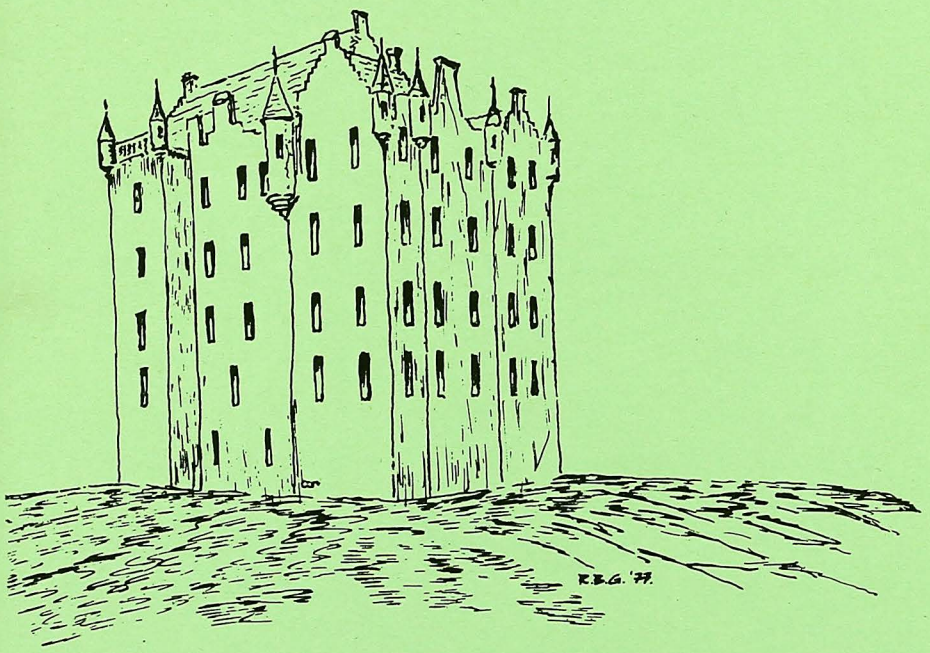
Historic INVERNESS

the archaeological implications of development

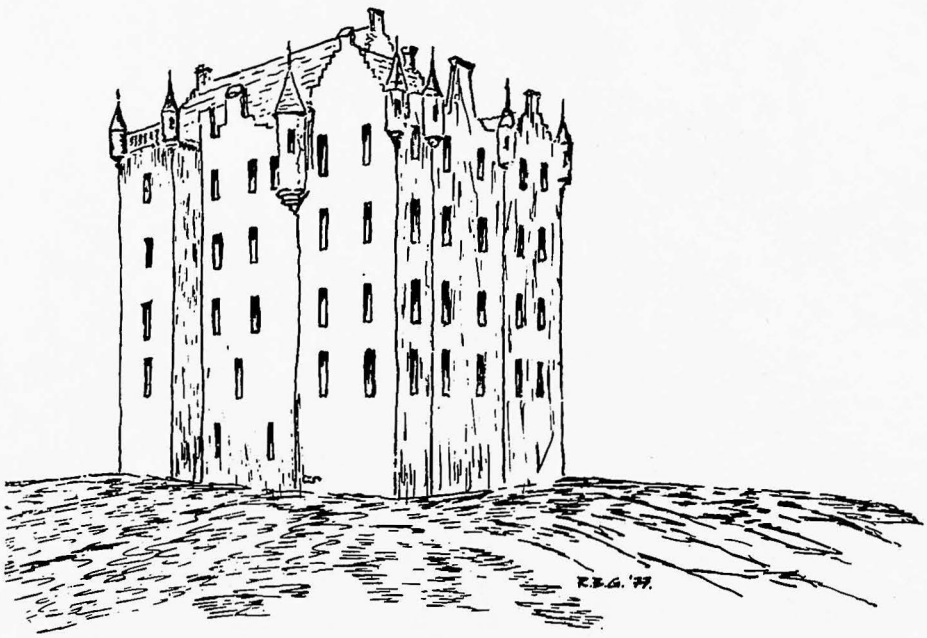


Robert Gourlay
Anne Turner

Scottish Burgh Survey
1977

Historic
INVERNESS

the archaeological implications of development



Robert Gourlay
Anne Turner

Scottish Burgh Survey
1977

Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

PREFACE

This report on the history and archaeology of the former burgh of Inverness is one of a series of such reports on the historic towns of Scotland. The reports have been commissioned by the Ancient Monuments division of the Department of the Environment with a view to providing the necessary background information upon which to base a policy for urban research in the future. They are also aimed at providing local authority planning departments with the historical and archaeological information necessary to enable them to assess the archaeological implications of any planning applications.

