772. The estate was eventually sold by his creditors to Neil Malcolm I of Poltalloch in 1798. The purchase of the Duntroon Estate brought with it the settlement of *'Killmorie'* along with the settlements of *'Gairaobb'*, *'Taynacraig'*, *'Glenyalvan'*, *'Lagan'* and *'Laganruarie'* these all part of the Malcolm's Oib Estate.

A ballot list of 1799 names four individuals, John Campbell, Dug(ald) Campbell, Dun(can) Campbell and Archibald Greame (Argyll & Bute District Archives DR/1/270). Two years later in 1801 those to be balloted are listed as Neil MacArthur, Hugh Beaton, Allan Campbell and Archibald Graham. Only Archibald Graham appears on both lists which might suggest a relatively high degree of mobility of individuals or families between tenancies. In 1802 Neill I Malcolm undertook an inventory of his estates and this shows that four tenants at '*Killmorie*'. The Inventory also states the condition and size of the dwellings and outbuildings within the estate by settlement (the number of roof-couples are shown in brackets).

Archibald McInliews - Dwelling house, Old and cellar at the end (2), Barn (2) and Bothie (1) Neil Graham - Dwelling house newly built sufficient (3), barn (2) two bothies (2) Dugald McAlpine - new built sufficient (3), Barn (2) and bothie (1) Archibald Brown - a good dwelling house (3), Barn (2) and bothie (2)

The names again differ from the ballot list of 1801 and similarly those tenants listed at '*Kilmory*' within a 1808-9 rent book differ again, being; Malcolm Leitch, Neil MaCallum, Archibald McPeak and Duncan Gillies all paying £21.3.1 for a quarter of the farm (Argyll & Bute District Archives DR/1/279). The estate rental book of 1828 has John McLennan, Neil McCallum, Dugald McPhail and John Gillies entered as paying £8.12 each. (Malcolm of Poltalloch Papers, Argyll & Bute District Archives DR/2/5 GR 43/80/33.3).

By the time of the 1841 census we get a clearer picture of the number of inhabitants within the settlement, which lists seven occupied households at 'Kilmory'. However one of these is the household of Niel MacCallum, 'millar at Loch Chiolliebar'. It is not clear whether his is the only household at the mill site, but if so then we have 34 inhabitants within the 6 households at Kilmory Oib. If again the MacCallum mill household is discounted within the 1851 Census then there were 32 inhabitants within 6 households. Between these two Census's in 1848 the people of Kilmory Oib and their neighbours are involved one of the most notorious episodes of forced eviction in Argyll, at Arichonan and while the 1851 cenus indicates Kilmory Oib was still fully occupied the process of farm consolidation and the removal or reallocation of tenants appears to continue unabated. While we have no documentary references to the sites final abandonment/clearance and the reasons for it, we can assume the people made way for sheep as some of the houses are converted into a sheep fank This process can also be seen at the settlement of Laggan also within the Oib Estate and with the construction of a sheepfank at Arichonan. The settlement is absent from the 1861 census figures, suggesting clearance before that date and is depicted as being completely unroofed on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map (surveyed 1864). Comparison of the census figures also give a picture or gradual depopulation of the Oib Estate as the 1851 census shows lists 98 people in 16 households and by the time of the 1861 census there are only 19 people in 3 households at Gariob and Glenyalvon, although even the latter is shown as unroofed on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey Map. Kilmory Oib however, is not totally abandoned as one building is shown as roofed on the Second Edition map (revised in 1898) and was likely the household of Euphemia and later Catherine Blue, the later listed at 'Kilmory Cottage' in 1901 and this is likely a cott house supplied by local heritors rent free

to the poor. In 1908 this structure was photographed as without a roof, wherein the settlement would have been unoccupied.

## 4.1.2 Site Survey Results

The settlement lies within the Parish and Forest of North Knapdale, the latter owned by the Forestry Commission of Scotland (centred NR78080 90245 Figures 1 & 2). The forest is bordered on the W by the Sound of Jura with Loch Crinan and the Crinan Canal demarcating the N side. The settlement is accessed from a Forestry Commission car park located at a sharp bend of the B8025 road between Tayvallich and Bellanoch. The site lies 400m S of the car park along a forestry track located on natural terrace above the NW shore of Loch Coille-Bharr (65m AOD), and 1.5km from the head of Loch Sween. The main arrangement of buildings is located along the foot of an E-facing ridge that delineates the W side of the settlement. The settlement is one of three former settlements located on this peninsula, the others being Kilmory Mill and Oibmore. The underlying geology consisted of banded epidote-chlorite schist covered by peat and clay based soils. The site is located within open ground and the main vegetation is grass, moss and bracken. More established undergrowth exists to the east of the southern buildings, including blackthorn and birch scrub. Mature sitka plantation exists around the settlement to the N, S and W.

On the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map (surveyed in 1864) the settlement is unnamed and shows 10 unroofed structures and a well (Argyllshire Sheet CLX). Three buildings bound the E and S side of an enclosure at the N of the settlement. Another enclosure to the S has a group of structures at the NE and another building at the S. The well and sculptured stone divides the S enclosure from two more substantial buildings at the S end of the settlement and a track runs to the E of the settlement. On the Second Edition Ordnance Survey map (surveyed 1898) the settlement has changed little, although a small roofed structure is depicted to the N of the well (Argyllshire Sheet CLX SW). Three unroofed buildings and one enclosure are shown on the current edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:10000 map (1979).



Figure 5: Kilmory Oib 1st Edition Ordnance Survey

A field survey including a photographic record of the site was undertaken by Kilmartin Museum for the Dalriada Project in October 2006 (Regan and Webb 2006). The settlement buildings were photographed and recorded in detail, along with measured sketch plans drawn, to give an overview of the archaeological potential of the site. Within the main settlement seventeen potential structures were identified, these in various states of preservation. The structures appeared to represent both byres and domestic buildings while two 'sub-circular' mounds of rubble possibly represent corn dryers. At least two buildings had been partially demolished with surviving sides incorporated into a later sheepfank structure. The survey also appeared to show buildings superimposed over earlier structures.

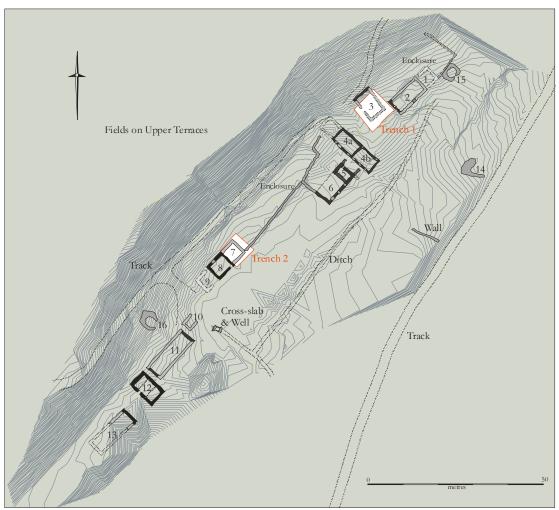


Figure 6: Kilmory Oib Survey

The structures at the centre and N of the settlement are grouped around two enclosures with further buildings at the S of the settlement possibly arranged around another less apparent enclosure. Structure 2 of the N group and perhaps Structure 6 of the central group possibly represent barns or barn dwellings given their relative length. Structure 11 may also represent a barn, which along with Structures 12 and 13 lie N of another possible 'infield' area located on relatively level ground in between two steep ridges. Some of the building remains suggested an earlier construction phase, for example the walls of Structure 7 run under the W wall of Structure 8. Indeed Structure 7 and 9 were interpreted as opposite gable ends of the same building with Structure 8 a later conversion. This picture is somewhat confirmed within the map evidence that shows a smaller roofed structure depicted on the Second Edition Ordnance Survey replacing a longer unroofed structure that is depicted within the First Edition map. Structure 1 might also be earlier than Structure 2 as it appears wider in build as well as being in a more denuded state. The settlement had been converted to house sheep at a later date, with many of the original doors and windows blocked. This re-use of the buildings is most readily apparent within Structures 4-6, where sheep crawls have been inserted into Structures 4b and 5. Here extra walling has also been provided creating an enclosed space, possibly reusing the material from the presumably demolished west wall of Structure 6. The style of drystone walling used in the construction of the sheep fank suggests this was built by the Poltalloch Estate, the 'cock and hen' capping technique used within many other Estate structures. The 'holy well' and associated cross-slab within the site has been much commented on, the cross slab possibly dating to the 8th or 9th century (Christieson 1904, RCHAMS 1992, Fisher 2001).

In addition to the above survey, a walkover survey was conducted immediately to the S and W of the settlement, an area covered with mature sitka plantation. This revealed an enclosure wall lying some 130m SE of Structure 13 bounding the end of a steep sided terrace and this may mark the limit of any infield cultivation. Also enclosed by the dyke was a pond that lay on a slightly higher terrace to the W (Figure 2, NR 77967 90134). A track could be traced that linked the pond and lower terrace area. Two oval structures, lying 6m apart, were located to the W on a raised terrace above the settlement (Figure 2, NR 78001 90320), these possibly representing corn drying structures or small kilns with the internal face of one being fire reddened.

#### Structure 1

A square shaped structure measuring 5.5m externally within walls 0.5m high and 0.5m in width. An entrance lay along the eastern side measuring 1.40m wide.

#### Structure 2

A rectangular structure oriented SW/NE measuring 12.2m by 6.10m externally. The walls were up to 0.80m in width and stood to the greatest height within the southern gable which stood 3.10m high. A blocked doorway was evident within the eastern wall, this 1.10m wide. Four thatch-pegs protruded from the southern gable which also had a triangular ventilation slot built within its rubble construction.

#### Structure 3

This was an NW/SE oriented rectangular shaped structure that measured 9.3m by 5.5m externally. The walls were up to 0.75m wide and stood to a height of 1.70m at the western gable end. The relative absence of walling/rubble along the southern wall could suggest the presence of an entrance, although this was far from conclusive.

