# Argyll's Lodging, Stirling: recent archaeological excavations and historical analysis

Gordon Ewart\*, Dennis Gallagher† and John Harrison‡

#### ABSTRACT

Excavation at Argyll's Lodging demonstrates the complex development of the present mansion from the early 17th century onwards, including its use as a military hospital. Excavations also took place on the site of the demolished south wing. Analysis of the historical development of the main house shows an expansion of the house and garden during the 17th century, with a later contraction of the property.

# INTRODUCTION

It its present form, Argyll's Lodging (NGR: NS 79261 93808) is one of the most important townhouses surviving in Scotland, with a unified appearance that belies its complex history. The building attracted the attention of 19th-century antiquarians; Billings remarked on it being 'a very excellent specimen of that French style which predominated in the north in the early seventeenth century'. He attributed the 'original' part of the building to Sir William Alexander, noting a date of 1632, with the S range added in 1674 (Billings 1852: 4, 169). This dating was repeated, with a fuller description, by MacGibbon and Ross (1887: 2, 424–5) and by Ronald (1906: 115). Analysis of the building by the RCAHMS in the 1950s, for inclusion in their Stirlingshire inventory (RCAHMS 1963), revealed a more complex development. It was shown that the N wing was 16th century in origin and thus had existed before the William Alexander building campaign (RCAHMS 1962: 2, no

227, 227–8; Fawcett 2002). Archaeological investigations were carried out in and around the standing building at Argyll's Lodging in 1995 and 1996, by Kirkdale Archaeology for Historic Scotland, as part of the work of refurbishment of the building. The archaeological excavations and subsequent historical research provides further evidence of the complex development of the mansion in the post-medieval period.

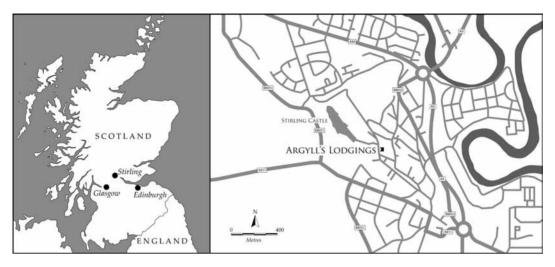
## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The modern Argyll's Lodging occupies a site on Castle Wynd, Stirling (illus 1). The site was created by uniting two properties which were previously distinct. The outline history provided by Ronald has been the basis of later published accounts (Ronald 1906; RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, 277–84; Fawcett 2002). A part of the site was acquired by Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, Viscount of Stirling, and pre-existing buildings were extended to

<sup>\*</sup> Kirkdale Archaeology, 4 Western Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 5QF

<sup>† 4</sup> Sylvan Place, Edinburgh EH9 1LH

<sup>‡ 14</sup>a Abercromby Place, Stirling FK8 2QB



ILLUS 1 Location plan

make a mansion built to reflect Alexander's ambitions, a private palace with fine suites which would be fit for a king, should Charles I see fit to grace it with his presence. This mansion will be referred to as the Alexander House but it will be argued that its associated tenement of land had a frontage to what is now Broad Street as well as to Castle Wynd.

Adjacent to the Alexander House was another tenement owned by the Campbells of Argyll which occupied the corner of what are now Broad Street and Castle Wynd and flanked by the Alexander house (and predecessors) on its other two sides. The Alexander House was bought by the 9th Earl of Argyll in the early 1660s. The Alexander and Campbell houses were amalgamated in the 1670s to form a single property. The former Campbell house was demolished, seemingly in at least two phases, during the 19th century. The present building, for all its superficial homogeneity, incorporates major elements spanning around a century or so from the later 16th century. This short note highlights some of the earlier documentary evidence for the two main phases, the preAlexander house and the older Campbell House and, by considering the site as a whole, hopes to throw new light on the ways in which it has been developed.

The Campbell and Alexander houses, like other prestigious residences, were high within the town. Mar's Wark, the other great secular palace within the town in the later 16th and early 17th century, was across the street but a little to the south of the Campbell House – they did not directly face each other (Harrison 1986; Harrison 2007). Little is known of the evolution of the street plan of Stirling. Castle Wynd is on record from 1380–1 but must be older than this (RMS: 1, 639); Broad Street, in some form, must be as old as the town itself, though the present line of the building frontages on this side represents an advance from an older line (Harrison 1998).

A house in Stirling belonging to Mr Dugall [Campbell] of Lochaw is on record from 1302; it is described as being 'on the north side of King Street' – probably a translation for *Via Regis*, a term which applied to all streets and roads and gives no real indication of where it was (HMC 1874: 483). In 1430 the

Campbells had a tenement in the Middle Raw, that is, not on this site (HMC 1874: 484). But a house recorded in 1452 'on the north side of the High Street' might be this one. One of two houses resigned by Helen [Campbell] of Lochaw to Colin, Earl of Argyll in 1481 'on the north side of the high street', with land belonging to St Thomas's altar on the east and the 'common street which leads to the church on the west' is almost certainly on this site and was mentioned again in 1617 when James Duncanson was allowed an annual rent previously payable to St Thomas's altar from property beside the 'Erl of Ergyles house' (HMC 1874: 484; Ronald 1906: 29). In 1495, a house on the north side of the Market Gate of Stirling had John Shaw's house to the east and Lord Argyll's to the west (SCA B66/25/51). There are accounts for mason work on a new house for the Earl of Argyll at Stirling in 1583, although they have not been seen and it is not certain where the house was (NRAS 217 Stewarts, Earls of Moray. Box 15 includes accounts for masons and others building a new house for the Earl of Argyll at Stirling in 1583).

There are several later references to the Campbell property as bounding others. For example, in 1574 David Penycuik and his wife had a garden adjoining the garden and tenement of Colin, Earl of Argyle. But the sasines for this property, at this phase of its existence, simply describe it as bounded 'as in the old infeftments' although it seems probable from the later situation that some of the garden ground, the stables etc might have been separate from the main house (SCA B66/1/24, 255; SCA B66/1/9, 245).

After 1603, the Campbell household seems to have been quickly run down – with Campbell servants ceasing to appear with any regularity before the Kirk Session on charges of fornication etc. This was initially due to the removal of the court, although the Earl's

exile, from 1618, would have confirmed the decline. Records of the Campbells and their family in Stirling are intermittent for several decades thereafter (Harrison 2007; Ronald 1906: 53–8).

Ronald (1906) does not discuss the purchase by Sir William Alexander of the site for his new mansion. Two key documents give vital information. In the first, on 4 June 1630, Sir William Alexander pursued Mr Thomas Rollock to remove from the house formerly belonging to Lord Erskine and Sir John Murray and now to Sir William specifically mentioning Sir William's infeftment of 24 July 1629 (SCA B66/9/1, 251ff). The infeftment itself survives in the protocol book of Jon Robene, under that date (SCA, B66/1/17). Reid suggests that the purchase was intended to boost Sir William's status, in anticipation of elevation to the earldom, though he may also have been anticipating a royal return to more regular residence in Stirling (Reid: 2004). Rollock, the tenant, did not appear and was duly ordered to remove. The infeftment confirms that the purchase was made from John, Lord Erskine and Sir John Murray of Touchadam. In fact, Lord Erskine and Sir William Murray had only purchased the premises in 1624 from James Erskine of Tullibody (SCA B66/1/12, 215, 26 May 1624). Taken together, these documents show that the property had consisted of several parts. Firstly a 'new great building' with a close, garden and other pertinents and, secondly, the three tenements which had formerly belonged to the late Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, which lay adjacent to the great house; the east-most of the three formerly pertained to John Fairnie, the middle to William Beaton and the westmost to William Cunningham of Polmaise.