Each report contains an historical report compiled by Anne Turner, with a short archaeological discussion and a series of illustrative plans compiled and drawn by Robert Gourlay. The reports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were developed at various periods of their history up to approximately 1800, and to locate within those areas sites which are of particular historical importance. Areas of 19th century growth and modern suburbs have not been examined.

The survey team would like acknowledge the assistance of Highland Regional Council Planning Department; Mr. Graeme Farnell, Inverness Museum; The staff of Inverness Library; The Scottish Development Department, Historic Buildings Section; the staff of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey; Mr. Edward Meldrum and members of the Inverness Field Club; Miss Mary Williamson of North-East Scotland Library Service; Miss Alice Kirkpatrick of King's College Library, Aberdeen; and Mr. George Duncan. A special mention must be made to Mrs Eve Halley of Inverness Museum who read the historical draft and offered valuable comments; also Professor Leslie Alcock and Mr. Eric Talbot.

Cover:- The 15th-century Castle of Inverness, blown up by Jacobite rebels in 1746. It stood where the present Castle now stands.

History

'The great flow of prosperity which has affected the town of Inverness during the last thirty years and which happily shows no sign of abatement has had at the same time the effect of removing many of the landmarks dear to the hearts of the sons of Clachnacuddin and given the town even in its centre an appearance (to use a description lately applied to Dundee) 'modern in style and utilitarian in aspect', such as to mislead visitors; and those residents who have elected there to settle down.'

(Charles Fraser-Macintosh, 1893)

INTRODUCTION

Site: Inverness was the head burgh of a large shire which bore the same name. The medieval burgh evolved on the east bank of the River Ness close to where the waterway empties into the Moray Firth. In a wider context, Inverness was the confluence point of several routes: one to Dingwall and the North, an eastbound highway to Forres and Elgin, a southerly road to Drakies and a westward track to Loch Ness. At least two burns flowed near the burgh. Scourburn ran to the south and east of Inverness, flowing into the Millburn which in turn emptied into the Moray Firth. Also to the east of the town was a loch, Loch Gorm, long since vanished due to the process of land reclamation. At least as late as the sixteenth century there were two islands in the Ness - Maggot and Merkinch - lying northwest of the burgh, which have also disappeared. One fording point has also been noted within the bounds of Inverness, at Friars Shott, to the north of the site of the wooden bridge (Barron, 1906, 20).

Place Name: Inverness, spelled variously Invernis (1171-84), Invernys (1189-99), Invernish (1292), is from the Gaelic Inbhir Nis, meaning 'Ness Mouth'. The river name first occurs in Adamnan's seventh-century life of Columba as Nesa and Nicolaisen deduces that the river name is either one of the earliest Celtic river names in Scotland or is even pre-Celtic, though Indo-European (Nicolaisen, et al., 1970, 113).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burgh Status: Inverness was very probably a David I burgh. A William the Lion charter of 1189 x 1195 gave the Bishops of Moray liberty to take timber and fuel

from the royal forest, stipulating salvo tamen aysiamento burgensium meorum de Elgyn et de Forays et de Inuernys sicut habere solebant tempore Regis David avi mei aut tempore Regis Malcolmi fratis mei aut meo tempore (Pryde, 1965, 11) Professor Pryde asserted that a 'high antiquity' could not be granted for Inverness, which he placed third among the burghs of Moray . 'That Inverness', he affirmed, 'should be made a burgh only in Malcolm's reign accords well with the facts of both geography and history' (1965, 11). This fairly pedantic statement was coolly received by Professor Duncan with the words ' it is quite difficult to accept this argument; the charter seems to say quite explicitly that all three burghs date from the reign of David I' (Pryde, 1965, 11). Both Malcolm IV and William granted Kinloss Abbey a toft in Inverness. William furthermore issued four charters and brieves in favour of the burgh. The first of the quartet dealt with the tolls and burgh lands, stipulating also that the Invernessians were to maintain a ditch and stout palisade around the town (Barrow, 1971, 261). This latter provision was obviously connected with the unsettled nature of the province and William's military activity in the area. His succeeding charters primarily dealt with various economic matters such as the provision that a weekly market could be held, that no cloth should be cut and dyed outside the burgh, and there were to be no taverns outside Inverness, save where the lord of the village is of knight's rank (Barrow, 1971, 437).