#### Structure 4a

A rectangular structure oriented NW/SE and measuring 8.5m by 6m externally. The walls were up to 0.70m thick and stood up to 2.90m at the gable ends. A centrally placed blocked door, 0.90m wide, lay along the southern side of the building with two blocked windows lying either side. The western gable end had two rows of three protruding thatch-pegs.

## Structure 4b

This was an eastern extension to structure 4a sharing its eastern gable end. The building measured 8m (including the gable of 4a) by 6m externally, within walls 0.70m thick. The building had two doorways, one 0.83m wide, in the northern wall and the second blocked at the south west. The remains of a blocked window could also be discerned within the southern wall lying to the east of the door. The eastern gable had three protruding stone thatch-pegs. A sheep crawl had been knocked through the southern wall.

#### Structure 5

A rectangular (?) Structure oriented NW/SE measuring 6m by 4m externally. The walls were up to 0.85m in width and stood to a height of 1.30m. An entrance, 0.77m wide, lay to the west of the northern wall and had been converted into a sheep crawl.

#### Structure 6

Only the eastern and southern walls of this structure survived incorporated into a later sheep fank. The building was rectangular in shape and oriented SW/NE measuring 6.20m by 6.70m (or 8.5m) in length. The walls stood to a maximum height of 2.00m and were up to 0.80m wide. A blocked doorway, 0.90m wide, and a blocked window 0.50m wide exist along the south wall, respectively situated to the south and centre of the wall. The possible discrepancy in length arises from whether a filled gap at the north end of the eastern wall represents a blocked entranceway or a later blocking between the northern gable of this structure and Structure 5. Three rows of thatch pegs protruded from the external southern gable, with one at the apex and three constituting the bottom row, with two others placed in the row between. The stones of the basal row also protrude internally and may have formed the opposing support for a ledge or

scarcement on the northern internal gable, these perhaps suggesting the presence of a suspended floor?

#### Structure 7

The building measured 4.2m in length by 4.0m externally, with walls 0.5m in width and standing 0.30m in height. The building appears to run under Structure 8 to the south and may be the northern extent of the same range as Structure 9.

## Structure 8

This was a well preserved rectangular structure oriented SW/NE. Externally the building measured 5.40m in length and 4.40m in width, with walls up to 0.80m wide. The walls at the gable ends stood 3.20m in height. An unblocked door lay within the southern wall at the north measuring 0.80m in width and standing 1.35m high. A possible blocked window lay on the western side.

#### Structure 9

Possibly the southern gable-end of Structure 7. Oriented SW/NE the building measured 7m long externally by 5.8m with the walls standing 0.60m in height. The walls were mostly scrub covered but appeared to measure 0.60m wide. No features were evident.

#### Structure 10

A rectangular in shape and oriented SW/NE this building measured 4.5m by 4.1m externally with either a robbed or open end at the north. The walls were 0.75m wide and stood to a height of 1.10m.

#### Structure 11

A rectangular structure oriented SW/NE measuring 17.20m by 6m externally, with within walls 0.65m in width. The gable ends of this structure were better preserved than the rest of the building particularly the southern gable which stood to a height of 3.50m. Three thatch pegs protruded from the external gable end.

#### Structure 12

A rectangular in shape and oriented SW/NE this building measured 9.20m by 6m externally, within walls 0.7m wide and standing to a height of 2.20m. A door, 1.10m wide, lay on the southern side with a possible opposing door (0.80m wide) on the opposite side, this however is more likely a gap caused by wall collapse on this side. What appears to be a cruck-slot is located to the east of the door along the south wall, any opposing cruck-slot in the opposite wall has been obscured by collapse.

## Structure 13

A rectangular SW/NE oriented building measuring up to 15.8m by 6.20m externally. The walls are no more than a low turf covered ridge that survived best at the north being up to 0.6m wide and standing to a height of 0.80m.

#### Structure 14

This was the accumulation of rubble lying to the east of the main building group possibly representing a rectangular structure. This lay within dense bracken at the time of visit, so no accurate measurement could be obtained.

## Structure 15

A rectangular structure is depicted here on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey. The remains appeared to be a semi-circular accumulation of rubble barely discernable in dense bracken undergrowth, measuring 5.5m N/S by 4m E/W and standing to a height of 0.30m.

## Structure 16

A possible kiln or corn drier partially built into a the steep ridge to the west of Structure 11 consisting of a 'cone-shaped' rubble mound measuring up to 4.2m in width.

## Structure 17

This may be an earlier version of Structure 4 where there are traces of rectangular footings at the W of the building.

Two structures were located to the west and above the settlement (Figure 2, NR 78001 90320), these possibly representing corn drying structures or small kilns. The structures lay 6m apart.

#### Structure 18

This was oval in shape and measured 4.40m by 3.80m externally with walls 0.90m to 1.00m wide and up to 0.80m high. The internal facing appeared to be fire reddened indicating this may have been a small kiln.

## Structure 19

Sub-circular in shape the structure measured 3.70m by 3.40m externally. The walls and internal area were badly disturbed mature trees growing within the structure.

#### Well

The settlement contains an Early Christian cross-slab which stands upright on the western edge of a flagstone slab lined well. The eighth or ninth century cross-marked stone at the west of the well has been described on previous occasions (White 1875, Christieson 1904, Campbell and Sandeman 1964, RCAHMS 1992, Fisher 2001).

## Wall 1

The remains of an enclosure wall could be traced through dense bracken to the north and west of Structures1-3. Wall 2- This comprised the eastern side of an enclosure bounded by Structures 4-9, the western side of the enclosure was formed by a partially revetted escarpment.

#### Wall 2

This was the remains of a wall length that ran along the top of a steep ridge to the E of Structure 11.

## Wall 3

An enclosure wall lay some 130m SE of Structure 13 sealing off the end of a steep sided terrace. This possibly marked the southern boundary of the infield area of the settlement.

#### Track way

Two tracks lead up the escarpment to the west of the settlement, probably to former fields on the terraces above. The tracks merge to the west of Structure 8.

#### Track and Pond

A pond area lay on a slightly higher terrace to the SW of the settlement (Figure 2, NR 77967 90134) link to the lower settlement terrace by a track.

## Possible bridge or culvert

The path or track that leads into the site from the south east crosses over a small burn by a bridge or culvert, however its construction is hidden beneath soil and undergrowth hence its nature or date is unknown.

## Sheepfank

The buildings at the northern end of Enclosure 2 had been converted into a sheepfank after their abandonment. The western side of Structure 6 appears to have been removed, the material possibly used to build wall closing off a gap between the S/W corner of Structure 6 and Wall 2, the later also modified at its northern end. Structures 4b and Structure 5 had been converted into pens with the incorporation of sheep-crawls' in their fabric and two walls had been added to the north side of Structure 5.