Yet earlier, in 1604, James Erskine of Craig and Dame Marie Erskine his spouse had purchased the properties from Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth (SCA Protocol Book of John Williamson, B66/1/8, f 169r - 179v). The 'new great house' already existed and Archibald of Argyll's house lay on the east. The properties are said at that time to have the king's road on the south but the vennel called the Castle Wynd on the west. Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, seems to have accumulated his property in a series of deals around 1580 to 1582. In 1580 he purchased a tenement formerly belonging to John Fairnie and his spouse, which lay between William Beaton's and Colin, Earl of Argyll's houses (SCA B661/7, 113 and 159). In 1582 he resigned this property 'on the north side of the high street', which sometime pertained to John Fairnie and to Elizabeth Burn his spouse, lying between the land of umquil James Somerville, now to William Beaton on the south, to Colin, Earl of Argyll on the east, the king's Hie Gait on the south and the yard sometime pertaining to David Pennicuik, now to the Earl of Argyll on the north, for new infeftment to be given again to himself and his spouse, Margaret Drummond. Such a deal would usually closely follow around the time of the marriage; it can now be seen that the ambiguity about the roads derives from the fact that parts of this property fronted onto what is now Broad Street, which is consistent with the later documents (SCA B66/1/7, 159 dated 1582; presumably the Earl had acquired Penycuik's ground since 1574 when it was previously mentioned).

The earliest fairly definite hint of a part of the lands which were to become the Alexander house is from 1574 when William Somervell disponed a tenement of land bounded by James Fairnie's on the east to William Beaton, servitor to the king and to Jayne Vallace his spouse. Fawcett suggests that perhaps a disposition by a John Traill, burgess of St Andrews to a servant of Adam of Cambuskenneth in 1559, might be relevant,

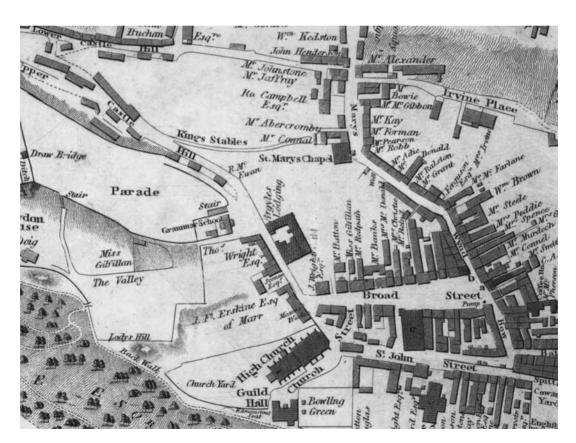
though he does not give details (Fawcett 2002: 717).

To summarise: Adam, Commendator of Cambuskenneth, gradually bought up a number of properties around 1580 and constructed a new great tenement, linked to modified parts of the three other properties. He sold to Erskine of Craig in 1604 who in turn sold to Erskine and Murray jointly in 1624, the property passing to William Alexander in 1629. This is consistent with the pattern of the surviving structure as described by Fawcett whilst William Alexander, of course, enlarged and extended the house, his portion dating to 1632–3.

Within a few years, William Alexander was in financial difficulties. The house was disponed to Stirling Burgh Council in security for debts and so, after a brief conversion to an Alms House for Spittal's Hospital, it was eventually sold to the then Earl of Argyll. Ronald states that the Campbell house had been rebuilt in 1664, survived until 1858 and was of three storeys with a turret at the back leading to the upper floors; it was, he says, very narrow and the rooms must have opened one from another. He gives plans of the ground, first and second floors and Chambers shows an oblique view of c 1830. Fawcett (2002) thinks that the surviving structure supports the supposition that the south-west range (the Campbell house) was remodelled c 1670 and then integrated into the final design, though, as indicated above, this later 17th century house was certainly not the first Campbell house on the site. Wood's Map of 1820 (illus 2) has no sign of the wing but the ground floor, so far west as the stair, is mapped on the First Edition OS surveyed in 1858 (illus 3).

The Alexander property had a frontage to modern Broad Street. Access is shown on the First Edition plan but most of that frontage is now occupied by a house labelled as Mr Wright's on Wood's 1820 plan. This access confined the older Campbell house to a very cramped site, albeit on the corner and in a prominent part of the town. Throughout the 17th century the Campbells had other property in the town, probably gardens and certainly stables, some extending as far as Mary Wynd. However, they had no direct access to these facilities from the pre-1674 house, whilst any wings added to the 1664 house to provide more accommodation would impede the light of the existing apartments.

The purchase of the former Alexander property provided the only hope for expansion, allowing the Campbell house to be linked to its stables and to what now became the extensive gardens. Like Alexander before him, the Earl was probably partly influenced by a wish to have an appropriate residence near Stirling Castle in case of a royal return to Scotland, a prospect hinted at by contemporary work in the palace and on the King's Park at Stirling as well as at Holyrood. A further factor may have been that Castle Campbell, the Argyll's other main local residence, had been virtually destroyed by Montrose. Argyll presumably 'knocked two houses into one'. There is no firm evidence to suggest whether the 1674 wing stood on ground which Campbell had just acquired or on his existing property. In 1691 the Countess of Argyll was assessed

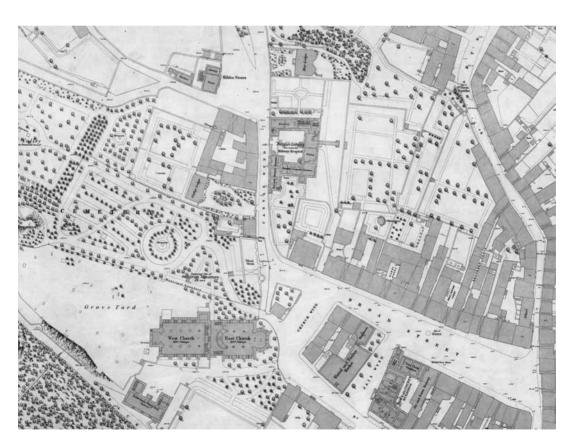


ILLUS 2 A detail from Wood's Map of 1820 shows the bounding properties of James Wright and Miss Gilfillan on Broad Street and of Mr Connal on Mary Wynd indicating the vast area occupied by the property (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

for 26 hearths of her own in the First Quarter and for two for George Brown (who was the gardener) though she is then recorded as 'deficient' (ie not paying) for 21 hearths in 'ye new Lodging' and 12 hearths attributed to her tenants, a total of 33 – though it cannot be affirmed that all these hearths were within the buildings presently under discussion (NAS E69/22/1).

The unnamed writer of a letter of 1740 sought to persuade the lady recipient, a relative of the Argyll Campbells, to approach the then Duke with a view to develop, demolish or repair his property in Stirling which was ruinous and discouraged others

in the vicinity from improving their property. The writer's ideal solution was to have a 'terrace' or platform from Mar's Wark to the Cross (farther down Broad Street) surrounded by a coped stone wall (NAS GD189/2/172). The writer had seen letters from the former Earl of Argyll, instructing the purchase of the old hospital house, to be united with 'Lorne's House', the upper cherry garden, two other adjacent houses and 'everything about or near that lay convenient for making the whole a complete, great, genteel dwelling'. This had accordingly been done about 1675. The hospital house was, of course, the former Alexander House, in its guise as an Alms



ILLUS 3 Detail from the OS plan of 1858. Note that Mar's Wark was not opposite the Campbell House, which is here partly demolished whilst a path provides access from the Alexander House to Broad Street east of Mar Place House (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

House (SCA PD189/2/172, 1740, a letter saying that Argyll's house is ruinous and should either be rebuilt or demolished to give a level from Mar's Wark at the Cross). A sasine for the Duke of Argyll of the entire property dated 1763, indicates that this redevelopment had involved at least ten different properties, including houses and tenements on Castle Wynd above the Alexander house and extending to meet properties on modern Barn Road and St Mary's Wynd (SCA B66/2/15, 470–6 with abbreviate on 526; the properties included Lorn's house, Cowane's House and Stevenson of Knockhill houses, on Mary Wynd).

In 1760 the house was again described as 'ruinous'. It was sold in 1764 to Robert Campbell and James Wright of Loss (Ronald 1906: 139). However, the two soon fell out over financial matters and Campbell's share was taken over by Wright. His sasine, whilst broadly repeating the Duke's of 1763, indicates that most of the units which the Earl had acquired in the 1670s were either ruinous or had been demolished 'to open an entry or view to the great lodging and gardens' (SCA B66/2/16, 150-7 with abbreviate on 510). Wright, the 1764 purchaser, lived in the main mansion, using it as a high-class lodging house and a pied a terre for highland landowners visiting the lowlands (RCAHMS 2001: 64–6; NAS RH15/115).