Medieval: In the twelfth century Inverness, along with Forres, Auldearn, Nairn and Elgin, formed a defensive chain along the south coast of the Moray Firth. The last mormaer of Moray had died in 1130 and the province passed to the crown, but throughout the reign of Malcolm IV and his brother, William the Lion, Moray was an area seething with revolt. Donald MacWilliam, a lineal descendant of Malcolm Canmore, rebelled against the crown in 1179, plunging the North into a bitter conflict which ended only with his death eight years later. A period of peace which followed the rebel MacWilliam's death was short-lived and the standard of revolt was raised early in the thirteenth century by his son, Guthred. Guthred's revolt once again sparked off an unsettled condition in the North which was to last for about twenty years and led directly to the burning of Inverness in 1228. Two years later, however, royal forces had completely subjected the North to crown control.

For much of the remainder of the thirteenth century, Inverness had enjoyed a marked degree of prosperity. It was at this time that the burgh attained 'the size and aspect which it kept until the Reformation' (Barron, 1907, 40). Alexander II established a Dominican friary here at an unknown date (Cowan & Easson, 1976, 119).

The count of St. Pol caused to be built in 1249 ' a wonderful ship in Inverness that is in Moray so that in it he could boldly cross the sea with ... the Flemings and those commonly called of the Low Countries' (Duncan, 1975, 478). This passage serves to illustrate the very important commercial links Inverness had with the Low Countries as well as implying the existence of a sophisticated ship-building industry in the burgh. Trade was carried on primarily in the staple products of wool, salmon and hides.

The castle of Inverness was one of several garrisoned by the English in 1296 following the abdication of King John. It was taken by the forces of Andrew de Moray, recaptured by the English and finally seized by Bruce. Among the most loyal followers of Bruce and Moray was an Inverness burgess, Alexander Pilche, who was created sheriff of the town by King Robert.

The rise to power of the Lords of the Isles and their struggles with the crown is one of the dominant themes of fifteenth-century Scotland and one which involves Inverness to a marked extent. Donald, Lord of the Isles, on his way to the fateful battle of Harlaw in 1411, is reputed to have burnt part of Inverness and its great oak bridge (Barron, 1906, 47). In 1426 James I visited Inverness with a view to dealing with boisterous northerners. Fifty Highland chiefs were invited to the burgh, which resulted in the immediate imprisonment of some and the execution of others. Perhaps in response to this 'outrage', Alexander, Lord of the Isles, laid waste and burned the town of Inverness in 1430. The crown, in an effort to buy peace, created Alexander Justiciar of the North and, therefore, hereditary keeper of Inverness Castle in 1483. The gamble did not pay off. By 1451 John, Lord of the Isles, was in revolt and Inverness was once again burned in 1455. That year, however, the unruly Lord was compelled to make peace with the crown, although again it was a peace which did not last. Trouble with the Lords of the Isles continued until the reign of the fourth James, who forfeited the lordship to the crown in 1493 and thus effectively neutralised the power of this 'overmighty subject'.

Early Modern: The sixteenth century did not bring peace. The forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles only led to a power struggle in the Highlands in which Inverness served as a focal point. In 1508 the Earl of Huntly was appointed by James IV to be Justiciar of the North, a commission which the family held until the abolition of hereditary offices in 1748. With the Reformation came a revolt in the north of Catholic nobles, led by the Earl of Huntly. Mary, Queen of Scots led troops to the

region, lodging for a period in Inverness in 1562 while the castle was under siege. The castle fell and its governor, an adherent of Huntly, was executed (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 229).

During the period of the Civil War in the following century, the castle was refurbished in preparation for a threatened attack from Montrose and his Highlanders. Although Montrose was not able to take Inverness Castle, royalist forces did seize it in 1649 and had it destroyed. Cromwell, in an effort to control the North, built a strong citadel just to the north of the burgh. The citadel was dismantled after the Restoration on the application of a number of Highland chiefs. From the period of the Revolution of 1689 until the Battle of Culloden, Inverness maintained fairly strong Jacobite sympathies, a fact which led to the garrisoning of the castle by royalist troops after the unsuccessful rising of 1715.