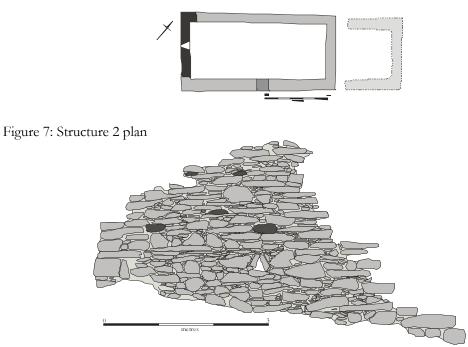


Figure 8: Structure 2 south gable external elevation

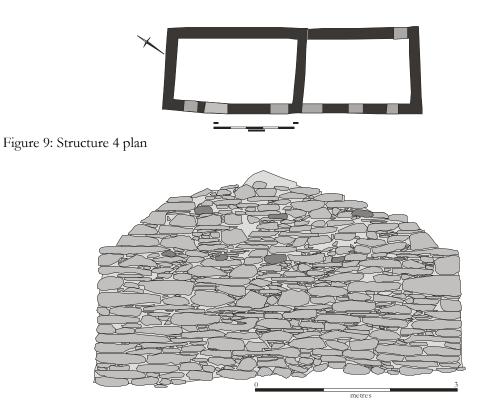


Figure 10: Structure 4 east gable external elevation

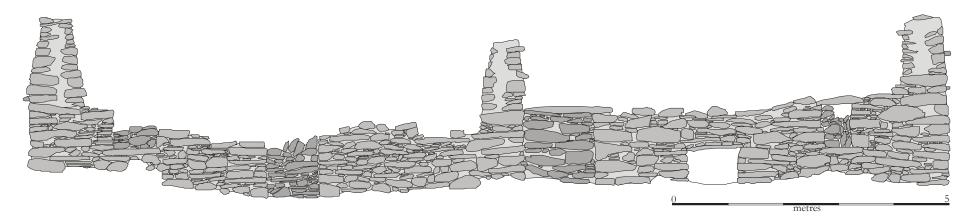


Figure 11: Structure 4 south facing elevation

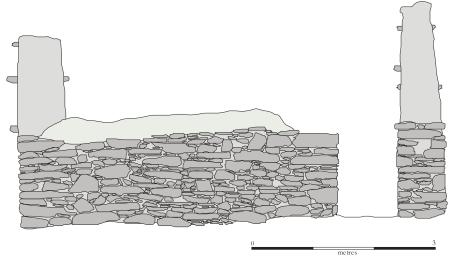


Figure 12: Structure 8: east facing elevation

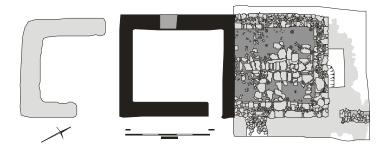


Figure 13: Structures 7, 8 & 9 plan

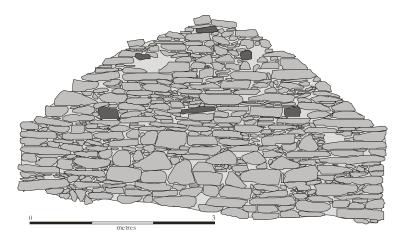


Figure 14: Structure 8 south facing gable external elevation

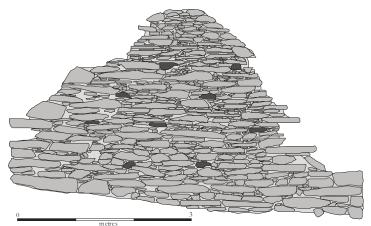


Figure 15: Structure 11 south facing gable external elevation

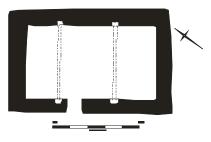


Figure 16: Structure 12 plan

## 4.1.3 Excavation Results

The small community excavation at the deserted settlement of Kilmory Oib revealed that two of the excavated buildings were in use until the settlements demise in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An earlier as yet undated building was also revealed below one of the later structures. All the datable recovered artefacts also dated to the later period of the sites history, which investigation has shown to be a relatively complex affair involving attempted forced eviction and gradual clearance of the settlements on the Oib Estate. The excavation revealed two structures that were probably in use until the settlement was abandoned. Structure 3, while built with solid footings, would appear to have been an outbuilding, store or workhouse, the only real evidence for its use being a possible store for peat. Structure 3 it would seem directly replaced Structure 17 and perhaps utilised its beaten floor. If so then the hearth burning seen on the floor may have belonged to either building, but is more likely to date to the earlier less substantial structure. The age of this structure proved elusive with no recovered diagnostic artefacts associated with its use.

Structure 7, given its central drain, would appear to have been a byre at least in its last use. It is probable that this is the northern end of a byre dwelling, the southern end recorded as Structure 9 in the previous survey work. Structure 8 was built over Structure 7 utilising its western and possibly some of its southern walls (although the latter was less clear). The later building was likely to have been a shepherds bothy constructed after the settlement was abandoned/cleared and converted to a sheep working.

Both structures appear to have rapidly declined given their relative state of collapse, especially when compared to the well preserved buildings that were incorporated into the sheepfank (Structures 4a &b). It would appear the walls of the two excavated buildings had been demolished and this is possibly the case for the other less well preserved other structures within the settlement. Whether demolition took place so the buildings could not be reused or whether it facilitated the reuse of the building material is not clear. That the wall material had been reused is suggested by the 'graded' piles of stone seen collected within Structure 7. If all the collapsed building material had been present then the expectation would have been of a greater quantity of rubble, which perhaps suggests much had been removed. It is possible that any demolition material was used in the construction of the track to the east of the site. This appears to have utilised substantial quantities of stone with much of the track paved with stones lain on edge.

When the settlement was abandoned is not yet clear, although ongoing documentary research possibly hints that it was not long after the Arichonan clearance. This well documented clearance took place in 1848 and was part of the reorganisation of the estates owned by the Malcolms of Poltalloch, the Oib Estate purchased by them in 1798. The active role played by the residents of surrounding settlements, including Kilmory, in the disturbances that accompanied the Arichonan clearance, suggest that this opposition was triggered by the threat of a wider clearance programme in North Knapdale. The last estate rentals, so far traced, that mentions Kilmory is in 1828, the tenants listed as John McLennan, Neil McCallum, Dugald McPhail and John Gillies each paying  $f_{8.12s}$  in rent. In 1843 those liable to pay road money from Kilmory as listed for the Potalloch Estate included; Neil McCallum, John Gillies, Archibald McDugall and Angus McDougall (Malcolm of Poltalloch). Further research needs to be completed, but it is possible that these men and their families were the last of occupy the settlement, and it is part of their material culture that was recovered during the excavation.

The earliest evidence of occupation was revealed below Structure 3, this a post built building, Structure 17. The age of this structure proved elusive with no recovered diagnostic artefacts associated with its use. Structure 3 was built directly over the earlier building and possibly utilised its beaten floor and if so then the hearth burning seen on the floor may have belonged to either building, but is more likely to date to the earlier less substantial and earlier structure. Structure 3 while built with solid footings, would appear to have been an outbuilding, store or workhouse, the only real evidence for its use being a possible store for peat.

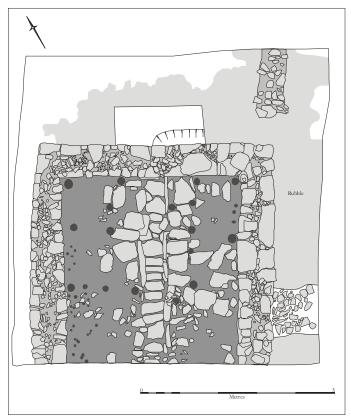
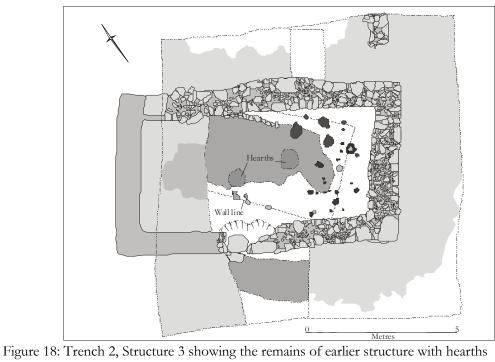


Figure 17: Trench 1, Structure 7 showing exposed byre floor.



Given its central drain, Structure 7 would appear to have been a byre at least in its last use. It is probable that this is the N end of a byre dwelling, the S end recorded as Structure 9 in the previous survey work. Structure 8 was then built over Structure 7 utilising its central E and W walls. The drain of Structure 7 appeared to be terminating at its S end which might suggest the footprint of the later building respected a previous division of the earlier building. No doorway was in evidence along the extant walls of Structure 7, which again might suggest that the entrance to the later building reflected the position of the original entrance. If as suggested here the buildings original extent include the footings recorded as Structure 9 during the original survey work then the buildings overall dimensions would be 19m by 6.2m externally. This compares in size to the surviving byre buildings at the Township of Auchindrain, Buildings A, D and H respectively measuring 20.7m by 6.3m, 17.4m by 6.6m and 17.4 by 6.1m (RCHAMS 1988). The building however is slightly larger than a byre building, Structure 2, recently excavated at High Morlaggan, which measured 14.6m by 5.6m (Regan 2011). The byre buildings at Auchendrain likely date to the earlier half of the 19th century, with the construction of Building A dated to 1820, while that at High Morlaggan likely dates to the later 18th century. As two of the houses listed within the Oib Estate Inventory of 1802 are described as new or newly built while a third is described as being in good condition, it is likely that Structure 7/9 and 3 date to the late 18th century. Both structures appear to have declined rapidly and were perhaps deliberately demolished given their relative state of collapse, especially when compared to the well preserved buildings that were incorporated into the sheepfank (Structures 4a &b). The collapsed gable of Structure 7 and the presence of 'graded' piles of stone suggest it was demolished to provide material for other constructions. It is possible that some of the demolition material was used in the construction of the track to the east of the site which appears to have utilised substantial quantities of stone with much of the track paved with stones lain on edge.

At what date the settlement was abandoned/cleared is not yet clear although very likely sometime between 1854 and 1861 as part of the reorganisation of the estates owned by the Malcolms of Poltalloch. The majority of artefacts recovered came from the upper surfaces or lower demolition/collapsed material within and around the excavated structures thus date the final demise of the settlement. The majority of the pottery dates between from the early to the middle 19th century, with a relative absence of cultural material dating after 1850. The lack of pottery on the site prior to that period likely suggests a relatively aceramic culture amongst the inhabitants, while into the 19th century there is increasing access to the industrial pottery of the Glasgow manufactories.

## 4.1.4 Assessment of Cultural Significance

The site has been assessed for its cultural significance using the criteria now formalised within *Scottish Historic Environment Policy* (2009), which outlines the sites intrinsic, contextual and associative characteristics.

The site has 'intrinsic' characteristics as excavation has shown the potential of survival of the earlier archaeology surviving below the present standing structures across the site. The upstanding structures also likely preserve several phases of activity within their associated fabric. The settlement also has 'contextual' significance as it is a well preserved and discrete survival of a joint tenancy township, where the buildings and their surrounding enclosures can be seen and perhaps understood. Within the corpus of surveyed settlement sites in Mid Argyll, only a few buildings stand to gable height or have lintelled windows and doors. The buildings also have structural attributes that while no doubt once a common within buildings of the region, are becoming rare, as sites change or buildings degrade. The site also has 'associative' characteristics in that it is a survival of a fairly complete example of typical highland township that can readily be appreciated by the public who can easily visit the site by sign posted track from a designated car park. While the site is now surrounded by trees it still has an aesthetic resonance as public coming across a 'hidden past', further enhanced by the presence of the 'holy well' and early medieval cross-slab within the settlement. The settlement is an important resource that is central to the publics out to experience and understanding of these sites in their landscape setting.

## 4.2 Arichonan Township Grid Reference NR 77450 91240, NMRS No. NR79SE23

4.2.1 Historical Background

There is no known mention of Arichonan in extant historical records prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century the earliest being a sasine dating to 1621 which refers to a '*youth, Alexander M'Ilvernock in Arehounan*' acting as an attorney (No 133, Campbell 1933, 40). However it can perhaps be assumed that the settlement dates to the previous century, if not earlier by the fact that the settlement of 'Arie chonnen' is depicted in Bleau's map of Knapdale (1663) and as such was likely based on earlier survey work undertaken by Timothy Pont in c1590 (this map now lost).

The lands of Arichonan appear to have originally been in the possession of the Campbells of Achenbreck who fued it to the MacNeills of Largnahunsion (later of Arichonan) along with the lands of Lecknabaan, Ervary, Arliluig and Ardnoe these settlements all lying to the north of Arichonan. The estate extended to 7 marklands, with Arichonan and Lecknabaan being 2 marklands each the rest all 1 markland in extent. On General Roys military map of 1747-55 'Arihonnan' is depicted lying east of cultivated ground.

