# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BENNACHIE COLONY: Excavation of Two 19th-century Crofts

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### INTRODUCTION

On the lower slopes of Bennachie, beneath stands of conifer plantations, lie the ruins of the Colony. While the granite tor of Mither Tap crowned with a Pictish hill fort tends to draw the eyes of visitors to the hill, the attentive observer will notice other signs of past activity here as well. A short walk from the Bennachie visitor centre, the remains of tumbled-down dry-stone walls and linear banks of earth and stone peek out at times over waist-high bracken and the detritus of modern forestry plantations. These are the remains of more recent settlement features, mainly cottages and outbuildings spread through a landscape of former fields, gardens and track ways.

We know from historical records that the Colony was settled on the commonty of Bennachie early in the nineteenth century in a context of agricultural 'improvement' and increasing itinerancy, where high rents and rationalized farming practices produced a surplus population of landless wage-labourers. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were somewhere between 50 and 70 'squatters' farming the hill's marginal lower slopes and selling their labour to neighbouring communities, notably as stone dykers. In 1859 the land was controversially divided between neighbouring landed estates, leading to the eventual eviction of some of the colonists and the erosion of community ties; by the end of 1880s most of the crofts were abandoned (Carter, 1983; Fagen, 2011).

Since 2011, the University of Aberdeen and the Bailies of Bennachie, a local community group established to conserve and promote the appreciation of the hill, have been rediscovering the ruins of the Colony. Together, our co-produced investigation strategy has drawn on a variety of methods, including landscape survey, test pitting and soil analysis, and is beginning to provide illuminating clues about life in the settlement, some of which raise questions about more stereotypical understandings of Scotland's faceless 'rural poor' (Noble *et al*, 2011; Oliver *et al* 2013; Oliver, 2014). Building on previous research on the Colony (e.g. Bogdan *et al*, 2000; Fagen, 2011) our work to date has sought to undertake a form of micro

history by 'testing' the assumptions of outsiders whose writings have tended to romanticice and homogenize life on the hill (e.g. McConnochie, 1985). In the summer of 2013 a mixed team of community researchers, university students and archaeology Departmental staff excavated two of the Colony's crofts: Shepherd's Lodge and the McDonald house at Hillside. The aim of the fieldwork was to draw out the variability and dynamics of rural life within the settlement through undertaking a comparative analysis of the dwellings' architecture and associated material culture. This chapter describes the findings from the excavation and briefly compares some of the more significant observations about these respective 19th-century crofts. As a detailed analysis of the artefacts is still to come, the focus here is on revelations concerning the built environment.

#### Background

The Colony 'site' is not a site *per se*, but rather an archaeological landscape of dwellings, outbuildings and field systems spread over an area of approximately 100 acres on the lower slopes of Bennachie. All of the crofts exhibit design elements of 19th-century improvement, such as broadly geometric layouts and gable-end fireplaces, and yet within this broader pattern, individual settlements seem to be a product of historical idiosyncrasies and different measures of 'know how', meaning they provide much scope for comparison.

Historical research undertaken by Jennifer Fagen (2011), suggests further distinctions. The Littlejohn family of Shepherd's Lodge were among the first to settle the hill when it was still commonty in the 1830s, but seem to have struggled with their financial obligations after becoming tenants of Balquhain estate in 1859. In 1878, the croft's remaining tenant, Littlejohn senior, was evicted. As if to underscore the point, in true romantic style, one story associates this event with the cottage being burned to the ground (*ibid*, 41). From 1860, Hillside was occupied by the McDonald family; the only residents of the Colony who settled as tenants after the division of the commonty. They are also known to have farmed the largest plot of land and to have paid the most rent. While the two sites have measurably different histories, they appear to have shared a similar fate: both had their granite gable ends and upper wall courses pushed over, apparently confirming historical accounts about the razing of certain Colony crofts, possibly to discourage further episodes of squatting. Historical records provide us with relatively sparse details about the families who once occupied them.