Eighteenth Century: Jacobite sympathies in the period 1689-1746 did not ensure the economic prosperity of the burgh. The reporter in the Statistical Account report of 1793 describes the period as being a dismal one for Inverness. The town was in a 'ruinous state' and the corn trade especially was in decline. The defeat at Culloden was in some respects a godsend, for the increased number of troops and government officials led to a freer supply of specie. Culloden nearly coincided with agricultural improvements, expansion of manufacture and an increased amount of capital from East and West Indian commercial ventures (Sinclair, 1793, ix, 618). The manufactures noted were not inconsiderable. By the end of the century there were two tanneries, two tallow chandlers, a soap boiler, brick works, hemp and thread manufacture (Sinclair, 1793, ix, 618). Bishop Pococke noted the amount of imports and the 'export of salted salmon caught in the River Ness' which 'were sent to London and thence exported to the East Indies ' (Kemp, 1887, 103).

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: The medieval burgh of Inverness kept almost exclusively within the demarcation of the ditch (fosse). As for its development, a case can be presented that settlement grew up near the base of Castle Hill, pushing down towards the site of the parish church located by the ford at Friar's Shott. By the later middle ages Inverness's four principal streets nearly formed a cross at the base of Castle Hill, a street pattern which has survived to the present day.

Church Street, or Kirkgate as it then was, is possibly the oldest street in the

burgh, running parallel to the river a short distance from the base of Castle Hill up to the parish church. Medieval settlement on Church Street apparently did not extend all the way to the church (Barron, 1907, 26). Beyond that ecclesiastical structure ran a rough track which led to the quay. With the construction of a bridge across the Ness in the thirteenth century there was a decided switch in emphasis from Church Street to East Gate, or what is now the present High Street. It was in the East Gate that those symbols of corporate unity - the Tolbooth and the Market Cross - were to be found.

The two streets which formed the head and an arm of the 'cross' were Bridgegate and Doomsdale, spelled variously Dymisdale and Damsydale. Bridgegate, or Bridge Street, was formed presumably on construction of the bridge, and ran below the Castle Hill, ending in a junction with East Gate and Kirkgate. In the middle ages Bridge Street 'seems to have been the fashionable part of the town', with the peculiarity that dwellings were initially constructed only on its north side (Barron, 1906, 20). Land on the south side of Bridge Street belonged to the Castle. Doomsdale, now the present-day Castle Street, was a ravine, partly natural, partly artificial, separating Castle Hill from Barn Hill (Ross, 1912-1918, 294). It was quite heavily settled and earned the name Doomsdale because it was the way to the burgh gallows (Barron, 1906, 14).

Inverness, in common with other medieval settlements, had a number of vennels. Scathegate was a track which led from the Moray Firth opposite to the parish church. From its name it is supposed that sea fish were brought along it to the town. Several vennels ran off the Kirkgate, including one leading to the town's ditch, corresponding with the present-day line of Baron Taylor Street. Another, Friar's Vennel, lay in the uppermost reaches of Church Street, making a way from the Dominicans' property to the ford. The burgh did not expand out of the bounds of the ditch until after 1746. Expansion in the eighteenth century was principally confined to the east bank of the river with the formation of New Street, (later Academy Street), along the line of the ditch, and Bank Street along the river shore.

Market Area: Inverness was a principal centre for trade in the Highlands and its trade would not be inconsiderable. The right of Inverness burgesses to hold a weekly market was confirmed in a charter of William the Lion dated 1205 x 1207 (Barrow, 1971, 437). The market area itself developed largely at the juncture of

Bridgegate, Doomsdale, Kirkgate and East Gate. One of the first references to the Market Cross can be found in a 1456 sale of property (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 132). A new cross replaced an older erection about the end of the sixteenth century. The present cross dates from 1768 and stands close to the Town Hall, not as its predecessors did in the middle of the High Street. As for the question of craft areas, Barron in unsupported evidence intimated that glovemakers and armourers as a body had an area in Castle Street, whereas dyers, tanners and malsters established their trade in Church Street (1906, 26).