The MacNeills held these lands until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when their financial predicament led to Daniel MacNeill of Gigha selling the estate to a John Stevenson who sold on the estate to Neil Malcolm of Poltalloch in 1800. In 1800 the area of Arichonan extended to around 332 acres (134ha), of which 52 acres (21ha) were arable. It is likely that the mill at 'Archonan' mentioned in late 18<sup>th</sup> century documents refers to the remains of what was likely a horizontal mill at Glenyalavon (NR778 869), which no doubt the tenants of the estate were obliged to use.

A survey of the houses on the estates of Neil Malcolm was compiled in 1802 and the houses of four tenants were listed along with the number of cruck couples for each structure (these appearing in the brackets below).

Malcolm McLean-dwelling house strong timber but stone hinging and standing (4), Barn (2), in his bothie damaged in stone and timber (3)

Malcolm Johnson-dwelling house not good (4), Barn (2), bothie (1) the same way

Donald Blew-a dwelling house good (4), Barn (2), bothie middling (2)

The report also tells us that 'the Houses in this farm and mostly on this estate was built by the Tenants themselves and by that way, they were not built right at first'.

Two of the tenants Malcolm MacLean and Neil MacMillan that are listed in the 1802 survey also appear in the 1841 census along with two others, Angus Campbell and Archibald Campbell. Three other households are also listed with a total population of 48 people.

Three of these tenant families, those of Malcolm MacLean, Neil MacMillan and Angus Campbell ,are still present in 1848 when they and the other occupants of the settlement are subject to a notice of eviction issued by the Poltalloch Estate, which resulted in the well known resistance to this measure by the occupants and their neighbours.

Despite the eviction of the existing tenants there are still 26 people living at Arichonan, these listed within 5 households in the 1851 census. Only one of these however, Dugald McLachlan (with a household of 8 people) is listed as a farmer (of 200 acres), the others heads of household listed respectively as a shoemaker, a pauper and two as agricultural labourers.

The name book compiled for the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map (surveyed in 1865) describes the settlement as a '*farmhouse and offices*', although the 1861 census tells that the settlement contains 4 households with 23 people. This census also gives the number of windows within of each of the 4 households with Dugald McLachlan having three windows (and now farming 700 acres), with the houses of Effie McMillan (widow/pig dealer), John Fletcher (shoemaker) and

Neil McMillan-dwelling house good (4), Barn (2), Bothie (3)

Mary Taylor (pauper/servant) having one each. The next four censuses successively give the number of inhabitants as 21, 15, 14 and 21, although the later figures may also include the inhabitants of a new farmhouse (also bearing the name Arichonan) built to the SW which appears on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey map (revised in 1898), although we do not know the exact date of its construction. This map also depicts three roofed structures existing within the settlement, with one structure to the SW of the settlement having been reroofed and a sheep fank constructed to its N. Thereafter, probably early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the settlement is remodelled with the construction of a large sheep fank with a shepherds house lying W of the fank.

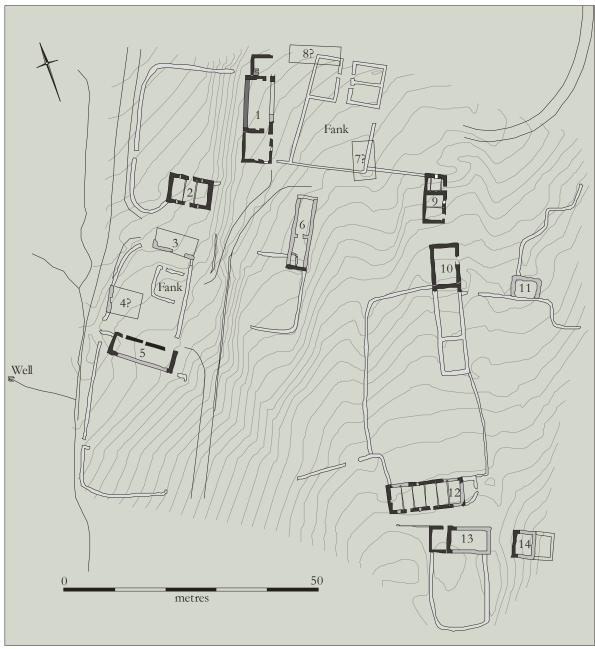


Figure 19: Arichonan settlement layout



Figure 20: Arichonan 1st Edition Ordnance Survey

## 4.2.2 Site Survey Results

Arichonan is depicted as a township of 13 structures and seven enclosures on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey map (Argyllshire Sheet CLX). The township has previously been recorded by the Royal Commission on Historic and Ancient Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS 1992, 454-457). Heather James also recorded several associated features not recorded by the RCHAMS as part of her doctoral thesis (James 2003 & James 2006). The present survey incorporates the results of this earlier work.

The ruined buildings of this settlement occupy a clearing in a forestry plantation on the NW slope of Gleann a' Ghaolbhan, the valley at the head of Caol Scotnish, some 350m north of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Arichonan farmhouse. The structures are located along a series of terraces that descend from W to E. It was approached from the valley by tracks from the S and NE, these now partially obscured by trees. The latter track crossed a small stream 120m NE of the township by a slab lintelled bridge 1m in span and 4.3m in width, and the intervening section is supported on the lower side by a drystone revetment up to 2m in height. A former track running NW from the township can only be traced for a short distance.

A second slab bridge exists E of a trackway on the E side of the settlement at approximately NGR NR 7750 9114. The full extent could not be determined but it was at least 4 m wide and 4 m long and was constructed of massive flat slabs. A stream that would once have passed beneath this bridge has been canalised N of the bridge and diverted to the E where it runs beneath the present road and into another stream. The stream runs through two rectangular enclosures marked on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey and James postulated that possible that some industrial activity (requiring water power) may be associated with the canalised stream.

Two other structures (Structures 15 and 16 below centred NR 779 913) were recorded near the present forestry track leading from the Bellanoch-Tayvallich road (B80250) up to Arichonan.

Within and around the buildings the vegetation cover is predominantly grass and with bracken and bramble established off the strimmed areas.

#### Structure 1 ('shepherds house' in RCHAMS Vol. 7 No 211)

This building occupies the foot of a steep NW aligned terrace edge and is the remains of the last dwelling on the site. The building is oriented NE/SW the earliest part occupying the central area of the overall range, the older part measuring 10.8m long and with two gable fireplaces at either end. The walls were clay-mortared and are up to 0.90m thick and stand 3.20m and 4.0m high respectively within the N and S gables. The range was subsequently added to at both the N and S ends with doorways punched through the original gables and the E wall of the building rebuilt. The extension at the S is a two floored construction of lime-mortared and harled rubble with walls 0.60m thick. There are the remains of two splayed windows (the S one recessed) and a door, with a modern wooden lintel, in the E wall of the remodelled building. At ground floor level within the S gable there is another recessed splayed window (with what may be an original wooden 'safety' lintel) and a central fireplace. The fireplace is later reduced in size with the addition of a new lintel stone with and brick and rubble surround. The bricks appear to be overfired (perhaps waste material) and measure 5cm in thick. At first floor level in the same S gable there are another splayed window and a smaller fireplace linking to the tall central chimney, the chimney standing 7.0m in height. Some of the window and door surrounds use droved lintels, also present within the later fireplace modification. The N addition or annexe is narrower with walls 0.60m wide than the original range annexe and may originally have been a cart shed. A brick and stone boiler has been constructed into its SW corner. The boiler base measured 1.37m long and 1.00m wide and stands 0.60m high. The mouth of the firebox is 0.37m wide and what appears to be an outlet for a chimney addition is set into the W wall of the original annexe. The bricks used in the construction are light pink/brown to pink/red in colour and measure 85mm (3") by 0.1m (4") by 0.22m (8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>"). Two of the examples were stamped with 'GOLDIE & SON -LANGSIDE ROAD - GLASGOW 84' and 'RAWYARDS - GLASGOW'. The iron cauldron once used in the boiler is now lying to the E of the building. The central range was subsequently demolished this likely at the time of the construction of the large fank built to the E, the W wall of the range copped in a similar style to the fank, while the extension may still have been utilised as a shepherds bothy.

## Structure 2 ((*B2*) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211)

Oriented NW/SE this rectangular building is a winnowing-barn measuring 9.0m by 6.0m over clay-mortared walls 0.8m thick. The N and S walls both contain centrally placed doorways (opposing) and two triangular ventilation- openings along with two sets of opposed cruck slots. Its SE gable has 6 stone thatch-pegs in three rows and stands to a height of 4.80m. The lintel of the SW doorway bears the date 1833 within an incised rectangular frame.

## Structure 3

Only the S side of this demolished building partially survives, this incorporated into an enclosure surrounding a sheep fank which likely utilised much of the material from the demolished building. The surviving corners suggesting a building 8.30m long, this likely the longer side of a rectangular building.

#### Structure 4

The existence of this building is suggested by what would appear to be a central fireplace, occupying what would have been the W gable of this building, apart from this and some walling which has been incorporated into an enclosure wall, little trace of the rest of this building exists.

## Structure 5 ((*B1*) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211)

The remains of this structure is oriented NW/SE and overall measures 13.6m by 4.5m over drystone walls 0.6m thick. Two lintelled doorways survive in the NE wall, along with a wider entrance at the E end, suggesting a cart shed or byre occupied this part of the building. The gables, however, stand to full height, measuring up to 3.10m at the E end. One of the E quoinstones in the E gable bears the inscription 'Neil McMillan/Arichonan'. A tenant or tenants of this name were recorded in both 1802 and 1848, and since the dwelling of the former was described as 'good' this building may be of an earlier date.