By comparing and contrasting the material remains of their central living

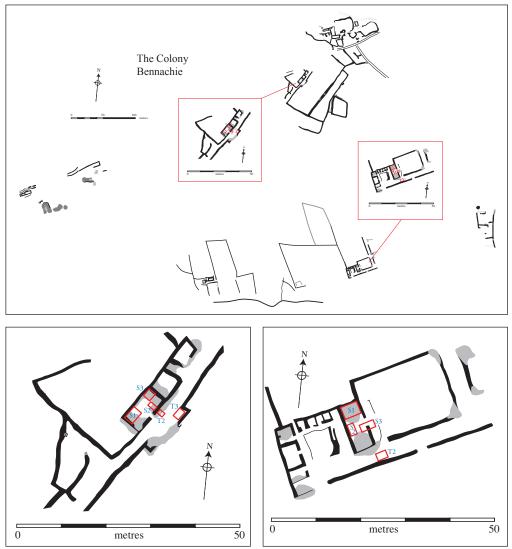


Figure 1: Plan of the Colony showing Shepherd's Lodge (left) and Hillside (right) with excavated areas denoted in red. (courtesy Bailies of Bennachie)

areas, the archaeological investigations were intended to bring to light additional information about the histories of these settlements.

Excavations at Shepherd's Lodge and Hillside were carried out by stratigraphic context. Contexts were numbered using three-digit context numbers and Harris matrices were constructed for each site. Specific details can be found in the project report, which is forthcoming.

#### The Bailies of Bennachie

### Shepherd's Lodge

The croft known as Shepherd's Lodge is located almost halfway up the hill of Bennachie, providing it with views over the lowlands of the Don Valley and part of the Garioch. While areas of the hillslope are now covered in forestry plantation, in the past Shepherd's Lodge would have had clear lines of sight to most other parts of the Colony. The settlement consists of a range structure comprising four abutting cells, reflecting its expansion as the Littlejohn family grew over the decades. At least two of these were inhabited apartments – the smaller, according to census information, was added between 1861 and 1871 (Fagen, 2011, 62-63) – while the remaining cells were likely to have been a store room and cart shed. To the front of the building is a partially enclosed trackway, which runs past the dwelling house along the contour of the slope.

The investigations described here focused on the oldest and largest apartment (with exterior measurements of  $9 \times 5.4 \text{ m}$ ), which at one time would have been a freestanding cottage. Due to time constraints, the excavation strategy focused on clearing the internal areas of rubble and then opening up smaller excavation units (sondages) in the structure's interior and forecourt areas.



Figure 2. Aerial view of Shepherd's Lodge showing excavation units.

### Trench 1 (Dwelling interior):

This area encompasses the whole interior of the main dwelling house. Due to the large amount of building debris located in its centre, it took several days to sufficiently expose the interior. One of the first features to be revealed was a large section of the west gable-end wall, identified through its regular courses of stonework, suggesting the wall had fallen in a single dramatic event. Underneath this layer the remains of the chimney, defined by a contained area of burnt stone and an accumulation of ash, was exposed. Clearing the rubble overburden from the dwelling provided a much clearer view of the interior. The most interesting feature was a small fireplace built into a v-shaped niche within the west-facing wall. At this point subsurface investigations continued in three sondages, which were placed to explore different areas within the dwelling.



Figure 3. Showing the west side of Shepherd's Lodge and Sondage 1 in the northwest corner. The fireplace can be seen against the wall along with remains of the gable end and chimney.

# Sondage 1:

This excavation unit (2 x 1.5 m) was located in the northwest corner of the structure and focused on further uncovering the fireplace and in the hope of revealing the 19th-century living floor. At the base of the fireplace a hearth flagstone was discovered along with possible evidence of wall mortar. No evidence of a floor was found in this area, despite the excavation reaching a level deeper than the hearth flags. The excavation terminated at a reddish brown deposit, which was determined to be well below the possibility of a living surface. Notably, a conspicuous burning layer of dark brown to black soil with charcoal inclusions several centimetres thick was discovered along the entire length of the north wall of the sondage immediately below the level of the exposed hearth. A modest number of artefacts, mainly small ceramic sherds, were also discovered.