Defences : Assuredly, the prominent feature of the medieval defences was the ditch. The ditch was built at the command of William the Lion, who instructed

> Burgenses uero uniuersi mihi conuentionauerunt quod cum circa predectum Burgum fossatum fecero, ipsi super fossatum totum Burgum claudent bono palitio, et exquo clausum fuerit palitium illud sustentabunt, et semper bonum et integrum conseruabunt.
>
> (Barrow, 1971, 262).

Thus the king would make the ditch, but the burgesses were ordered to keep it and build a stout palisade around it . The ditch and palisade appear to have run in a straight line from about the present Waterloo Bridge along the line of Academy Street and Hamilton Street to the foot of Stephen's Brae, where, turning about at a right angle, it went straight up the hill and turned west along the line of what is now Ardconnel Terrace and Hill Terrace to a point where it turned to the west and cut across the end of the castle, joining the castle palisade (Barron, 1906, 18). A continuation of the ditch was built along the line of present-day King Street to protect sundry burgh lands. The ditch and defensive work is said to have existed for centuries and there is reference to the 'old fosse' in a mid-fifteenth century land transaction (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 133).

The wooden paling possibly existed as late as 1689, the ditch itself for sometime after (Macdonald, 1918-1925, 54). Perhaps the most famous part of the ditch was that part which ran along the line of Academy Street (formerly New Street) referred to in a 1462 transaction as "... the old ditch called 'the foulle poule' " (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 142). The Foul Pool had become through the years a refuse pit for discarded matter from tan pits and malt kilns, a phenomenon which continued in the burgh for several centuries.

Ports : Inverness by the time of the Reformation had four ports (Mackay, and Boyd, 1911, 59), one of which was located at the bridge on the east bank of the river.

The sites of the others remain as yet unidentified.

Bridge : It has been suggested that the first bridge at Inverness, located just up-river from the ford at Friar's Shott, dates from at least the reign of Alexander II (Barron, 1907, 45). Timber construction spanned the river until the end of the seventeenth century when a stone bridge was built. At the time of the Cromwellian occupation an English observer remarked that the timber bridge at Inverness was 'the weakest which ever straddled so strong a stream' (Mackay, 1911, lxxxviii). By the end of the 1680s references to the bridge repair are numerous, with evidence in one instance of town council procrastination regarding the erection of a stone structure (Mackay and Laing, 1924, 306). At long last a stone bridge was built at Inverness in 1685. This bridge, the basic materials of which came from the citadel, was also plagued by faults.

Harbour: Inverness established herself early as a port and centre for shipbuilding. The old pier was located near the present-day site of the Waterloo Bridge and Portland Place. A new quay was built there in 1675 (Ross, 1880-1883, 79), and refurbished the following century.

BUILDINGS

Castle : The castle at Inverness dates from the period of William the Lion's 1179 campaign in the North and is in all likelihood a David I erection (Barrow, 1960, 44) Castle and burgh both had a stormy history in the middle ages. Captured by Bruce in 1308 (Barrow, 1965, 279), the castle was refurbished in 1362 when news of war was imminent, and was used for sheriff courts in the last half of the fourteenth century. Accounts for 1412-1415 in the Exchequer Rolls suggest that the Earl of Mar rebuilt the castle at Inverness, including turrets and a stone surrounding wall. In 1508 the third Earl of Huntly was given a commission as justiciar of the North and ordered to carry out improvements on the castle, including the construction of a hall, kitchen and chapel. This project was not, however, carried out until 1540 (Macdonald, 1895-1899, 278). Although garrisoned for a short time by Hanoverian troops after the '15, it was described by Captain Burt in 1735 as being ruinous. Jacobite rebels in 1746 blew up the castle. The present castellated structure on Castle Hill was built between 1843 and 1836. All that remains of the previous castles is a well, discovered in 1909, the stairway leading to Castle Street and part of the rampart wall between Castle Street and the Castle Hill itself (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NH 64 NE 9).