Wright's sudden death in 1769 forced a judicial sale of his property, though his widow and her sister were able to repurchase the property for £850 sterling from the creditors on behalf of their nephew, whom Wright had wished to make his heir (SCA SB1/10/16, 26–9, 24 and 25 March 1777). Most of Wright's heritable property went to his cousin, James Wright minister of Logie with whom he had had a furious quarrel. But as this Stirling property was purchased during his marriage (legally called the 'conquest' of the marriage)

he was freer to dispose of it as he wished and this might even have been a factor in his buying the property, just around the time he fell out with the minister and as he was in process of effectively adopting the orphaned nephew. His own only legitimate daughter had died and his wife's age precluded their having further children). In 1785 the nephew sold a house built on a part of the property, on which James Wright had formerly erected a building used as a weaving shed, to John Burn, writer in Stirling, reserving his own access to the street. Whilst the wording is uncertain, it is likely that the weaving shed had been demolished to make way for the house. It is probable that the weaving shed was between the main mansion and the access to Broad Street and had the potential to impede it (SCA B66/2/25, 382ff, 17 Jan 1801). The 18th-century military maps, whilst never entirely reliable, also suggest that structures in this area were almost evanescent. In 1793 the nephew sold a piece of ground, fronting the north side of Broad Street, immediately to the west of his own (the nephew's) entry. This measured 17 falls and 18 ells, together with the garden ground and dwelling house now erected on it, again reserving the access to James Wright, writer in Stirling. This clearly refers to the property labelled as Mr Wright's property on Wood's plan (illus 2) and further confirms the access to Broad Street (SCA B66/2/26: 31-3). Assuming that this is square measure and that a square ell equals very roughly a square metre, this is 630 square metres. The nephew having died, his son was served heir and infeft in 1796 (Ronald 1906: 140; SCA B66/2/26: 403–5). In 1801 the entire property was sold to the government for use as a military hospital, when it was described as:

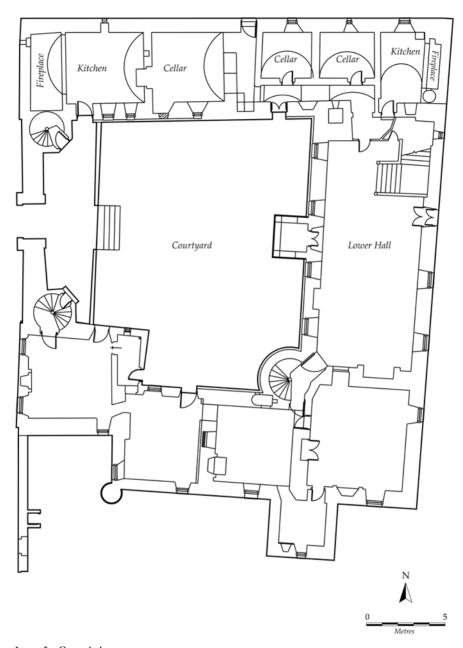
All and whole that great building or tenement of land commonly called Argyll's House in the form of a square with the closes, passages, grounds and whole liberties etc ... which enclosure belonged to the Duke of Argyle and afterwards purchased by the deceased James Wright of Loss (SCA B66/2/25: 429)

It was bounded on the south by the high street of Stirling, the garden of James Wright, writer and the properties of John Burn and Thomas Gilfillan on the south, on the west by the Castle Wynd, on the north by Alexander McGibbon, writer and Michael Connel and on the north by more of Connel's property and that of Robert Banks, writer in Stirling and of the said John Burn. Interestingly, McGibbon had entered into a specific undertaking not to build on the eastern part of the garden or the part of the former bowling-green disponed to him earlier in such a way as to detract from the views from the main house and there were continued reservations about access and use of a well (SCA B66/2/25: 429ff). Although not shown on Wood's Map it seems reasonable to assume that the McGibbon property would more or less correspond to Mar Lodge. The Connell property included the former Cowane's House on Mary Wynd. The identification of James Wright's house with Mar Place House seems secure and Miss Gilfillan was two down on Broad Street  $\it c$  1820.

In summary, the documents suggest three broad periods in the history of this major urban area. By about 1580 smaller properties were being amalgamated into larger units. This resulted in the creation firstly of the Campbell and Alexander Houses and their associated lands and culminated in the creation of the huge Argyll property in the 1670s, with its access to Broad Street and Castle Wynd and extending almost to Barn road and Mary Wynd. The creation of the Argyll's Lodging was accompanied by extensive demolition



ILLUS 4 Argyll's Lodging from the south-west showing the garden frontage



ILLUS 5 Ground plan

of older buildings to expand the views of and from the mansion. For the next century, the mansion and its gardens and orchards dominated the entire quarter. Then, from the later 18th century, the accumulation process was reversed as parts of the site were sold off and new houses (of which several survive) were built.

# THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING

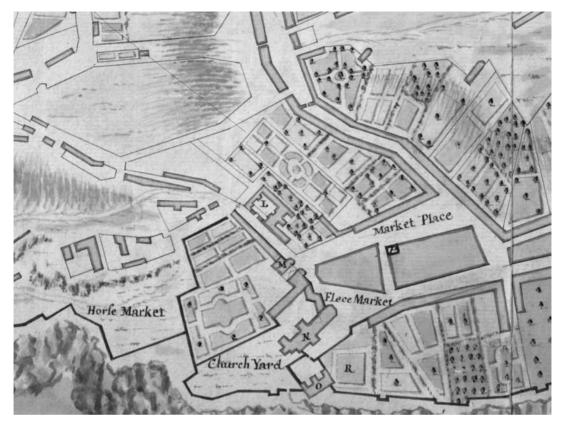
The present form of Argyll's Lodging consists of three ranges built around an irregular courtyard with a screen wall on the west side, facing the Castle Wynd, the approach road to the royal castle (illus 1). Its east side overlooks a terraced garden with a spectacular view of the lower Forth valley (illus 4). The present form of the building is the result of a process involving the amalgamation and extension of properties. In 1629 the house and adjoining property was acquired by William Alexander of Menstrie. He was created 1st Viscount Stirling in 1630 and 1st Earl of Stirling in 1633. Dates on the E range of 1632 and 1633 indicate a building campaign in which the earlier building was extended to create a townhouse of courtyard plan (illus 5). It has been suggested that the building was designed by the architect Sir Anthony Alexander, royal Master of Works, for his father, Sir William Alexander. There is, however, no known documentation to support this claim. As the building has the characteristics of court architecture of that period, such as buckle quoins, strapwork decoration and pilastered dormers, it is possible that William Wallace, Master Mason to the Crown, or another holding that office may have been involved.

Further alterations occurred after 1668 when house was bought by the 9th Earl of Argyll. He appears to have incorporated the south range, built the screen wall to form an elegant street frontage and the courtyard proper also adding a wing to the south fronting onto Castle Wynd. These additions to the house transformed it into a Scottish version of the French *hôtel*, having a main façade with two parallel wings, the front façade facing a courtyard while the rear looked out on to a garden. The screen wall formed a barrier between street and courtyard. This arrangement

was formulated in the 16th century by such writers as Serlio and du Cerceau (Thomson 1984: 16–30). The design of the rusticated gateway has been identified as being based on an engraving by Alessandro Francini, whose Livre D'Architectvre Contenant Plysievrs Portiques De Differentes Inventions was published in an English translation in 1669 (Gifford & Walker 2002: 722).

The house, with its garden, and another large house and various smaller properties in the neighbourhood had been conveyed to Argyll and the Countess, 'and the longest liver of them,' in 1671, by an arrangement with the Marchioness of Argyll, (the widow of the Marquis, who had been executed in 1661), and who thereupon removed to Roseneath. In October 1674 Argyll settled the 'Lodging' and the above appendages more formally on the Countess Anna as her jointure-house. On 1 June 1680 he made over to her the entire 'plendishing,' furniture, and movables within the house. Inventories were complied in 1680 and 1682 as part of the jointure arrangements when the house was settled on Argyll's second wife (NLS Acc 9769. 17/1/6 and 17/1/7).