#### Structure 6 ((*C1*) in RCAHMS Vol 7 No 211)

This is the remains of a rectangular structure oriented NE/SW and measuring c.15 long and 4.20m wide over rubble built walls up to 0.7m thick. There are the remains of an internal cross wall at the S end of the building suggesting a room measuring 6.0m long. Only the S gable of this building survives to any great height, this 2.26m high with two protruding stone thatch-pegs. What is likely a twinning pen has been constructed in the SW corner of the rubble built structure this measuring 2.50m by 1.20m with walls 0.75m high.

#### Structure 7

Only the very vague outlines of the footings of this building (shown on the (1st Edition Ordnance Survey map) can be traced and now underlie the late fank.

#### Structure 8

As with Structure 7 little of this SW/NE oriented building shown on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map survives, it likely demolished and its stones reused in the building of the large sheep fank.

#### Structure 9

This rectangular building is originally measured measuring 6.60m by 4.40m, with the N gable standing to 2.96m in height. This has a door and window in its E wall with evidence of an internal cruck slot. The building is extended 3.0m to the N with the addition of a room accessed by a lintelled door in its E wall and also has a window or opening in its N gable. The N room has paired truss slots in the wall suggesting the presence of a storage loft, although a third slot which sits higher up in the S wall has no opposing aperture.

## Structure 10 ((D1) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211)

Only part of the N gable of what was likely the original build of this rectangular SE/NW oriented range survives to any height, 1.40m high, the rest of what was likely a two bayed structure evidence by grass covered footings., these suggesting a range measuring c.19m long externally by 4.05m wide internally. The internal division suggest S room measuring 6.0m long. A better preserved room or bay has been added at the Only the walls of a N end of this long range this measuring 7.70m by 5.90m externally with rubble walls standing up to 2.20m in the N gable. There may be evidence of a relatively wide opening on the E side which might suggest this was a barn, although the robbed and poor condition of the stonework makes this speculation.

## Structure 11

This ruined building is attached to the corner of a stone enclosure wall that may delineate the edge of the settlement on the E side. The building is badly ruined and is under dense undergrowth but the remains suggest a building measuring 6.50m by 4.40 externally with walls up to 0.45m high.

#### Structure 12 ((A1) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211),

This rectangular structure is oriented SW/NE and measures 15.3m by 6.2m over clay-mortared rubble walls. Two doors and two windows survive in the S wall with one window surviving in the much reduced N wall. The walls retain evidence of the slots for five cruck-couples. The Royal commission speculated that the E end of the building had been rebuilt and used as a byre. The surviving W gable has what is likely an inserted fireplace leading to the partial remains of a chimney stack. This gable also seven protruding thatch pegs in four rows and stands to an external height of 4.60. There is also evidence of a small (now ruined) annexe the E end of the building this measured 3.40m by 1.90m and was later than enclosure wall that forms it N side.

## Structure 13 ((A2) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211)

This rectangular building is oriented NW/SE its E end reduced to ground level and measures 8.80m by 5.50m. The W gable however is better preserved and stands to its original height of 3.30m. The elevated position of the building might suggest this was a winnowing barn, the attached enclosure to the S possibly a stack yard. Subsequently a small byre, as suggest by a drain

outlet in the NW gable. This extension measured 3.70m in length and has an entrance at the NE, the gable standing 3.30m high with three protruding thatch pegs.

#### Structure 14 ((*A3*) in RCAHMS Vol. 7 No 211)

This rectangular rubble building lies down slope of Structure 13 and is built against a near vertical natural escarpment at the W. The wall at this end survives to a height of 1.20m the building measuring 4.10m by 3.25m internally.

#### Structure 15

This rectangular structure measures 7.4 m by 4.2 m internally with ruinous drystone walls up to 1.5 m high. The east wall is mostly natural rock 1 m high enhanced with a few courses of stones. The walls are moss covered. There is possibly a door in the north wall. There is an enclosure on the north side just south of the track to Arichonan settlement. The site is on the edge of a conifer plantation and the vegetation is dense ferns and bracken.

#### Structure 16

Lying 10m to the west of the above Structure A, this drystone building was also rectangular in shape and was in a similar collapsed state. Internally the building measured 5m by 2.50m and there were no apparent doors or features within the surviving walls, which stood to a maximum height of 0.70m.

#### 4.2.3 Assessment of Cultural Significance

The site has been assessed for its cultural significance using the criteria now formalised within *Scottish Historic Environment Policy* (2009), which outlines the sites intrinsic, contextual and associative characteristics.

Like Kilmory Oib, Arichonan has 'intrinsic' archaeological significance in that earlier buildings likely survive below the present upstanding structures, these also likely preserving several phases of occupation evidence within their associated fabrics. The settlement also has 'contextual' significance as it is a well preserved and discrete survival of a joint tenancy township where the layout of the township can be relatively easily understood with the major elements of houses barns and enclosures relatively easy to comprehend. The buildings also display a range of structural and architectural features within their fabrics which were perhaps common across the region but are now rarely so well preserved. So often the process of clearance and abandonment of settlements across Argyll is reflected in a historical silence. Because of this the site has important 'associative' characteristics Arichonan (and Kilmory Oib by association) is of local and regional historical importance as its inhabitants were part of a well recorded opposition to forced eviction. This perhaps gives the settlement an added poignancy as it provides public with a very real link to the past and to the people who once inhabited it. The walk up to the site through the woods from the designated car park at Gleann a' Ghaolbhan also gives a feeling of discovering a hidden past as the original track opens to spectacular views of the deserted settlement and the Knapdale peninsula to the south.

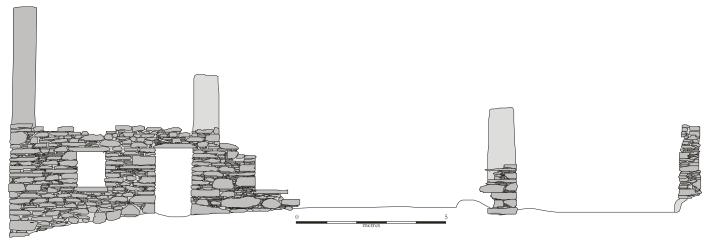


Figure 21: Structure 1 east facing external elevation

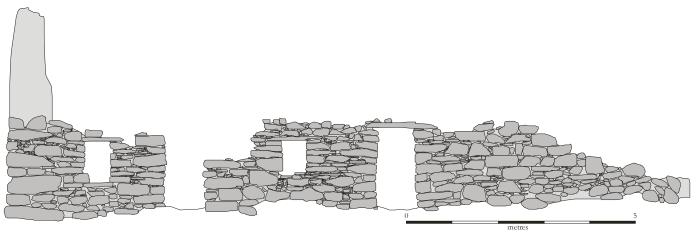


Figure 22: Structure 12 north facing external elevation

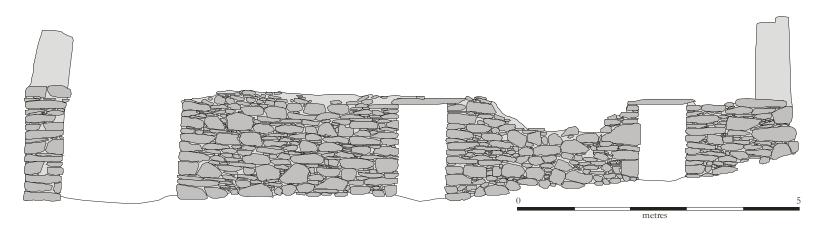


Figure 23: Structure 5 north facing external elevation

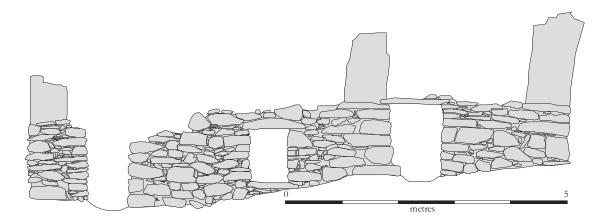
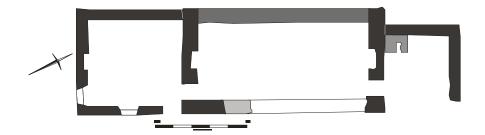
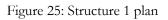


Figure 24: Structure 6 east facing external elevation





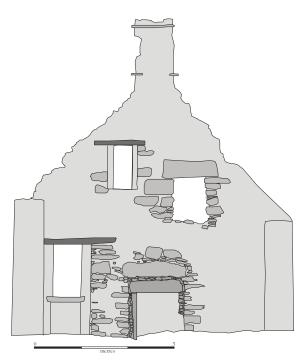


Figure 26: Structure 1, internal elevation of south gable of extension

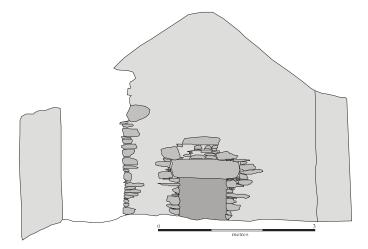


Figure 27: Structure 1, internal elevation of south gable of original build with fireplace

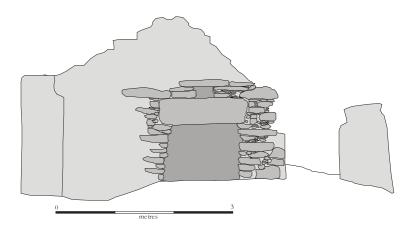


Figure 28: Structure 1, internal elevation of north gable of original build with fireplace