Citadel: Oliver Cromwell undertook construction of a citadel at Inverness in an effort to overawe the Highlands. Begun in 1652, it took five years to finish. When completed, the citadel was a five-cornered structure with bastions and a wet ditch on four sides, the fifth being washed by the river. Inside the compound was a quartet of buildings providing accommodation for 1,000 troops, a church, magazine and stores. The principal gateway of the citadel faced north with a sally port on the opposite side facing the burgh. Stone for the project came from nearby ecclesiastical centres: Beauly, Kinloss, St. Mary's Chapel and the Dominican Friary. The area is largely mutilated with only portions of the northeast and northwest bastions and part of the north rampart surviving. A rather curious clock-tower stands in what was the citadel compound. It is an almost square tower of ashlar masonry, surmounted by a slated belfry and with a weathervane, dating perhaps from the eighteenth century (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NH 64 NE 4).

Church: The first mention of the parish church of St. Mary's is in a William the Lion grant of 1165 x 1171 when one ploughgate of arable was gifted to Thomas the Priest, parson of that church (Barrow, 1971, 199). William later granted the parish church to Arbroath Abbey. The medieval parish church of Inverness, by Barron's reckoning, appears to have been larger than the present High Church. Built on a height, the church building which served the town until 1770 was constructed in perhaps the early fourteenth century with a nave, north and south aisles and choir. It was endowed with a large number of chapels and chaplains. The present parish church, the High Church, was built in 1770, roughly on the site of the medieval building, although the tower and steeple are of an earlier and as yet undefined period.

Friary: King Alexander II established a colony of preaching friars in Inverness at an unknown date. On 18th March 1436 the friary is said to have been almost ruinous in its structure and building (Cowan, 1976, 119). By the 1550s the colony of Dominicans had only five in number. A charter of 1559 records that the Black Friar's moveable property was placed in magisterial custody for safekeeping, but after the Reformation that property disappeared. All that remains of the friary buildings is an octagonal column of ashlar masonry with the remains of a springing arch (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NH 64 NE 12).

Tolbooth: The first reference to a Tolbooth in Inverness dates to 1436, when

Christiana Makferry granted to the burgesses and community of Inverness a piece of land lying at the corner of Bridge Street and Church Street. On the back of the charter were the words 'the charter of the Tolbuth', so presumably the Tolbooth was subsequently erected on that piece of feued ground. In the 1670s extensive repairs were carried out on the building which eventually resulted in its reconstruction. The Tolbooth was again rebuilt in 1708.

School: The pre-Reformation burgh school was located in the southeast corner of the ground of the friary near the junction of Friar's Vennel and Kirk Gate. By the eighteenth century the school was moved to Dunbar's hospital. In 1787 a site for an academy was purchased in New Street (later Academy Street) for the sum of £700. Inverness Academy first opened its doors four years later, teaching a wide variety of subjects.

Houses: There are at least two fifteenth-century references to stone houses in Inverness. A 1452 document refers to the stone house of the late John Scot, a prominent fourteenth-century Invernessian. Four years later Hugh Angus sold several bits of land ' in the west part to the cross of the burgh (market)', where a stone house was subsequently built (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 132). A prominent house in Bridge Street in the early sixteenth century, belonging to Mr. Robertson of Inches was slated (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 18). Captain Burt described early eighteenth-century Inverness as a town in the extreme parts being made up of the most miserable hovels covered with turf, with a bottomless tubor basket in the roof for a chimney. There were only a few houses of stone or lime, thatched without and dark within (Macdonald, 1918-1925, 55). The situation improved towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was observed that a large number of houses were being built two or three storeys high, although thatched houses still remained in the suburbs and surrounding countryside (Sinclair, 1793, ix, 623). Among the prominent 'early modern' dwelling houses still standing in Inverness is the late sixteenth-century Abertarff House in Church Street.

In 1969 another late sixteenth-century dwelling - the so-called Queen Mary's House - formerly located at the corner of Bridge Street and Church Street was demolished to make way for redevelopment. Dunbar's Hospital, a late seventeenth-century structure located in Church Street, has had many functions. Funded originally by Provost Alexander Dunbar, it was handed over to the Kirk Session in 1687 who used it as the burgh school. It had also served as a poorhouse and weighhouse.

Mill : The mill at Inverness is the first mentioned in the reign of Alexander II who granted to the inhabitants of Moray the right to frequent 'our mill at Inverness' (Fraser-Macintosh, 1875, 27). The King's Mill was located to the south and east of the burgh. Another mill is reputed to have been at the foot of Balloch Hill.