John Laye's plan of Stirling of 1725 shows the house surrounded by formal gardens (illus 6). Robert Sibbald, in 1707, described the building as a 'fine House, of a newer architecture and Contrivance [to Mars Lodging], with several Apartments and Gardens' (Sibbald 1707: 38). Shortly after this, the house was in a decayed state, as shown by a letter of 1740 from the cousin of John 2nd Duke of Argyll, in which concern was expressed about its effect on neighbouring properties. The Duke of Argyll's property was said to be in a ruinous state and consequently those owning the tenements nearby, both in Castle Wynd and the High Street, would not repair or rebuild theirs until the Duke decided to rebuild. It was thought that the house should be demolished and the site levelled to



ILLUS 6 A detail from John Laye's 1725 A Plan of the Town and Castle of Sterling, showing Argyll's Lodging and its gardens (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

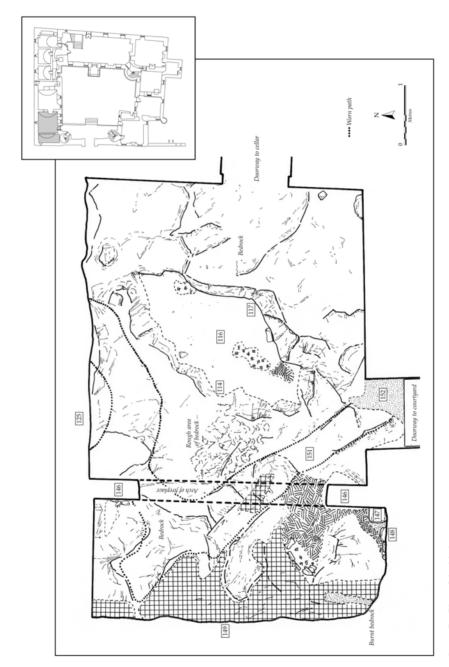
make 'a terras from Mar's house to the Cross, with a handsome parapet breast high, next the street coped with hewn stone' (SCA PD 189/2/172).

The property was in some state of decay by 1760 when Bishop Pococke described it as 'the Duke of Argyle's ruined house' (Kemp 1887: 276). The Lodging was sold in 1764 by the Duke of Argyll and thereafter passed through several hands, including M'Gregor of Balhaldie. Grose (1789: 2, 74) noted that the building was subdivided and 'considerably out of repair'. Crown acquired the property after 1796 (Ronald 1906: 173) when the building was used as a military hospital. The OS 1:500 plan of 1858 shows the southern

wing as Barrack Sergeant's Quarters with the wing with its adjunct alongside the street as Barrack Master's Quarters. This latter wing was almost totally demolished in the mid-19th century. After Stirling Castle ceased to be a military depot in 1964, the house became a youth hostel. It was then acquired by Historic Scotland and, in 1996, the main rooms were opened to visitors.

# THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

In 1995 excavations were carried out in the Lower Hall in the east range, the western



ILLUS 7 Plan of the kitchen

cellar and kitchen in the north range, and the corridor connecting the latter with the intention of lowering the floor level, in advance of the installation of underfloor heating, by 0.34m in the kitchen and cellar and by 0.66m in the Laigh Hall. 'Hard' contexts of 17th-century date, such as paving, mortar features and hardpacked surfaces, were left unexcavated. In 1996, further investigation was carried out in part of the south range.

#### THE KITCHEN

The kitchen is situated at the west end of the north range and has been dated to c 1600, an extension to the original hall house (RCAHMS 1963: 2, 278–9; Fawcett 2002: 717–18). An inventory of 1680 lists the contents of this room, known as the 'great kitchine' which gives some indication of its use:

# In the great Kitchine

Imp: twae ffir tabills ane fir ambrie twae wattertubs and ane salt backett thrie pots and thrie pans twentie and thrie pewter plaits six soll plaits and twae new soll plaits with seivin dozen and ane of pewter trachers And fourtaine brasse candilsticks twae stewing dishes four speits and a droying pan ane pair of Lairge raxes [bars to support a spit] ane chopping knife ane pair of clips ane brander and ane flesh crook ane copper skillet twae Laidills four Intermaisses and twae pott lids of Irone a paidill [for the oven?] twae great Irone Graits a shovel ane pair of tongs and ane bell (NLS Acc 9769. 17/1/7)

Another inventory taken two years later, in 1682, shows that many of the contents had been removed:

#### In the great kitching

It: twae ffixt tabills ane great chimnie [grate] ane pair of great Raxes four speits ane shovel ane tongs ane brander thrie Irone pots twae great paans ane copper skellett ane mortar stone (NLS Acc 9769. 17/1/6)

The room is entered from the courtyard by a round-arrised doorway (illus 7). It is barrel-vaulted and a large hearth with a semi-circular arch occupies the full width of the west wall. There is a small oven in the northern part of the back wall of the hearth which appears to have extended beyond the outer façade of the building, although it is blocked just beyond its mouth. A stone sink in the north wall drains to the exterior. There are two windows in the south wall and a centrally-placed door in the east wall leads to a cellar. Both these windows and the door have rounded arrises.

The walls of the kitchen were built directly onto bedrock, the natural slope of which is down from west to east. The rock was slightly cut along the line of the north wall in order to give the wall greater height. The lower part of this wall was built of irregular whin fragments with occasional fillers, except for a later repair below the stone sink. The south wall was more obscured by plaster but appeared to be of similar construction.

The natural slope of the bedrock had been levelled to some extent to form a floor. This included an irregularly-shaped area in the centre of the kitchen, measuring c 3.4m NE/ SW by c 2m NW/SE, where the rock was cut away to a maximum depth of 0.17m, leaving an irregular edge on the south-east, sometimes vertical, sometimes ragged. There was a similar, though smaller cut (F132) to the east of the south doorway, measuring c 1m NW/SE by c 1.6m NE/SW with a maximum depth of 0.15m. This cut shelved down from the north-west and had vertical sides on the south-west and south-east. The front of the hearth was defined by a cut (F150) along a fault line in the bedrock, which created a 0.1m high step up to the fireplace. In the north-east corner of the kitchen, there was a more regular cut (F130), sub-rectangular in plan with sharply rounded corners and steep, occasionally vertical sides and with a flat base. It measured c 1.4m by 1m and had a maximum depth of 0.15m. It contained the trace of a deposit of soft, dirty brown clayey sand with frequent coal, similar to some of the deposits found in the fireplace.

There was evidence of pattern of use in the kitchen in the form of a path of worn bedrock (F151) leading from the outside door in the south wall to the saltbox/oven in the fireplace and from there alongside the north wall from the fireplace to the sink. The various deposits that survived within the fireplace were left in situ. These included a highly burnt area in the south-west corner, which contained some mortar and small whin fragments, indicating the position of the grate.

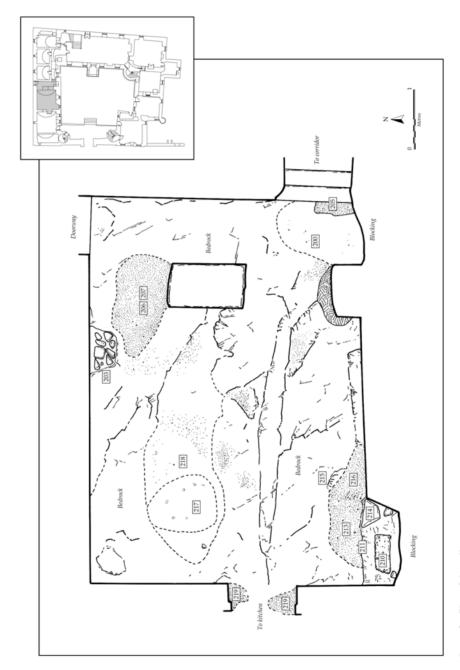
During the building's use as a military hospital, the Army appears to have been fairly comprehensive in the removal of earlier deposits, infilling features or clearing to the bedrock when reflooring or inserting services. Virtually all of the fixtures and fittings from this period of use as well as those from the 20th century had been removed, making the interpretation of features more difficult.

The fireplace is shown as an open space on a plan of 1841 (RCAHMS 1963: 2, pl 123) and also on a sketch in published in 1906 (Ronald 1906: 142), although the latter could be a reconstruction of an earlier arrangement. By the mid-20th century it was subdivided into two closets and was used as a fuel store, as is shown on the plan by the RCAHMS (1963: 280). Evidence survived of these later adaptations. The fireplace had been so enthusiastically cleared that cavities (F137 and F141) were created at the base of the north and west (rear) walls, their fill including moulded bottle glass. There were two joist holes opposite each other in the end walls of the fireplace. That in the north wall (F139) was based on the bedrock, and measured  $0.3m \times 0.2m$  and was over 0.55m deep. The hole in the south wall (F144) was formed in lime mortar towards the front of the fireplace and measured  $0.12m \times 0.07m$  and was 0.07m deep. Evidence for the eastwest subdivision of the fireplace survived as a 1.8m long slot (F105) filled with coal and coarse sand.