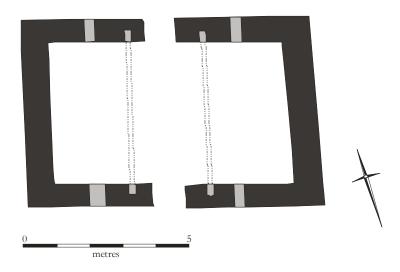


Figure 29: Structure 2 plan

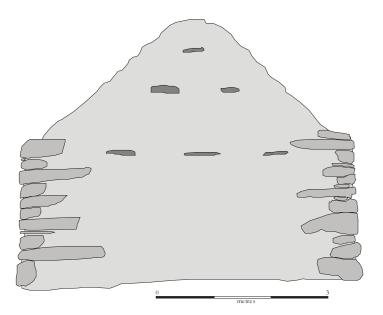


Figure 30: Structure 2 east gable external elevation

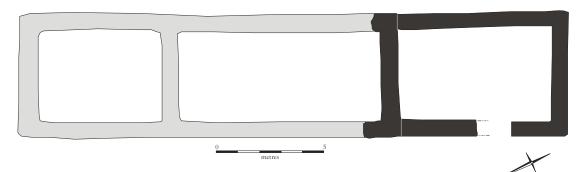
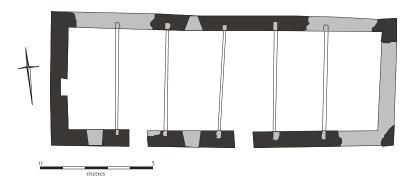
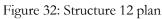


Figure 31: Structure 10 plan





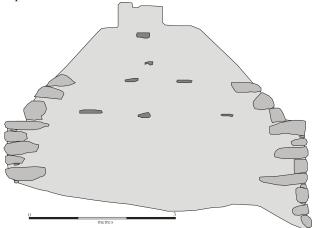


Figure 33: Structure 12 west gable external elevation

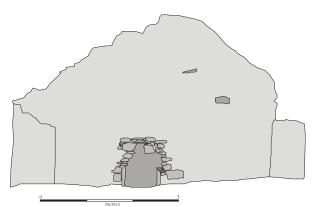


Figure 34: Structure 12 west gable internal elevation with fireplace

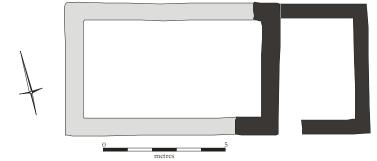


Figure 35: Structure 13 plan

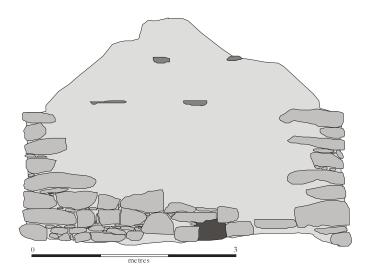


Figure 36: Structure 13 west gable external elevation with drain

# 4.3 Kilmory Mill Grid Ref: NR778897, NMRS No. NR78NE 17

## 4.3.1 Historical Background

Although Currie tells us that a 'meal mill of Coilebar' is mentioned in 1490 (Currie 1830) the first reference to the mill that can be located dates to 1542, this a charter by Archibald Campbell son of the Earl of Argyll to Neil MacNeil of Taynish 'of the grain miln newly built by the granter on the lands of Ob and Kilmore and the mill land called the Two Gartane Mollyn, with pasturage for 2 cows and 1 horse yearly on the lands of Kilmory of Gillebir' along with other lands in North Knapdale, together with the aqueduct of the pond of the said mill called Lochcallzebir, under reservation of the granter's liferent in respect of an old infeftment made before this charter and of a tack of said mill to said Neil dated at Innerrara 3rd June 1542. At Campbell' (GD437/5).

The 'Two Gartane Mollyn' translate as the two enclosures while the 'aqueduct' is referred to as a lade in a later precept dated 1548/9 that also mentions a dam (GD437/5). The mill and its associated lands remained with the MacNeils of Taynish until 1837 when they are sold to Neil Malcolm of Poltalloch.

Between 1542 and 1837 the mill is mentioned in various documents, such as Precept of Clare Constat dated to 1652 tells us something of the obligations due to the now Marquiss of Argyll from the mill; -:.for the mill on the lands of Obe and Kilmorie, etc., 3 parts, viz., '3 bata lie', 3 pecks of each firlot of astricted multure of white flour owing to said mill from aforesaid astricted lands according to the tenor of the rental: all the aforesaid 36 merk 40 penny land to be astricted to the aforesaid mill annually to pay the astricted multure, of each merk land 1 firlot of white flour of sufficient value and measure, excepting all free tenants who by force of their ancient infeftment before the making of the original charter were in no way astricted to the said mill; the server of the said mill for the time being, who is called the 'mylneknaife', to have 1 batum of every 3 bolls growing on the before written lands annually with the other due and accustomed casualties for doing service at the same; faithful service to be given for said office of coroner together with account?? and payment of debts within the limits of the said office only, according to the ancient infeftments of the lands and others' (GD 437/96)

The first mention of a miller is within a disposition dated 1582 by 'Torquill Makneill of Thyneis to his servant Gillecallum McDowill vic Gillergin and his lawful heirs male, of the office of millerschip with knaveship of the myln of Calzebir with 2 acres of land called in 'Ers' Dagorhame mullin and pasturage for 2 cows and a horse with pertinents and all other freedoms and 'borland' connected in the country of Knapdall, as the said Gillecallum's father possessed it in his lifetime reserving to the granter his part of the dry `thirlit multer meill and the herezeldis'; rendering payment used and wont as Donald McGillergin did in his days; paying the granter 50 merks composition; and a 'cuddoiche' and a dozen poultry 'cok and hen'. And the 3rd heir and his descendants shall pay £8 entry silver. At Calchalze (GD 437/12). Gillecallum MacGillergin may also have operated the mill at Kilmichael Inverlussa possibly appearing in a tack of 1598 as 'Gillecallum Mcilharn [?] miller at the mylne of the Obe and his heirs, of the grinding of the victual grown on his 7 merkland held by the granter of the laird of Auchinbrek which was astricted to the said laird's myln of Kilmichael in Innerlesan' (GD437/16). The office of 'millerschip' must have been retained with the MacGillergin family as 'Malcolm McGillergin' appears in a later sasine of 1669 as 'miller of the mill of Calzebar and his heirs male in the office of miller of the said mill and its lands called Two Gortenmullyne'. The same Malcom MacGillergin is named as being deceased by 1717 in a Charter of confirmation dating to 1720 (GD437/113). After this Archibald McKisage (Archibald McKessock) is mentioned as miller in 1747 (CC2/8/41/11) and the last miller was likely Neil MacCallum who appears in both the 1841 and 1851 census.

As no mill or miller is mentioned in the 1861 census it is presumed the mill was abandoned prior to that date. On the first Edition Ordnance survey the mill and lade are depicted as '*Kilmory Mill (Corn)*' which is shown as unroofed lying on the E side of a trackway (Argyllshire 1873, sheet CLX). The associated name book of 1857 tells us of '*A cot house and corn mill almost in ruins*' (Name

Book 1857). The map also depicts three roofed buildings, two with attached enclosures, and a possible smaller structure are shown lying to the N of the mill on the opposite side of track. During an archaeological survey of north Knapdale Forest this site was examined where only one length of E-W aligned foundation wall could still be discerned, this and possibly the remains of one of the buildings. Other foundations were suggested by possible stone footings although these were barely discernible under the now abundant vegetation cover. That little remains of these buildings even in terms of rubble collapse suggests the buildings may have been robbed of building material (Regan & Webb 2005a).

There is an interesting folk tale attached to the mill, in that the mill and its privileges were given by Colin Campbell, 3rd Earl of Argyll as a reward for the rescue of his sister Lady Catherine Campbell from her attempted murder by her husband Lachlan *Cattanach* MacLean. If true the incident would have taken place before the death of Lachlan MacLean in c.1523. The story is also attached to Taynish mill and it may be no coincidence that both the mills at Kilmory and Taynish were held by the MacNiels of Taynish from the successive Earls, Marquiss and later Dukes of Argyll.

The mill also appears as one of the three boasts of Knapdale.

Tri sgoid Chnapdail	The three boasts of Knapdale:
Carridh Lochd Chrinan	The fish cruives of Loch Crinan
Frith ghlinn a'Bhacain	The deer forest of Bacan's glen
Is muileann dubh Choillebar	And the dark mill of Coilebar

The mention of the mill as dark no doubt is a reflection of its topological location, a position which very rarely catches any direct sun light.

## 4.3.2 Site Survey Results

The remains of the mill are situated on the W side of Loch Coille-Bharr situated in a narrow terrace and lies below the level of the Loch. The surviving remnants of the mill suggest that these represent at least two phases of construction. The earliest phase lies at the N end of the surviving building and this would appear to be the original S gable of an earlier rectangular construction, the majority of which has now been demolished. The surviving gable has a segmented arched doorway (2.3m wide and 2m in height) which would suggest this was the original entrance to a loading bay or cart entrance. If this is the original loading bay then the mill wheel, stones floor and any wheel pit would have lain to the N, nearer the artificial outlet from the Loch. This area is now relatively flat although rubble does lie below the vegetation cover. The SW corner of the gable of this earlier build survives and if placed centrally the doorway suggests a building measuring at least 6.7m wide.



Figure 37: Kilmory Mill 1st Edition Ordnance Survey

At some point the building is extended to the S with a gabled two-storeyed addition, divided into two rooms or bays by a dividing wall also rising to two storey height. The southern most room or bay was likely utilised as a drying room or kiln as suggested by the reddened facing of the internal walls. At ground floor level the drying room is accessed by two doors, one from the N room with another external door in the W wall. Probably at this time the original entrance archway is narrowed with the construction of a blocking wall. At first storey level the drying room is again accessed by two doors, one in the S gable, this reached by the remnants of external stairs and the second door through the internal division wall. Supports for the first floor are in evidence with paired joist-sockets in the side walls of both rooms with 9 in the N room and 4 in the drying room, the latter also has evidence of a horizontal timber support along the internal side of the S wall. All the doors of the later build have door frame holes in both sides.