# Sondage 2:

This unit  $(2.2 \times 1 \text{ m})$  was placed to the right of the dwelling's threshold as one enters the structure to investigate the construction technique of the wall and, again, to see if the floor could be located. No evidence of the living surface was discovered, though thin layers of what appear to be wall rendering were located next to the dwelling wall, and may have fallen when upper stone courses were pushed into the cottage. A number of ceramic and glass artefacts were found close to the surface.

# Sondage 3:

A further excavation unit  $(2 \times 1.6 \text{ m})$  was dug in the northeast corner of the structure to examine variation in this area. Excavation revealed the only clear evidence of a former floor, or living surface, which was discovered as a hard-packed layer of earth. Further excavations revealed that what remained of this former surface was restricted to a small area (1.3 x 1.2 m), the remainder having been dug out, likely during a later phase of reuse. The burning layer noted in Sondage 1 was also found along the north sides of the excavation unit. Excavation in this area also confirmed that the dwelling had no second fireplace in the east wall.



of the 19th-century earthen floor.



Figure 4: Sondage 3, showing the remnants Figure 5: Trench 2 showing track way stratigraphy and base of the south wall of Shepherds's Lodge overlying a relict topsoil layer.

## Trench 2 (forecourt area):

This excavation unit was located outside the dwelling to the right of the doorway, immediately against the outside wall. It was planned to investigate the construction technique of the building and to discover the subsurface nature of the track way, which runs along the dwelling frontage. The excavation unit revealed no foundation trench for the wall on this side of the dwelling; instead granite blocks were placed on top of a thin dark layer of relict topsoil, a natural layer that is seen across the Colony. The track way was formed through the deposition of a light brown construction layer over this same top soil layer to level the area in the forecourt.

## Trench 3 (forecourt area):

This trench was placed to discover more about the forecourt area of the structure, and in particular a large levelled projecting platform opposite the house frontage, which is enclosed by a drystone dyke. Excavation disclosed a large number of ceramic artefacts formed in a midden against the dyke. This may represent a principal dumping place for rubbish discarded or swept from the dwelling. A series of irregular flagstones was also discovered in this area and may have served as paving along the margin of the platform.



Figure 6: Trench 3 showing paved area in forecourt of Shepherd's Lodge.

### Hillside

The croft is located on a natural raised platform overlooking the Clachie Burn. As it is set back from the public footpath and obscured by secondary growth, Hillside today is one of the most secluded settlements in the Colony. The settlement is actually composed of two separate dwelling houses possibly erected in the 1840s and 1850s. If the relative location of neighbours is considered, one of these is the probable home of the Cooper family (Fagen, 2011, 20). By around 1858 we know from census information that the Mitchell family occupied the smaller dwelling on the west-facing side of Hillside until shortly after 1859, when its breadwinners succumbed to tuberculosis. In 1860 the McDonalds moved to Hillside as tenants and occupied the larger dwelling (11.3 m x 5.3 m) on the east facing side of the settlement. From this date until the twilight years of the Colony, the McDonalds transformed Hillside, which included converting the former Mitchell house into a part of a steading focused on a courtyard (Oliver *et al*, 2013).

The site has been previously planned by community researchers and Aberdeen students at a scale of 1:20, details of which are described elsewhere (Oliver *et al*, 2013). The excavation strategy at Hillside focused on the McDonald dwelling house. After the structure was cleared of building rubble, a number of excavation units were used to investigate the interior of the cottage. In addition, a small trench was opened within the track way south of the structure to explore a previously exposed feature assumed to be a stone-capped drain.