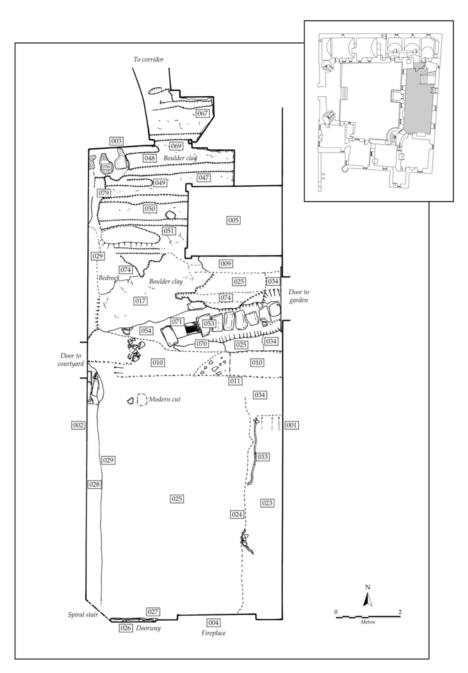
#### THE CELLAR

The cellar occupies the central part of the ground floor of the north range (illus 8). It is a barrel-vaulted apartment which, apart from the partition wall, was of the same construction phase as the kitchen. Its eastern end appears to abut the west gable of the earlier house, but subsequently most of this wall appears to have been removed and replaced by a stone arch built flush with the cellar vault. The centre of the arch is supported by a rectangular stone pier erected after 1841. As well as the door into the kitchen to the west, the cellar had a doorway in its south wall which opened into the courtyard. The doorway was later converted into a window and subsequently blocked.

The eastern part of the cellar is part of the earlier house. It had a round-headed doorway at its southern end which was converted into a window in the 17th century (1633-40?) and later blocked. There is an inserted door at the east end of the north wall which lead to an external shown on a plan of 1836 (NA WO55/826). The floor of this eastern area of the cellar had been lowered by hollowing out the bedrock to a depth of 0.15m to 0.2m below the base of the east wall. The north and south walls and barrel vault were added. There was a doorway (subsequently blocked in the west end of the south wall. There were two large features in the floor of the room that were unexcavated, being below the level stimulated in the brief. These consisted of an area of re-deposited crushed bedrock (F218) with



ILLUS 8 Plan of the cellar



ILLUS 9 Plan of the Lower Hall

mortar, sandy silt and coal intermixed that appeared to fill a sub-oval depression or cut in the bedrock some  $2.4m \times 1.3m$ . Centrally placed within F218 was a shallow sub-circular cut with steep sides on the south and east and a gentler slope elsewhere. As there is no visible evidence of a water supply for the kitchen, it is tempting to speculate that these features are evidence of a well.

Various deposits consisting of mortar, coal and bedrock-derived material had built up on the floor of the cellar to a depth of a depth of c 0.25m. The uppermost of these deposits consisted of a spread of lime mortar which overlay a deposit of coal. Some time after 1841, a pier was inserted near the eastern end of the cellar to give support to the arch on the earlier wall line, its base resting on the above deposits. It may have been intended to give extra support to the fireplace and hearth directly above. It does not appear on the plan of 1841 (RCAHMS 1963: 2, pl 123). The windows left in the blocked doors in the south wall were also infilled and a sink was inserted in the alcove of the westernmost of these doors.

#### THE CORRIDOR

The corridor is part of the original 16th-century house, running from the transverse passage to the west along the south side of the present north range, giving access to two barrel-vaulted cellars. It turns to the south through what was originally an external door that now gives access to the lower hall. Adjacent and to the east of this door is the door to the original kitchen. The tripartite layout with a kitchen and a corridor, the latter giving access to two cellars, is typical of many houses of this period (MacKechnie 1995). The flagstone surface of the floor was revealed below a thin skim of sand upon which a later floor had been laid, and which was removed prior to the

archaeological excavation. The flags, which were left in situ, were not in good condition, being of soft grey sandstone; they were worn, chipped and partly covered in mortar. They were laid directly onto the bedrock which had been hollowed out and roughly levelled as in the eastern part of the cellar to the west, which meant that there was no direct relationship between any of the flagstones and the walls. Each stone spanned the full width of the corridor and was closely fitted to the sides and to each other. There was no flagstone in the inserted doorway leading out to the courtyard. They were missing from the western end of the corridor where there was much disturbance from more recent services.

# THE LOWER (LAIGH) HALL

The Lower Hall was constructed as part of Viscount Stirling's building programme and is the first reception room of the courtyard house the principal chambers being on the first floor (illus 9). The main entrance is from the courtyard, via a porch dated 1632, through a centrally-placed door in its west façade. The windows are symmetrically placed in each façade, being recessed internally with dressed ashlar margins and rounded arrises, each of which has a slight chamfer near the base. Internally all the contemporary doors are treated in the same manner. A doorway in the east wall, slightly to the north of centre, leads to the garden. The north-eastern corner of the room is occupied by a scale-and-platt stair, c 1670 in its present form, with heavy turned balusters and square newels capped by ball finials, the latter mostly restorations of 1996. There is a buffet niche in the southern part of the west wall and a large fireplace of c 1630 occupies the centre of the south wall (Fawcett 2002: 725).

The chamber is described in the inventories the laigh hall and as the lessermeat room. These show that it was sparsely furnished in the 1680s. In the inventory of 1680 (NLS Acc 9769.17/1/7) the laigh hall contained 'Ane wainscot tabill Ane Irone graite Ane oyr Lairge Iron graite'. The 1682 inventory (NLS Acc 9769.17/1/6) lists the contents of the 'Lettirmeit Rowme', probably the same space, as 'twae long tabills twae furms twae Iron chimnies [grates]. The room reflects the increasing use of interior space as a means of defining and emphasising social groups. The laigh hall acted as a buffer zone between the outside and the more exclusive High Hall on the first floor. The term 'lettirmeit' [lessermeat] denotes it as a dining space for those of inferior rank in the household, and likewise recipients of inferior food. A similar arrangement can be seen at the House of The Binns, where a laigh hall was created in 1621 (Howard 1995: 68).

The earliest evidence for the use of this area recorded in the excavation was across the southern two-thirds of the hall where there was evidence of garden activity that predated the erection of the 1632 building. This consisted of dark brown loam with much coal and large quantities of small, abraded fragments of pottery. The remainder of the area at this phase consisted of bedrock with patches of boulder clay. In the north-west corner of the Lower Hall, there was a flat-bottomed cut (F056), 0.8m × 1.1m and less than 0.11m deep that predated the construction of the west wall of the hall. Its fill contained much lime mortar and slate.

The next phase was the erection of the lower hall itself as part of the extensions of c 1630 by William Alexander. A large fireplace in the centre of the south wall has crescents on the blocks at the ends of the lintel, one of the charges of the arms of Lord Stirling. The construction trenches for the east, west and south walls of the Lower Hall (F024, F029 and F027) cut through the soil of the former garden. There was no construction

trench for the small stretch of wall (F003) at the north side of the north-west corner, whilst any relationship with it and the foundation trench of the west wall had been destroyed by the cut for a later pipe. However, the height of bedrock in this area may have made a foundation trench unnecessary. A series of eight parallel joist slots, running east-west, were cut across the area into the bedrock and levelling deposits. The slots went under the wooden staircase, but they respected the north and the west wall, stopped to the north of the doorway to early kitchen, and spread no farther to the south than the edge of the exposed bedrock. The western edges of the slots were all fitted underneath the base of the west wall and the back of the turnpike stair at the end of the corridor, extending up to c 0.1m below the walls. There was no scarcement and no evidence at all for a wooden floor in the rest of the hall. The slots were slightly uneven, with varying sides but generally with level or slightly concave bases; the cut in front of the kitchen door was the most irregular. They were all between 0.12-0.26m and 30-100mm deep, becoming shallower to the east as the bedrock sloped gently away. They were 0.5-0.8m apart, with exception of two shorter slots. These were sited between the other slots, in the north-west corner of the room, and extended 2.1m and 1.9m respectively out from the face of the west wall. Fragments of slate were found at the base and against the sides of the slots, chocking for the joists. The joist slots were clear evidence of a raised wooden floor occupying the northern end of the hall and indicating the presence of two rooms in the ground floor of this wing. That to the south would be the hall, while the northern part of this area, between the kitchen area and the hall, could have been the buttery and pantry. While the courtyard façade was fashionably symmetrical, it hid an asymmetrical arrangement of rooms reflecting an older social order. The hall was still entered at its lower end away from the dais. There was access from the upper (south) end of the hall to a ground floor apartment and to the turnpike stair which led to the private apartments of the upper floors.