Archaeology

PREVIOUS WORK

No archaeological excavation had taken place within the burgh until September, 1976, when a small-scale excavation, under the direction of Mr. George Duncan, and organised by Mr. Graeme Farnell of Inverness Museum, was undertaken within the car park immediately east of Hamilton Street. The excavations uncovered information on the line and nature of the town fosse, together with some limited evidence for industrial activity in the immediate vicinity during the late Medieval period. A full report on the excavations is in preparation. Apart from the material remains recovered from this excavation, there appear to be very few finds noted from the burgh. None of these come from satisfactory archaeological contexts.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Very little specific evidence survives about the form and extent of the earlier development in Inverness, or on its expansion through time. Moreover, there is little information to indicate the material and construction of the burgh's dwellings and industrial buildings, their distribution within the town, or the social and economic conditions of the townspeople who lived and worked in them, with the exception of the excellent description given to Captain Burt in 1726. It is not at all clear which streets were established, and which areas were initially built-up, immediately following the granting of the burgh charter (1130 x 1153), although something can be inferred from a study of cartographic and documentary sources. Map 4 has been compiled from a superficial study of such sources, and must be regarded as provisional.

Superficially, the present street pattern appears to fossilise that of the Medieval period, but as much of the area of that period has been redeveloped in later centuries, particularly the 19th, it is possible that significant modifications to street width and alignment have taken place. More specifically, the width of, and degree of development in the early period of Church Street, which appears to have been the primary street of the early burgh, requires investigation. The location of the early market is unknown, although it seems likely that it stood approximately at the junction of Church Street and High Street; the crossing may have been somewhat larger than

the present open space. It also seems possible that the early built-up area extended a short way along the present High Street so as to enclose the market place. This could suggest that the present north-south alignments of the building plots fronting on that part of High Street represent a later redistribution of land when the High Street superseded Church Street as the principal thoroughfare, perhaps when Bridge Street was cut through to the river, and a bridge constructed in the 13th century, altering the main through axis. The absence of Bridge Street in the early stages of the burgh suggests a lower crossing of the river, probably at or near Friar's Shot. If this was the only crossing, one must consider whether a pre-burghal settlement existed near the ford, and also whether a crossing near the church would have encouraged the earliest development at the north end of Church Street rather than at the south, or castle, end.

Another problem is the location and construction of the earliest castle attributed to David I. This almost certainly stood on Castle Hill, but local tradition asserts that a castle once occupied the Crown, although what type or date of structure is referred to is unknown. The location and nature of the town ports, described above (p. 7) are unclear, and require further investigation, as do the sites of various chapels in and around the burgh which are presently not accurately located. (The attribution of the pillar in the Friar's Street graveyard to the fabric of the friary itself requires checking, although part of the friary site may have been lost to archaeological search through the construction of new buildings for the General Post Office on the site immediately to the north). The location of various industries, such as tanning and malting, were hinted at during the 1976 excavations, but further clarification is needed of this, as of the construction and function of the fosse, and their change through time, both east and west of the river.

There are clearly a large number of aspects of Inverness' past development which would profit from archaeological investigation with, of course, the complementary documentary and cartographic study. It appears from present evidence, or rather the lack of it, that archaeological preservation over much of the burgh may be low (see below), thus emphasising the importance of any surviving Medieval levels. Excavation must be carried out where there is such survival if any of the problems above are to be satisfactorily answered.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

Throughout much of the historic core of Inverness, the buildings are of substantial

construction, up to five storeys high, and many have cellars or basements. The disturbance caused to underlying deposits is therefore likely to be high, particularly, if as observed during development work in the High Street in 1976, the natural river sands and gravels lie fairly close to the present street level. This state of affairs is not yet confirmed, however, so that sites should not be considered sterile at this stage. Additionally, there do remain some less substantial buildings, and these would appear to represent the areas where preservation is liable to be greater. It must be stressed that until test excavations have been carried out to investigate the depth of surviving deposits throughout the town centre, all sites must be treated with caution until their potential is assessed. The rather unexpected results from Hamilton Street emphasise this point.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Future redevelopment seems likely to swallow up even more of the town centre. The bulk of the pre-industrialised town is included within a Conservation area, but this fails to include potentially important areas at the northern end, notably in the Glebe, north-east of Friar's Street; the Chapel Yard, and the former 'Freouris Inch'. From an archaeological viewpoint at least, it is recommended that these areas be included within an extended Conservation Area, particularly as later disturbance is less apparent.