The mill lade lies to the NW of the mill measuring c.40m in length and up to 2.4m wide. The lade has been cut through natural bedrock and what are likely the remains of as a stone lined sluice gate survive at the loch end. A steep drop at the W end of the lade nearer the mill suggest the water may have been diverted by a chute to an overshot water wheel although this remains speculation. The water from the lade is then diverted under the present road by a stone lined channel or cundie to join the burn that outlets the Loch further N.

The earlier part of the mill building is comparable in size with two other better preserved Knapdale mills located at Aironn and Taynish these respectively 6.4m and 7.7m wide (their lengths 10.8m and 11.1m). Both the mills also have similar arched loading entrances. Documentary evidence suggests that the surviving mill buildings at Aironn and Taynish date to the earlier part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although an earlier 17<sup>th</sup> century building may have existed at Aironn. Both these mills have remarkably similar stonework with the use of large roughly-squared blocks and large slab quoins in the construction of the walls, so similar in fact it might be argued that these were the work of the same mason or team of stone workers. The stonework used in the earlier part of the mill at Kilmory is a much coarser affair with less evidence of the use of squared blocks in its construction and this may indicate an earlier date for the building although this suggestion has to be treated with caution.

As at Kilmory both the mills at Aironn and Taynish have added later additions of specific kiln structures, which might suggest that in their early phases grain continued to be dried within local corn drying kilns attached to settlements or townships, before being transported to the mill for processing. Several of these kilns, which may have serviced Kilmory mill, have been have been recorded at Glenyalvon, Leac na Ban and Dounie, with what may be a corn drying kiln at Kilmory Oib.

#### 4.3.3 Assessment of Cultural Significance

The site has been assessed for its cultural significance using the criteria now formalised within *Scottish Historic Environment Policy* (2009), which outlines the sites intrinsic, contextual and associative characteristics.

The surviving structure has few 'intrinsic' characteristics beyond the relatively well preserved later addition of a corn drying building. However its is likely that some of the earlier building is still preserved as archaeological deposits either below the upstanding structure or in the flatter areas immediately surrounding it. The 'contextual' significance of the building lies in the presence of a mill on this site recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and that the mill is also the being mentioned in a well known local poem. The 'associative' significance ' of the site perhaps lies in the connection of mill with the better preserved township of Kilmory Oib which like the mill can be easily visited by the public.

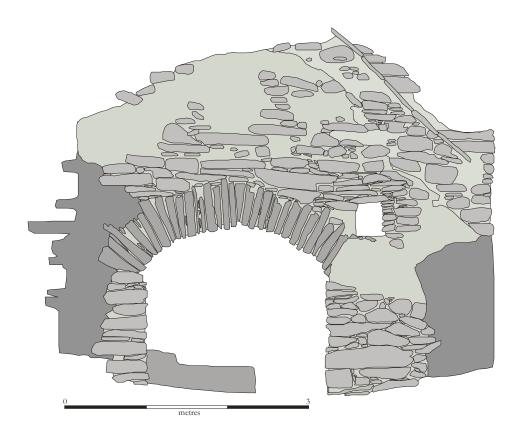


Figure 38: Arched entrance

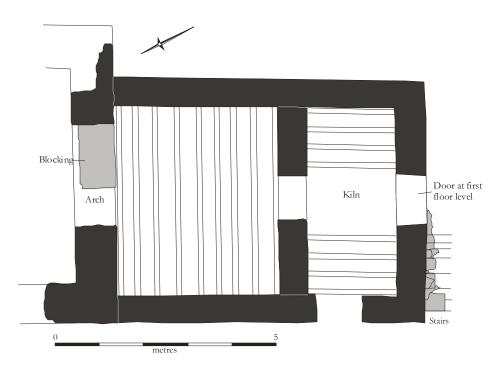


Figure 39: Kilmory Mill plan

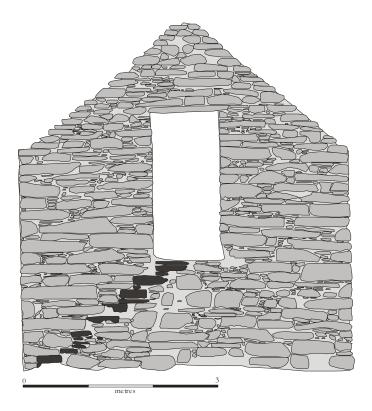


Figure 40: South facing gable end with stairs

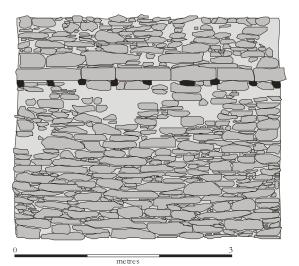


Figure 41: Internal elevation of west wall of central bay

5. References

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Appendix 1: Photographic Survey Images

Kilmory Oib



Cross slab



Structure 2 south gable internal elevation



Structure 4 east end



Structure 4 west end



Structure 4 blocked door in north wall



Structure 4 blocked window in south wall



Structure 6 blocked doorway



Structure 6 blocked window



Structure 6 south gable



Structure 8



Structure 8 west side



Structure 8 south gable



Structure 11



Structure 11 internal south gable



Structure 12 cruck slot



Structure 12 west gable

# Arichonan



Structure 1 and fank



Structure 1 fireplace in south gable of central bay



Structure 1 firepalce in north gable of central bay



Structure 1 brick cauldron base



Cauldron in front of Structure 1



Structure 1 southern extension



Structure 1 south gable



Structure 2



Structure 2 east gable



Structure 2 date stone



Structure 2 door frame



Structure 2 ventilation slots



Structure 2 opposed doorways



Structure 2 cruck slot



Structure 4 possible fireplace



Structure 5 east gable



Structure 5 inscribed stone



Early sheep fank



Structure 6 south gable



Structure 9 north gable



Structure 12



Structure 12 west gable



Structure 5 fireplace in west gable



Structure 12 cruck slot



Structure 13 eastern addition



Later sheep fank



Stone revetting on track leading to Arichonan

# Kilmory Mill



Arched entrance



Western side of mill structure



Eastern side of mill structure



Southern side of mill structure



Junction of earlier and later stonework



Stonework in central bay



Arched entrance detail



Floor support in kiln room



Stone lined culvert under present track



Aironn Mill south knapdale



Taynish Mill north knapdale

Site	Number	Structure	Description
Kilmory Oib	1		general
Kilmory Oib	2		general
Kilmory Oib	3	structure 16	possible corn dryer
Kilmory Oib	4		Sheepfank
Kilmory Oib	5	structure 2	barn
Kilmory Oib	6	structure 2	internal
Kilmory Oib	7	structure 2	south gable internal
Kilmory Oib	8	structure 2	south gable external
Kilmory Oib	9	structure 2	ventilation slot
Kilmory Oib	10	structure 3	west gable external
Kilmory Oib	11	structure 3	west gable internal
Kilmory Oib	12	structure 4a	blocked door
Kilmory Oib	13	structure 4a	general
Kilmory Oib	14	structure 4a	general
Kilmory Oib	15	structure 4a	mid gable internal
Kilmory Oib	16	structure 4a	east window
Kilmory Oib	17	structure 4a	west gable external
Kilmory Oib	18	structure 4a	west gable internal
Kilmory Oib	19	structure 4a	west window
Kilmory Oib	20	structure 4b	blocked NE door
Kilmory Oib	21	structure 4b	blocked door SW
Kilmory Oib	22	structure 4b	blocked window external
Kilmory Oib	23	structure 4b	blocked window internal
Kilmory Oib	24	structure 4b	east gable external
Kilmory Oib	25	structure 4b	east gable internal
Kilmory Oib	26	structure 4b	from north
Kilmory Oib	27	structure 4b	mid gable internal
Kilmory Oib	28	structure 4b	sheep crawl internal
Kilmory Oib	29	structure 4b	sheep crawl external
Kilmory Oib	30	structures 5-6	general
Kilmory Oib	31	structure 5	blocked door/sheep crawl
Kilmory Oib	32	structure 5	north wall
Kilmory Oib	33	structure 5	west wall
Kilmory Oib	34	structure 5	north gable end-sheep fank
Kilmory Oib	35	structure 5	east wall
Kilmory Oib	36	structure 6	blocked door internal
Kilmory Oib	37	structure 6	blocked door external
Kilmory Oib	38	structure 6	blocked window external
Kilmory Oib	39	structure 6	blocking external
Kilmory Oib	40	structure 6	blocking external
Kilmory Oib	41	structure 6	blocking internal
Kilmory Oib	42	structure 6	south gable internal
Kilmory Oib	43	structure 6	south gable external
Kilmory Oib	44	structure 8	blocking
Kilmory Oib	45	structure 8	blocked window internal
Kilmory Oib	46	structure 8	general
Kilmory Oib	47	structure 8	general
Kilmory Oib	48	structure 8	north gable
Kilmory Oib	49	structure 8	north gable internal