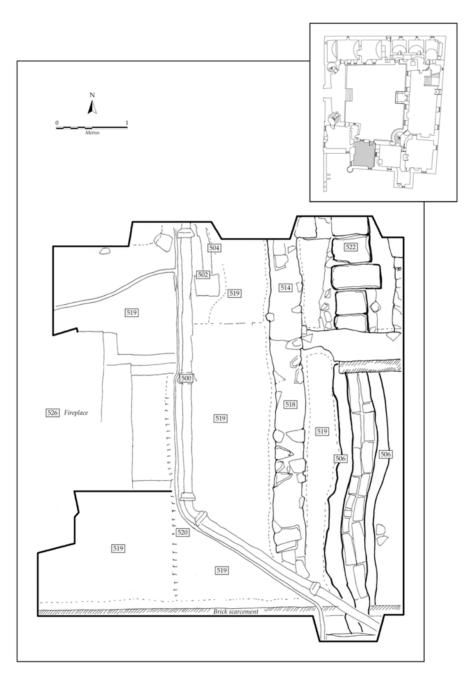
The area of the lower hall was further reorganised in c 1670 when the house came into the possession of the 9th Earl of Argyll. This phase saw the construction of the scale-and-platt staircase, with an open well, which can be dated to c 1670 in its present form (Fawcett 2002: 725). This formed an impressive new approach to the principal rooms of the first floor. Its erection would have necessitated the removal of the raised floor supported on the joists described above. Three cuts were visible around the staircase, two for the newel posts while a verticalsided cut ran parallel to the south side of the staircase. It is possible that these were created during the construction of the stair, but they may have been the result of repairs. A stonecapped drain ran east-west across the width of the hall, passing out through the doorways. This had seen reuse in the 20th century, but may have originated in this phase.

Changes in the plaster cornice suggest there was partition to the south of the stair (Fawcett 2002: 725). This would seem to indicate that the room was subdivided in its late 17th-century phase, possibly by a wall that enclosed the new stair. In the 19th century the hall was subdivided by an east-west partition to the south of the west door (plan of 1841: RCAHMS; plan of 1842; HS plan 325/286/1; MacGibbon and Ross 1887: 2, 422). The southern half of the area was utilised as the hospital kitchen. A photograph of 1900 shows the courtyard windows much reduced in size (RCAHMS SC800233). Further subdivisions had occurred by the 1950s; a corridor had been created through the former hospital kitchen and a closet in the northern space,

entered from the south (RCAHMS 1963). These partitions and the floor were removed before archaeological recording commenced. Traces of earlier flooring were observed in the area around the door from the north. A sandy cement, less than 30mm thick (also seen in the north corridor, bore impressions of flagstones as well as the occasional fragments of grey sandstone or mudstone flags. These fragments were based on a pink pebble concrete so may have been a later repair. A cut alongside the south side of the staircase was filled with loose crushed mortar and coarse sand so may have been backfill after repairs to the woodwork. The north-west corner was disturbed for a pipe channel, probably that depicted schematically on a plan of 1873.

#### THE SOUTH RANGE

The ground floor of the south range consists of three main rooms, a dining room in the southeast corner and, to the west, an apartment of two rooms. The eastern two rooms of this range were contemporary with the principal part of the east wing, erected c 1630. The extent of this range is visible in the courtyard façade as a line of buckle quoins (Fawcett 2002: 723), a form popular in the court architecture of this period (MacKechnie 1988). The south range was extended in c 1670 by the 9th Earl of Argyll, linking with an existing building to the south-west and completing the south side of the courtyard of the main house. A splayed basal string course on the east wall of the room was further evidence that this wall formed the gable of a wing of the 1630s, as suggested by the buckle quoins on the exterior. On the other side of the wall there is a blocked window and a fireplace. This east wall was plastered and painted, thus obscuring any other details of its construction, although the top of its foundations of mortared whin were visible for a length of 1.04m below a doorway inserted



ILLUS 10 Plan of the hospital Dead House

through the wall. Evidence for the use of the area before the extension of the south range in 1674 was found in the form of a compact dark brown silt which contained abundant coal fragments, identified as a cultivated soil prior to the period of construction. It was similar to that excavated in the area of the Lower (Laigh) Hall, predating the 1630s construction.

By 1674 the Earl of Argyll had continued the earlier south range to the west in order to mirror the north range of the Lodging and, with the screen wall, created a formal courtyard. A wing was added running along the street frontage to the south. The room was 5.58m (18ft) north/south by 4.88m (16ft) east/west with a door to the courtyard at the east end of the north wall, a doorway inserted at the north end of the east wall leading into the range built in 1632 (illus 10). There is a recessed window in the east end of the south wall opposite the courtyard door and a protruding fireplace with a moulded cornice off-centre in the west wall. At the south end of the west wall is an opening which may originally have been a door into the south wing (RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, 284) but by 1842 had been blocked and used as a cupboard; it was partly reopened as a window in the late 1860s. Currently it is fully open and is to be reused as the door into the toilet block. At the north end of the west wall is a doorway slightly awkwardly positioned around the fireplace leading to the room to the west. The door as it now stands is later than 1674, but the floors above all have original doorways in this position. Another doorway at the west end of the north wall, now blocked (probably in the mid-19th century), leads to a closet or small room in the re-entrant angle of the south range. In 1680 the south range served as an apartment for the Earl's son, Lord Lorne, and it was entered through the Low Dining Room. The inventory of 1680 shows that it consisted of three chambers: an 'Utter Roume', his 'Roume' (bedchamber) and a

'Roume W[i]t[h]in' (Fawcett 2002: 726). This arrangement echoed the apartment of the Earl on the first floor.

Many changes were made to the room in the 19th century when it was used as the morgue of the military hospital. Two plans of the 1840s show details of the room arrangements in the south range at that time. A plan of 1841 (NA WO44/554; reproduced in RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, pl 123) shows this room as the 'Hospital Dead House' with its eastern side subdivided to form a corridor linking doors on the north and south sides of the range. A plan of 1842 (HS drawing 325/286/2) shows the corridor as the 'Foul Bedding'. The room to the east was occupied by the Barrack Sergeant. The OS plan of 1858 shows the whole of the south range as 'Barrack Sergeant's Quarters', the 'Dead House' having been removed to the former small kitchen in the north-east corner of the building. The room was later adapted as a surgery (HS drawing 325/286/50). It was given a new wooden floor laid on cemented brick scarcements, while concrete floors were provided for the vestibule and corridor. In the refurbishment contemporary with the excavation, the space was converted to a plant room with an access corridor to the toiletblock out to the west, the latest in a long line of alterations in this part of the building.

In 1996 an excavation was carried out in the room that formed the ground floor of this extension to the south range after the removal of a wooden floor and prior to structural alterations. The foundations of the former exterior wall were visible at the north end of its east wall, on the site of a later doorway. A drain (F506) ran sinuously from under the door to the courtyard towards the south, respecting the face of the earlier wall. It had sides of uncoursed mortared angular whin, vertically faced inside, forming a channel 0.28–0.34m wide and c 0.3m deep. The drain was originally covered with capstones

consisting of large rough-hewn blocks of sandstone. The capstones (F522) survived on the northern 2m but had been removed along most of the length of the drain, leaving negative impressions in the mortar on the top of the sides. Evidence for the later subdivision of the room was uncovered in the form of the foundations of wall (F518), creating a c 1.3m wide corridor along the east side of the earlier room. This wall was 0.4m wide and constructed in roughly faced angular whin in random courses. The northern 1.4m of this wall line (F514) was of a different build. being brick, reflecting a rebuild or extension. A short wall, 1.4m long and 0.4m wide, was built abutting the junction between F518 and F514 to the east wall, incorporating one of the caps for the stone drain.