Some buildings in Church Street, at present derelict, seem destined for demolition, and these might well offer archaeologically productive sites. Many sites within the Medieval burgh have already been redeveloped (see plan), while others are liable to vanish in the foreseeable future. On the left bank of the river Ness, the burgh lands enclosed by the western section of the fosse might repay investigation, although no building was recorded for the area until relatively late. A large proportion of this area is projected for future redevelopment. Additionally, the interior and defences of the Cromwellian 'citadel' to the north of the burgh proper have been almost wholly obliterated by industrial developments. As development is continuing in this area, the few remaining portions of earthworks and interior areas should also be considered as archaeological sites.

Finally, a new circulatory road system is envisaged for Inverness, but as the plans are nebulous at this stage, this has not been mapped. It is likely that if this goes ahead, a portion of the Glebe will be affected.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Without test excavation, the archaeological potential of Inverness is at present difficult to assess. Research is urgently required to establish firmly those areas where Medieval levels survive. This is true, of course, in most other historic Scottish towns. It is hoped therefore, that an archaeological team might be established to carry out work of this nature in Inverness and other burghs throughout Scotland. Until then, every effort must be made to ensure that some provision is made to permit archaeological investigation on sites to be redeveloped in the interim. Ideally, a clause should be inserted in all development contracts for work in the historic area of Inverness which provides for a sufficient time lapse between demolition and redevelopment for such investigation to take place. If important deposits are then found to survive, negotiations should then take place amongst the various government and local organisations concerned with a view to carrying out a full-scale excavation on that site. Inverness is of considerable historical importance as the major commercial and industrial centre for much of the Scottish Highlands from its inception until the present day. The comparisons and contrasts between it and the rather better-understood and more carefully-researched burghs of the east-central coast of Scotland urgently require to be studied. As archaeological research, together with documentary investigation constitutes the primary means by which such information can be gathered, it is therefore imperative that such work be carried out in Inverness before this vital source of knowledge is irrevocably lost.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

BARRON, E.M.	1906	Inverness in the Fifteenth Century (Inverness)
	1907	Inverness in the Middle Ages (Inverness)
BARROW, G.W.S.	1960	The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots, 1153-1165 (Edinburgh)
	1965	Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (Berkeley).
	1971	The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214 (Edinburgh).
BURT, E.	1726	Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland. (RSGS, London).
COWAN, I. and EASSON, D.	1976	Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland (London).
DUNCAN, A.A.M.	1975	Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom (Edinburgh).
FRASER-MACINTOSH, C.	1875	Invernessiana 1160-1599 (Inverness).
KEMP, D. W. (ed)	1887	Richard Pococke. Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760 (Edinburgh).
MACDONALD, J.	1918-1925	Notes on the Medical and Scientific History of Inverness. Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, ix, 50-82.
MACDONALD, K.	1880-1883	Inverness in the Eighteenth Century. Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, ii, 213-217.
	1895-1899	Queen Mary's Inverness. Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, v, 263-292.
MACKAY, W. and BOYD, H.C.	1911	Records of Inverness Vol, I: Burgh Court Books 1556-86 (Aberdeen University Studies, 45). (Aberdeen).
MACKAY, W. & LAING, G.S.	1924	Records of Inverness, Vol. II: Burgh Court Books 1602-1637; Minutes of the Town Council 1637-88 (Aberdeen University Studies, 99) (Aberdeen).

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H., GELLING, M., and RICHARDS, M. 1970 The Names of the Towns and Cities in Britain (London).

PRYDE, G.S. 1965 The Burghs of Scotland (London).

ROSS, A. 1880-83 Old Inverness. Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, ii, 64-92

1912-18 Some More Notes on Inverness. Transactions of the Inverness Scientific and Field Club viii, 283-302

SINCLAIR, J (ed) 1793 The Statistical Account of Scotland IX (Edinburgh).

CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES

ORDNANCE SURVEY 1:2500 County Series, 1:2500 Series, Latest Edition.

P.R.B. 1832 Reports upon the Parliamentary Boundaries of Scotland.

WOOD, J. 1821 Wood's Town Atlas, 1818-28.