Appendix 2: Photographic Survey List

Kilmory Oib	50	structure 8	scarcement north gable
Kilmory Oib	51	structure 8	thatch pegs south gable
Kilmory Oib	52	structure 8	south gable
Kilmory Oib	53	structure 8	south gable internal
Kilmory Oib	54	structure 8	blocking?
Kilmory Oib	55	structure 11	general
Kilmory Oib	56	structure 11	north gable external
Kilmory Oib	57	structure 11	north gable internal
Kilmory Oib	58	structure 11	south gable external
Kilmory Oib	59	structure 11	south gable internal
Kilmory Oib	60	structure 11	south gable thatch pegs
Kilmory Oib	61	structure 12	cruck slot south wall
Kilmory Oib	62	structure 12	cruck slot south wall
Kilmory Oib	63	structure 12	east gable internal
Kilmory Oib	64	structure 12	north wall internal
Kilmory Oib	65	structure 12	west gable external
Kilmory Oib	66	structure 12	west gable internal
Arichonan	1	structure 1	
Arichonan	2	structure 1	annexe gable external
Arichonan	3	structure 1	annexe gable internal
Arichonan	4	structure 1	annexe W wall
Arichonan	5	structure 1	brick boiler
Arichonan	6	structure 1	brick boiler
Arichonan	7	structure 1	cauldren
Arichonan	8	structure 1	range corner
Arichonan	9	structure 1	fireplace N end
Arichonan	10	structure 1	fireplace N end
Arichonan	10	structure 1	fireplace N end
Arichonan	12	structure 1	extension internal
Arichonan	13	structure 1	extension internal
Arichonan	13	structure 1	extension internal
Arichonan	15	structure 1	extension E wall internal
Arichonan	16	structure 1	range S gable
Arichonan	17	structure 1	extension fireplace
Arichonan	18	structure 1	extension E wall external
Arichonan	19	structure 1	E wall window
Arichonan	20	structure 1	extension S gable
Arichonan	21	structure 1	extension S gable window
Arichonan	22	structure 2	E gable
Arichonan	23	structure 2	S wall external
Arichonan	24	structure 2	S wall external
Arichonan	25	structure 2	date stone
Arichonan	26	structure 2	S wall door
Arichonan	20	structure 2	S wall E vent slot
Arichonan	28	structure 2	S wall W vent slot
Arichonan	29	structure 2	door frame holes
Arichonan	30	structure 2	door frame holes
Arichonan	31	structure 2	S wall E vent slot internal
Arichonan	32	structure 2	S wall E cruck internal
Arichonan	33	structure 2	S wall W cruck internal
Arichonan	34	structure 2	S wall E cruck internal
Arichonan	35	structure 2	S wall W vent slot internal
<sup>1</sup> menoman		structure 2	o wan w vent sitt internal

Arichonan	36	structure 2	N wall W cruck slot internal
Arichonan	37	structure 2	N wall W vent slot internal
Arichonan	38	structure 2	N wall door internal
Arichonan	39	structure 2	N wall E cruck slot internal
Arichonan	40	structure 2	N wall E vent slot internal
Arichonan	40	structure 2	cauldren
Arichonan	42	structure 2	N wall E vent external
Arichonan	43	structure 2	N wall door external
	43		N wall W vent external
Arichonan Arichonan	44	structure 2	N wall W vent external
Arichonan		structure 2	W side
Arichonan	46 47	structure 1	
	47	structure 2	W gable
Arichonan			early sheep fank
Arichonan Arichonan	49 50	structure 3	SE corner and blocked door to fank
		-two etcase E	in a start of the
Arichonan	51 52	structure 5	inscribed stone
Arichonan		structure 5	E gable
Arichonan	53	structure 5	entarnce E end
Arichonan	54	structure 5	E door
Arichonan	55	structure 5	W door
Arichonan	56	structure 5	E gable internal
Arichonan	57	structure 5	W gable internal
Arichonan	58	structure 5	W door internal
Arichonan	59	structure 5	E door internal
Arichonan	60	structure 4	fireplace?
Arichonan	61		sheepfank
Arichonan	62		sheepfank entrance
Arichonan	63		sheepfank blocked entrance
Arichonan	64	structure 6	from N
Arichonan	65	structure 6	S gable
Arichonan	66	structure 12	W gable
Arichonan	67	structure 12	W window
Arichonan	68	structure 12	W window
Arichonan	69	structure 12	W window
Arichonan	70	structure 12	W door
Arichonan	71	structure 12	E window and door
Arichonan	72	structure 12	E window
Arichonan	73	structure 12	E door
Arichonan	74	structure 12	E door and wall
Arichonan	75	structure 12	W gable internal
Arichonan	76	structure 12	fireplace
Arichonan	77	structure 12	W window internal
Arichonan	78	structure 12	E window internal
Arichonan	79	structure 12	N wall window
Arichonan	80	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	81	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	82	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	83	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	84	structure 12	N wall window
Arichonan	85	structure 13	W gable
Arichonan	86	structure 13	drain outlet
Arichonan	87	structure 13	W extension

Arichonan	88	structure 12	looking NW
Arichonan	89	structure 13	W gable inernal
Arichonan	90	structure 13	W extension gable inernal
Arichonan	91	structure 10	NE corner
Arichonan	92	structure 10	N gable extension internal
Arichonan	93		general
Arichonan	94	structure 9	N gable internal
Arichonan	95	structure 9	window internal
Arichonan	96	structure 9	door internal
Arichonan	97	structure 9	E side
Arichonan	98	structure 9	S end
Arichonan	99	structure 9	S end
Arichonan	100	structure 9	window external
Arichonan	101	structure 9	window extension N gable inetrnal
Arichonan	102	structure 9	window extension N gable inetrnal
Arichonan	103	structure 9	N gable external
Arichonan	104	structure 9	N gable
Arichonan	105	structure 9	window extension N gable external
Arichonan	106	structure 9	slot
Arichonan	107	structure 9	slot
Arichonan	108	structure 9	slot
Arichonan	109	structure 9	slot
Arichonan	110	structure 9	window internal
Arichonan	111	structure 9	slot
Arichonan	112	structure 9	extension door internal
Arichonan	113	structure 10	from N
Arichonan	114	structure 9	extension N gable
Arichonan	115	structure 9	extension N gable
Arichonan	116	structure 12	window
Arichonan	117	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	118	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	119	structure 12	door
Arichonan	120	structure 12	cruck slot
Arichonan	121	structure 12	window internal
Arichonan	122	structure 12	door internal
Arichonan	123	structure 12	window internal
Arichonan	124	structure 12	fireplace
Arichonan	125	structure 13	W gable
Arichonan	126	structure 13	W gable
Arichonan	127	structure 13	drain outlet
Arichonan	128	structure 12	W gable
Arichonan	129		possible structure footings
Arichonan	130		possible structure footings
Arichonan	131	structure 12	W gable
Arichonan	132	structure 6	S gable
Arichonan	133	structure 6	S gable
Arichonan	134	structure 5	E gable internal
Arichonan	135	structure 5	E door
Arichonan	136	structure 5	E door
Arichonan	137	structure 5	W door
Arichonan	138	structure 5	E gable external
Arichonan	139	fank	fank

Arichonan	140	fank	fank
Arichonan	141	structure 3	fank attached to structure 3
Arichonan	142	fank	blocked entrance of fank
Arichonan	143	fank	fank
Arichonan	144	structure 2	E gable internal
Arichonan	145	structure 2	door S wall
		structure	
Arichonan	146	12/13	
Arichonan	147	structure 1	S gable internal
Arichonan	148	structure 1	S gable internal
Arichonan	149	structure 1	door and window
Arichonan	150	structure 1	recessed window
Arichonan	151	structure 1	fireplace
Arichonan	152	structure 1	window
Arichonan	153	structure 1	door
Arichonan	154	structure 1	gable
Arichonan	155	structure 1	gable
Arichonan	156	structure 1	fireplace
Arichonan	157	structure 1	window
Arichonan	158	structure 1	gable and fireplace
Arichonan	159	structure 1	fireplace
Arichonan	160	structure 1	gable and brick boiler
Arichonan	161	structure 1	gable and brick boiler
Arichonan	162	fank	fank
Arichonan	163	structure 1	S gable external
Arichonan	164	structure 1	fank entrance
Arichonan	165	structure 1	from NE
Arichonan	166	track	track
Arichonan	167	track	revetted track
Arichonan	168	bridge	bridge
Arichonan	169	structure 3	SE corner
Arichonan	170	structure 14	W end
Arichonan	171	structure 14	W end
Arichonan	172	structure 14	W end
Arichonan	173	structure 13	Byre extension
Arichonan	174	structure 13	Byre extension
Arichonan	175	structure 13	demolished end
Arichonan	176	structure 6	gable internal
Arichonan	177	structure 6	gable internal
Arichonan	178	structure 6	gable internal
Kilmory Mill	1	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	2	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	3	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	4	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	5	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	6	mill	Internal doors
Kilmory Mill	7	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	8	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	9	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	10	mill	Arch internal
Kilmory Mill	10	mill	Side of arch
Kilmory Mill	11	mill	From SW
ixinitory mill	12		1 10111 0 W

Kilmory Mill	13	mill	S gable
Kilmory Mill	13	mill	S gable
Kilmory Mill	15	mill	S gable
Kilmory Mill	16	mill	W wall
Kilmory Mill	17	mill	W wall
Kilmory Mill	18	mill	Abutting wall
Kilmory Mill	19	mill	Abutting wall
Kilmory Mill	20	mill	Abutting wall
Kilmory Mill	21	mill	Abutting wall
Kilmory Mill	22	mill	Inernal door side
Kilmory Mill	23	mill	Door frame slot
Kilmory Mill	24	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	25	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	26	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	27	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	28	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	29	mill	Stairs
Kilmory Mill	30	mill	Loading door kiln
Kilmory Mill	31	mill	From NW
Kilmory Mill	32	mill	From NW
Kilmory Mill	33	mill	Looking N
Kilmory Mill	34	mill	Lade culvert
Kilmory Mill	35	mill	Lade culvert
Kilmory Mill	36	mill	Lade culvert
Kilmory Mill	37	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	38	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	39	mill	Internal doors
Kilmory Mill	40	mill	Internal wall
Kilmory Mill	41	mill	Arch
Kilmory Mill	42	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	43	mill	Kiln door
Kilmory Mill	44	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	45	mill	Aperture
Kilmory Mill	46	mill	gable roof
Kilmory Mill	47	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	48	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	49	mill	Blocking wall
Kilmory Mill	50	mill	Arch side
Kilmory Mill	51	mill	Door frame slot
Kilmory Mill	52	mill	Kiln door
Kilmory Mill	53	mill	W wall
Kilmory Mill	54	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	55	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	56	mill	Kiln floor slots
Kilmory Mill	57	mill	Stairs
Kilmory Mill	58	mill	Stairs
Kilmory Mill	59	mill	Stairs
Kilmory Mill	60	mill	Kiln loading door