#### THE SOUTH WING

This wing extended to the south from the main courtyard house but only the ground floor wall of the street frontage survives (illus 11). This has been dated to 1674 by the RCAHMS (1963: 2, no 227, 284). The doorway pediment bears an Argyll crest, but Fawcett (2002: 722) has suggested this entrance may be a composite piece and that the jambs, which have a continuous foliage trail, may date to the earlier 17th century. Comparable decoration is found on a doorway from Roslin Castle dated 1622. The earlier date is again indicated by the plan of the building before demolition (RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, pl 123). Its regular form and lank of alignment with the remainder of the Lodging suggests that it was a separate building on the street frontage rather than an extension. It may have formed the core of an earlier residence of the Earls of Argyll (Fawcett 2002: 717).

The building appears in simplified form on John Laye's 1725 plan of Stirling (illus 6). The full ground layout can be seen on plans

made by the Royal Engineers, dated 1841 (NA WO44/554; HS drawing 325/286/2). The 1842 plan shows the south wing to be inhabited, but in a state of disrepair, especially to the south of the Entrance Hall. The wing was occupied at this time by a Mrs Forbes, the widow of a former Barrack Master, who used the larger of the two rooms described above as a kitchen and the smaller as her servant's bedroom. South of the entrance hall there was an unroofed room, an ash pit, a coal store and a closet (RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, pl 123). The OS plan of 1858 (illus 3) shows the turnpike stair as the southern extent of the building, apart from a small room/closet by the street frontage, the southern rooms presumably having been demolished by that date. The rest of the south wing was demolished c 1862 (RCAHMS 1963: 2, no 227, 284) leaving only the ground floor of the Castle Wynd façade standing; it is scribbled out by the 1864 pencil additions to the 1842 plan and not shown at all on the 1869 War Office plan.

After the wing was demolished a rounded buttress was added to the corner of the west end of the main range where it had been met by the south wing. A window was created to the north of this, where Mrs Forbes had her kitchen cupboard. It is possible that this was originally a doorway from the room to the east, blocked when the south wing became a separate house. The aperture is now fully open and to be used as a doorway once more. Something similar probably occurred with the aperture which is currently a small window towards the east side of wall.

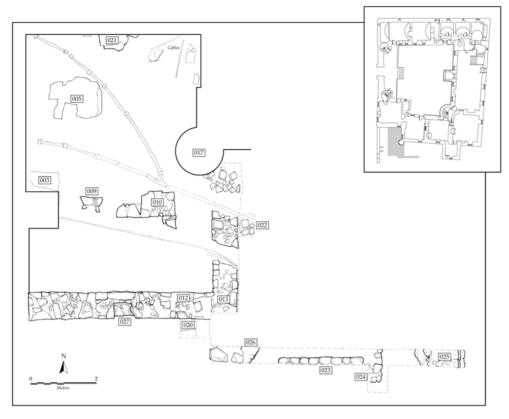
There was limited archaeological investigation in the northern part of the south wing in 1995, when five small trial pits were excavated, followed in March 1996 by a watching brief during ground clearance work (illus 12). No structures or deposits of an earlier date than the south wing were disturbed by the ground clearance. The level of clearance was some



ILLUS 11 The west wall of the south wing, from the south-west

15–25cm higher than the top of the medieval/ early post-medieval cultivated deposit F519 as it survived in Area 1. At the south end of the area, the foundations of an east/west wall (F012) were encountered that, according to the plan of 1841, formed the northern side of a vestibule leading to a rear turnpike stair. This wall was 0.8m wide and constructed of mortared angular whin, roughly faced, with a rubble core. It ran from the north side of the doorway in the street frontage 5.6m to the east where it was butt-jointed with the remnants of a north/south wall (F013) of similar build and width which formed the base of the rear of the building. A small pit dug on the east side of the central part of this wall revealed a cobbled surface, presumably external. Another small pit dug to the south of wall revealed two sandstone flags, presumed to be part of the base of the turnpike staircase recorded in this area. The foundations of another east-

west wall together with a fireplace (F009 and F010) were encountered some 2.2m to the north of wall F012, forming the northern wall of a room roughly 2.2m north/south by 4m east/west. The wall terminated approximately 4.4m from the street frontage to form a north/ south passage between F010 and F013. There had been a larger room to the north of wall F010, measuring 4.8m north/south by 5.4m east/west, its other limits defined by standing walling. The fragment of hearthstone and the basal part of the jambs (F021) survived in the centre of the north wall (F015) of this room, indicating a fireplace 110cm in width. No occupation deposits were noted during excavation. The area has been disturbed throughout the 20th century by the insertion of various services. These included the concrete and whin rubble foundations for a water meter house designed in 1913 and built before 1920 and demolished in 1981



ILLUS 12 Plan of the excavation on the site of the south wing

and foundations for an electricity meter house, built together between 1927 and 1940. Both were demolished in 1981. The site was also cut by various rainwater drainpipes, electricity cables and a gas pipe.

#### THE GARDEN

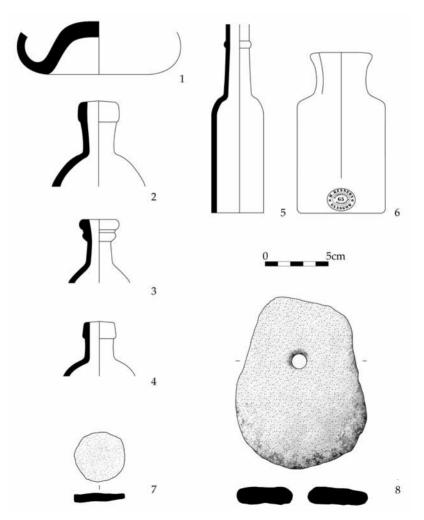
The gardens at Argyll's Lodging are set in terraces to the south of the mansion. Laye's plan of 1725 (illus 6) shows the terrace below the house with a central circular feature, probably a basin. Small trees are shown at the intersection of paths and at the corners of rectangular plots, although this may reflect drawing convention rather than the actual

garden. The steep terracing exploits the natural slope to the east of the house giving the garden an Italianate form. This use of terracing would have been familiar to the Earl of Argyll as it is also found at the nearby Campbell seat of Castle Campbell, which was at that time in a derelict state having been burned in 1654.

Archaeological investigations took place in the garden in May 1996 (illus 4), in advance of the installation of an electricity cable, a trench 0.6m deep and 0.4m wide was excavated, running eastwards from the entrance in the south wall for a distance of 18.3m, and then turning northwards for 51.5m running parallel with the east boundary wall

of the garden. In addition, three holes were opened to hold floodlights, each measuring  $0.35 \times 0.35 \times 1.1$ m. This revealed a cultivated garden soil comprising a light-dark brown loam with much clay and charcoal. Trial pits excavated in the street outside the Argyll's Lodging found evidence of a possible earlier cobbled street surface, overlain by a midden deposit, which had been cut by the construction trench for the west wall of the south wing, datable to 1674.

Further examination of the documentary evidence for Argyll's Lodging has confirmed the complex development visible in its architecture. The excavations were limited by the remit to excavate only to the depth threatened by the proposed upgrading works. Nevertheless, they showed that, despite shallow stratigraphy and extensive disturbance during the use of Argyll's Lodging as a military hospital, there was a survival of the buried archaeological resource



ILLUS 13 Finds

that included old ground surfaces, a variety of floors and evidence of usage. This provided evidence both for the use of the continuing use and development of existing building and of activity before its construction contributing to an understanding of the structure which, it is to be hoped, will be expanded in the future by a more thorough examination of the upstanding building.

#### THE FINDS

With the exception of the base of a wine bottle (illus 13, no 1), the finds are from the latter part of the buildings history and reflect its use as a military hospital. Their functions are cover a wide range of uses from drink (illus 13, nos 1-4) and food (illus 13, no 5) and pharmaceutical purposes. Vessel no 4 is a poison bottle with vertical fluting that made its contents discernible by feel, a concept that was introduced in c 1859 and made compulsory after the Pharmacy Act of 1868 (Marriot 2006: 34) and the octagonal bottle (illus 13, no 7) also falls into this category. The stoneware blacking jar illustrates another aspect of a soldier's life: the daily chore of boot cleaning. The stone counter (illus 13, no 10) may be a gaming piece. The small stone roof tile (illus 13, no 11) may be from one of the conical turret roofs of the building.