## Trench 1 (McDonald house interior):

The excavation of the house proceeded with removing the rubble of the collapsed gable ends and side walls from the interior of the building. Due to its weight and bulk, the collapsed masonry posed a significant challenge to remove. The solution was engineered by our community researchers and inspired by the past: the use of a 19th-century style timber stretcher (traditionally used for moving quarried granite) provided the means. As at Shepherd's Lodge, sections of the gable ends, represented by preserved courses of masonry, were recorded near the centre of the building, helping to confirm that the walls had been pushed in from opposite sides. As the masonry was being removed in the northwest corner, a dark organicrich deposit with a clayey consistency  $(0.35 \times 0.30 \times 0.09 \text{ m})$  was found overlaying building debris and interpreted as a preserved roofing divot. A single leather shoe, thought to be that of a child's, was found within the collapsed remains of the north gable end. A similar discovery was noted during the excavation of the dwelling house at Cairn Cootie (Bogdan et al, 2000, 20). The interior of the McDonald house produced a substantial fireplace, which was built into a recess in the north gable end. This was composed of a v-shaped stone firebox flanked by cheek stones, which sat on a substantial stone-flagged hearth. More unexpectedly, excavation exposed a considerable quantity of artefacts, notably the remains of whole ceramic vessels, such as a Rockingham teapot, which were found toward the bottom of the rubble layer. Further artefacts were found in association with the fireplace, including



Figure 7: View south over Trench 1, the interior of the McDonald House.

crushed white earthenware plates and vessels of various types of decoration, as well as metal hooks and glass fragments. Once the dwelling was cleared of building debris, sondages were placed in three different areas of the structure to explore subsurface remains (Figure 7).

## Sondage 1:

This excavation unit  $(3.2 \times 2.7 \text{ m})$  was placed at the north end of the dwelling and focused on exposing the area around the fireplace. This area is thought to have been contained within a single room, probably a kitchen. The unit revealed a large hearth made of stone flags in front of the fireplace



Figure 8: Kitchen area with fireplace, exposed in Sondage 1.

and a cobbled surface overlaid by hard packed soil: clear evidence of a built floor. Remarkably, unlike the well-swept floor of Shepherd's Lodge, much of the living surface was scattered with metal and ceramic artefacts, with a significant portion representing crushed whole vessels. Further excavation into the cobbled floor suggested this built layer was set into a base layer of construction fill.

### Sondage 2:

A second smaller unit  $(1.80 \times 1.6 \text{ m})$  was placed along the west wall adjacent to a window, which is indicated by a single lintel stone. The window may have lit a narrow hallway between two rooms (a point returned to below), though no evidence of interior separation was found. Notable finds included two crushed dairying vessels, one stacked inside the other and a miniature ceramic sheep. Further evidence of the cobbled floor



Figure 9: Crushed dairying vessel in Sondage 2.

was revealed here and a further test slot in the northeast corner of this unit revealed the same construction methods identified in Sondage 1.



Figure 10: Sondage 3 showing comparison of exterior cobbled forecourt (left) with interior cobbling (right). The dwelling threshold is at the centre.

## Sondage 3:

This excavation unit  $(1.2 \times 2.0 \text{ m})$  was placed in the dwelling threshold and was focused on revealing the threshold area and to see whether external paving could be located in the forecourt. A floor of irregular, widely-spaced cobbles was identified in what is interpreted as the hallway area of the dwelling interior, while the exterior revealed an area of smaller

tightly packed cobbling: a paved forecourt. A slate object, possibly a whetstone, was associated with this feature.