#### GLASS

- 1. Base of bottle with bulbous body, diameter 130mm, height of kick 35mm; c 1690–1730; ALIV95.010. 1 (illus 13, no 1).
- 2. Neck and shoulder of bottle in clear glass, squared rim; ALIV95.140 (illus 13, no 2).
- 3. Neck and shoulder of bottle in clear glass, tooled rim; ALIV95.140 (illus 13, no 3).

- 4. Moulded bottle in white glass, body slightly bent, tall neck with cordon, rim missing, diameter of base 32mm, surviving height 157mm ALIV95.100 (illus 13, no 4).
- 5. Moulded sauce bottle in white glass, body slightly bent, tall neck with cordon, rim missing, diameter of base 32mm, surviving height 157mm ALIV95.U/S (illus 13, no 5).
- 6. Body sherds of a large pharmaceutical bottle in pale green glass, vertical ribbing on body, plain rounded shoulder; ALIV95.140 (not illus).
- Base of octagonal pharmaceutical bottle, length 59mm, width 39mm; ALIV95.136 (not illus).

#### CERAMICS

- 8. Stoneware blacking bottle, cream glaze, flared neck, total height 144mm, diameter of base 60mm, oval stamp near base H. KENNEDY/BARROWFIELD POTTERIES/65; this pottery was active 1886–1929; ALIV95.U/S (illus 13, no 6).
- Pipe stem, marked [BUR]N'S CUTTY/ THO WHITE & C[o]; Thomas White of Edinburgh, mid-19th century; ALIV95.052 (not illus).

#### STONE

- Stone counter, sandstone, sub-circular, diameter 40mm, thickness 5mm; ALIV95.104 (illus 13, no 7).
- 11. Roof tile, ovoid, length 137mm, width 102mm, thickness 18mm, pierced with a hole 12mm diameter. Wear on one side of hole on each face. Lightly incised circular marks on one face. ALIV95.025 (illus 13, no 8).

# **SUMMARY**

The development of Argyll's Lodging demonstrates the creation of an aristocratic townhouse that reflects the changing fashions both in the external appearance of architecture and the internal arrangement of domestic space. Study of the documentation shows the gradual evolution of the buildings into a 17thcentury mansion and its subsequent decline. The changing use of the laigh hall is a physical manifestation of the increasing refinement of domestic life in great households. The house, however, was more than just a comfortable residence, it was a physical statement of the social prestige of the occupant. The position of the mansion in the town reflects the achievements and aspirations and of its aristocratic occupants, the Earl of Stirling and, later, the Earl of Argyll. Unlike the nearby Mar's Wark, the great townhouse built by Regent Mar in the 1570s, Argyll's Lodging relates not to the town but to the castle, which it faces. Built at a time when the castle was no longer a viable royal residence, its rooms outdated in layout and converted to military usage, the mansion provided accommodation fit for a king.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Kirkdale Archaeology would like to thank the archaeological team: Paul Sharman, Jon Triscott, David Stewart, Andy Heald, Andy Dunn and Jennifer Thoms; and also Gavin Douglas and Willie MacEwen of the Historic Scotland Central Division at Stirling Castle, Fiona MacDonald and John Slorach of Historic Scotland's architect division and Richard Fawcett, Historic Scotland Inspectorate. The illustrations are by David Connolly and Angus Mackintosh.

# **ABBREVIATIONS**

HMC Historical Manuscripts CommissionHS Historic Scotland

NA National Archives

NAS National Archives of Scotland NLS National Library of Scotland

SCA Stirling Council Archives

# REFERENCES

- Billings, R W 1852 The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiqities of Scotland.
- Boardman, S 2006 *The Campbells*, 1250–1513. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Fawcett, R 2002 'Argyll's Lodging', in Gifford, J & Walker, F A (eds) Stirling and Central Scotland, 717–27. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Gifford, J & Walker, F A 2002 *The Buildings of Scotland; Stirling and Central Scotland.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Grose, F 1789 *The Antiquities of Scotland*. London: Samuel Hooper.
- Harrison, J G 1986 'The Hearth Tax and the Population of Stirling in 1691', Forth Naturalist and Historian 10: 89–109.
- Harrison, J G 1998 'Wooden-fronted Houses and Forestairs in Early Modern Scotland', *Architectural Heritage* 9: 71–83.
- Harrison, J G 2007 'The Royal Court and the Community of Stirling to 1603', Forth Naturalist and Historian 30: 29–50.
- Howard, D 1995 Scottish Architecture: From the Reformation to the Restoration, 1560–1660. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Kemp, D W (ed) 1887 Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760, by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- MacGibbon, D & Ross, T 1887 *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. Edinburgh: D Douglas.
- MacKechnie, A 1988 'Evidence of a Post-1603 Court Architecture in Scotland?', *Architectural History* 31: 107–19.
- MacKechnie, A 1995 'Design Approaches in Early Post-Reformation Houses', *in* Gow, I & Rowan, A (eds) *Scottish Country Houses*, 1600–1914. Edinburgh: University Press.

- Marriot, J F 2006 Pharmaceutical compounding and dispensing. London: Pharmaceutical Press.
- RCAHMS 1963 Stirlingshire: an inventory of the Ancient Monuments. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- Reid, D 2004 'William Alexander, Earl of Stirling', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford: University Press.
- Ronald, J. 1906 The Story of the Argyle Lodging. Stirling: E Mackay.
- Sibbald, R 1707 History and Description of Stirling-shire. Stirling: R S Shearer & Son.
- Thomson, David 1984 Renaissance Paris: and Architecture Growth. 1475-1600. Berkeley: University of California Press. (http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft0x0n99zf)
- Thomson, J M et al (eds) RMS: Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, Volume I, 1306-1424. Edinburgh (reprinted 1984).

## ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Historic Scotland

HSDO ref 325/286/2 Plan of 1842

National Archives

- NA WO44/554 Plan, Ordnance Office, Inletters, 1841
- NA WO55/826 War Office, Engineer Papers, 1835 - 7
- NA WO78/3283 Military Hospital, Stirling. Plans and sections, 1886

National Archives of Scotland

- NAS E69/22 Hearth Tax Return for Stirling, 1691
- NAS E886/113 Papers relating to the excambion of ground adjoining Argyle's Lodging, 1832
- NAS GD189 Papers of the family of Murray of Polmaise, Stirlingshire

NAS 115/15 Wright of Loss

National Library of Scotland

Acc 9769: Crawford Papers

NLS MS.1646 Z.02/19b: John Laye A Plan of the Town and Castle of Sterling 1725

Ordnance Survey 1:500 plan of Stirling, sheet XVII.3.9, surveyed 1858

National Register of Archives of Scotland

NRAS 0217 Archives of Stewarts, Earls of Morav

Stirling Council Archives, Stirling

SCAB66/1/12 Protocol Book of John Williamson SCA B66/1/17 Protocol Book of Jon Robene

SCA B66/1/24, 255: Burgh Register of Sasines, sasine for Penycuik and spouse registered 26 July 1574

- SCA B66/1/9, 245, Burgh Register of Sasines, procuratory and resignation by Argyll to spouse and self in conjunct fee, February 1611
- SCA B66/2/25: Burgh Register of Sasines, sasine for John Burn, writer in Stirling, following disposition by Alexander McGregor of Balhaldie dated 1785
- SCA B66/2/26: Burgh Register of Sasines, sasine for James Wright, writer in Stirling, registered 21 June 1793, on disposition by Captain Alexander McGregor of Balhaldie
- SCA B66/2/25, p 429: Burgh Register of Sasines, sasine in favour of Rt Hon Charles Yorke, secretary for War dated 20 May 1801

SCA B66/7: Protocol Book of Jon Mushet

SCA B66/9: Burgh Register of Deeds

SCA PD 189: Papers of the family of Murray of Polmaise, Stirlingshire

SCA SB1/10/16: Stirling Burgh cartulary, charter by managers of the burgh in favour of Alexander Drummond MacGrigor of Balhaldie of the tenements, yards and pertinents formerly belonging to Duke of Argyll