# *Trench 2* (*Exterior stone feature*):

A final excavation unit  $(0.9 \times 0.7 \text{ m})$  was placed outside the dwelling where it was intended to investigate an earth-fast feature initially assumed to be a stone-capped drain. The feature leads away from the southwest corner of the cottage across a cart track and terminates at a stone dyke. The trench revealed a row of solid granite blocks (each



Figure 11: Trench 2 showing possible stone footing.

approximately  $0.6 \ge 0.35 \ge 0.20$  m). Test slots excavated on both sides suggest the stone alignment was not a drain as the stones sit firmly on glacial till. While we were unable to excavate the corner of the dwelling, where it emerges, a possible interpretation is that it functioned as a stone footing to keep the house from subsiding or the walls from shifting.

### DISCUSSION

Excavation at Shepherd's Lodge and Hillside has provided a unique opportunity to compare and contrast two of the better known houses within the Colony, allowing us to reflect more critically on lifeways within the community. Significantly, the archaeological evidence can be seen to provide clues about degrees of internal variation within the Colony hitherto ignored by outsiders more interested in perpetuating more romantic or derogatory views of the colonists as a simple breed of 'mountaineers' (cited in Fagen, 2011, 12). While final analysis has yet to be carried out, and future discoveries at both sites may further complicate our interpretations, preliminary observations point towards a number of intriguing findings.

Commonalities between the dwellings are found in their shared use of building techniques. Owing to nearby quarries, both cottages were constructed of local granite, built largely with undressed stone. Given the relatively low height of the surviving walls of around 0.5 and 1 metre, it is probable that turf was used for the uppermost courses. This argument is given further weight when one considers that there is only limited evidence of tumbled-over masonry on the long side of the structures; a fact which matches historical descriptions that only a single course of stones was removed. In some respects the Colony houses are similar to what Kay (1962, 105) reports as common for squatter settlements in the North-East: single-storey cottages of undressed stone, often with an unglazed window and an earthen floor; except that at Bennachie our excavations have unequivocally revealed window glass at both dwellings (see also Bogdan *et al*, 2000: 27). At Hillside, the chance occurrence of a possible roof divot helps to confirm that roofs were probably covered with sod, and then thatched with broom or heather, following the fashion of other crofting households in the region (Allan, 1983, 62; Fenton and Walker, 1981).

Within this broader regional tradition of materials and methods, there are also some notable differences between the dwellings. While both appear to have been built on level stances, evidence from Shepherds Lodge suggests that the downhill facing walls were built directly on top-soil, without dug foundations. And at Hillside the identification of a possible stone footing in the southwest corner of the McDonald House, combined with its built floor set within construction fill, suggests different levels of planning and execution; though we are still uncertain whether the McDonalds, or earlier occupants, were responsible for its construction.

Additional variations are found within the dwelling interiors. Both structures are recorded in censuses for 1861 an 1871 as two-room cottages (Fagen, 2011, 62-63), however, the McDonald house is relatively spacious at approximately 40 sq. metres, compared with 30 sq. metres for Shepherd's Lodge. Moreover, the McDonald house had three windows, two facing the kailyard, and one facing the courtyard, the latter helping to light a probable hallway separating the rooms. In contrast, our investigations at Shepherds lodge revealed no evidence for a third window, and if it possessed a hallway it must have been dark and cramped. Another possibility is that box beds were used to divide up the space in Shepherd's Lodge internally. These differences have implications for the ways in which the houses were used and lived in. With its more commodious design, its cobbled floor and a well-lit interior the McDonald house may have lent itself towards greater degrees of cleanliness, in comparison to the main dwelling at Shepherd's Lodge with its dirt floor and poorer lighting. What is more, when we consider that Shepherd's Lodge housed a large and growing family, with at least five individuals residing in the main dwelling between 1861 and 1871 (another six lived in the smaller adjacent apartment), contrasted with the McDonald house's three in 1861 and two in 1871 (Fagen, 2011, 62-63) the cramped and communal nature of domestic life at the former becomes increasingly convincing.

From a material culture point of view, possibly the most arresting features revealed through excavation were the cottages' fireplaces. Although both dwellings benefited from 'improved' gable-end designs, which had become common by the 19th century, their relative scale and execution differed markedly. The overall size of the McDonald house fireplace with its firebox, considerable hearth and large faced mantel stone, suggests a capacious design that would have dominated the north room. Based on the size of this feature, it is probable this room was used as a kitchen. Although it remains unexcavated at this time, there is also the possibility of a second fireplace in the largely unexcavated south room. In contrast, the fireplace at Shepherds Lodge was a smaller affair built into a triangular niche with only a single row of hearthstones.

Overall, while both dwellings fit within what we might expect for midnineteenth century crofting architecture, they also accommodate an important degree of variability. With its more improvised foundations, and hard-packed earthen floor, it could be suggested that Shepherd's Lodge exhibits a greater emphasis on homespun design. In comparison, with its unique layout and 'improved' conditions the McDonald house is a good candidate for a 'modern' pattern book house. As standing ruins across the lowlands of Aberdeenshire attest today, this method of design became increasingly popular during the later 19th century as the possibility to consume architectural patterns became common (Dixon and Fraser 2007, 212). At the very least, it is suggested that the McDonald house is inspired by such innovations.

While post-excavation analysis on the artefact finds is still ongoing, both dwellings produced an intriguing range of material culture, including variable quantities of ceramics, metal and glass. No bone has been identified, which may be due to the acidic soils of the region. Notable ceramic types include considerable amounts of sponge-stamped wares and smaller amounts of transfer printed wares; patterns broadly in keeping with rural communities throughout Scotland and Ireland (Orser, 2010). The most notable observation that can be made at this stage is that Shepherd's Lodge produced relatively few artefacts inside the dwelling, suggesting it was regularly swept out. The majority of the artefacts from the croft were located in a midden found in the forecourt area of the house. In sharp contrast, the McDonald house produced a large number of fragmented but complete or nearly complete ceramic vessels associated with the floor layer and hearth. Large numbers of glass and metal were also found. And in one corner of the building iron pins, metal fittings and woven pieces of textile are the likely remains of a storage trunk. The impression at Hillside is that its former occupants left many of their possessions behind.

Drawing from various strands of the evidence now at our disposal, our initial investigations are beginning to provide a new fine-grained resolution to aspects of the historical record, in some cases challenging it all together. At Shepherds Lodge a preserved floor layer, composed of beaten earth, was found only in one corner, the remaining floor having been severely truncated and dug out, possibly during a later phase of reuse as an animal shelter. Most conspicuous was a distinct burning layer found directly overlying these later truncations; a discovery that is beginning to cast doubt on aspects of the eviction story, a narrative that combines the known eviction of Littlejohn senior, with the violent torching and subsequent destruction of the dwelling. The archaeology confirms part of the story: there was indeed a fire. However, based on our reading of complex stratigraphy, the fire and subsequent ruination of the dwelling is not an event we can neatly link to the eviction. It is possible the fire and collapse of the structure happened years afterward, reminding us how oral history, while an important source of information, is as much about forgetting as remembering. On the other hand, the surprising discoveries of large amounts of household items crushed under the weight of falling gable ends at Hillside looks like a very promising candidate for a previously unknown eviction event, an interpretation that has now gained additional support from estate records, which indicate the tenants were 'removed' in 1878 (Ledingham, 2014, 21). This event seems to have culminated in the rapid razing of the building, removing the possibility for the subsequent looting of the structure's contents or its re-use for any purpose.

#### Conclusion

The excavation of Colony dwellings is beginning to provide clues about the varying historical circumstances and different choices made within the settlement, patterns that are at odds with more popular caricatures of the poor and stereotypes of rural living. Reflecting the diversity of architectural evidence above and below ground, the archaeology points to a range of strategies for living that were likely shaped by different economic realities and different ideas about what was deemed socially and culturally appropriate. While these findings should be treated as tentative, what is certainly clear is that the more we examine the archaeological legacy of the Bennachie Colony, the more complicated and interesting the history of this community becomes.

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