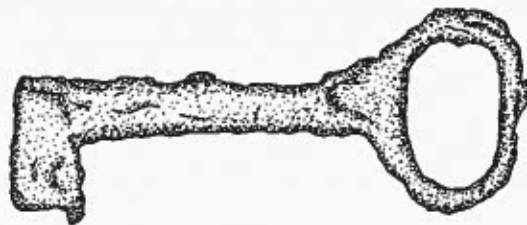


Excavations at the
Deserted Settlement
of
Easter Raitts, Badenoch

1997 Interim Report:
Structures 21 and 24 and Feature 14



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Sponsored by
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The cover illustration shows the iron key found among the stones of the wall beside the entrance threshold in Structure 24A, at a scale of 1:1.

1.0 Introduction

This report describes the results of a third season of excavation at the deserted township of Easter Raitts in Badenoch, in which two turf and stone longhouses, a smaller structure and a cobbled yard were investigated. The field team consisted largely of students on the Certificate in Field Archaeology course sponsored jointly by the University of Aberdeen and Highland Council, who worked on the excavation as part of their training in field techniques. The work was undertaken with the support of the Highland Vernacular Buildings Trust, Highland Council and the University of Aberdeen.

The settlement of Easter Raitts (centred at NGR NH 7774 0228) lies about 2 km north-east of Kingussie; it overlooks the floor of the strath, the river Spey and the early eighteenth-century military installation of Ruthven Barracks (see Fig 2). The settlement occupies a terrace composed of fluvio-glacially deposited sands and gravels. The land in its immediate neighbourhood, although somewhat improved through drainage, has never been intensively farmed; it is presently under pasture.

The settlement lies within two tumbled stone dykes (see Fig 3). One, running north-south downslope along its western edge, may be contemporary with the settlement, as a well-defined gap in it admits a metalled track, still visible winding through the settlement. The other, which runs east-west along the contour at the settlement's southern limit, is probably a late addition, as it incorporates the long wall of at least one house. To the north an area of wet, marshy ground borders the settlement, rising beyond to the low, wooded foothills of the Monadhliath mountains, and a burn flows west on that side. Another burn defines the township's eastern limits. The settlement consists of the low, turf-clad remains of 18 sub-rectangular buildings, and among these are other features, including the remains of a corn drying kiln, rick stacks, lengths of bank, platforms and scooped features.

A topographic survey of the township, carried out in 1995 by AOC (Scotland) Ltd, recorded these structures and other features (Dalland and Smith 1995). Subsequently, an archaeological evaluation undertaken by the Centre for Field Archaeology established that occupation horizons and structural features were generally well-preserved in several of the buildings (Cameron 1995). The Highland Vernacular Buildings Trust therefore decided to use the results of excavations at Easter Raitts as a basis for their partial reconstruction of the township at the Highland Folk Park in Newtonmore. The project also appeared highly suitable for a training excavation as part of the Certificate in Field Archaeology course.

The 1996 season of excavation, directed by Jonathan Wordsworth, focused on two buildings, Structures 9 and 10 (see Fig 3). Structure 9 was provisionally interpreted as a house, while Structure 10 proved to be a barn with a drain leading out to the marshy ground.

The 1997 excavations continued this programme of investigation, opening trenches over two structures and one feature in the eastern half of the settlement (see Figs 3 and 4). Structure 21 appeared before excavation to be a relatively well-preserved longhouse, its remains consisting of low, turf-clad stone footings. Aligned roughly east-west, it had what appeared to be two entrances, near the western and eastern ends of its south wall. Its main part measured 10 m (east-west) and 3.5 m wide internally, with a narrower annexe, 4 m long (east-west) and 3 m wide, built against its eastern end.

Structure 24, to the south-west, appeared to be a multi-phase building. Its eastern element was a long, subrectangular structure (24A), measuring 9 m long (east-west) and 4 m wide internally; its north wall consisted of turf-clad boulders sitting against a steep, short slope, while the disturbed remains of its long south wall survived as intermittent, turf-clad boulders. The east gable wall was missing, and the position of the original entrance was not obvious, given the ruined state of the south wall. A smaller structure (24B) sat slightly higher, above the western end of 24A, and on a more westerly alignment. It measured 4 m long (east-west) and 2.5 m wide internally with an entrance on the south. The fabric of this building contained much more stone and was surrounded by more tumble than the eastern structure. Abutting it on the south was an amorphous, stony feature, variously interpreted (on the basis of surface remains) as a heap of tumble, a curving wall or another structure.

Immediately west of this, Feature 14 appeared on the surface as a large scooped or hollowed area, roughly 6 m square, defined by two sharp, linear breaks of slope forming an angular cut. Stones were visible along the breaks of slope.

These three areas were chosen for excavation both because of their potential suitability for reconstruction at the Highland Folk Park in Newtonmore (see Section 3), and for the likelihood that they would yield evidence for the occupation, evolution and abandonment of the settlement.

2.0 The Historical and Archaeological Context

The deserted settlement of Easter Raitts lies in the parish of Alvie, in the area known from at least the thirteenth century as (in one form or another) Badenoch (see Fig 1). The name, of Gaelic origin, refers either to the landscape's wooded, bushy nature or to its tendency to flood (Anderson 1790, 1).

The valley of the River Spey, of which Badenoch is part, forms a natural corridor through the northern central Highlands, linking Aberdeenshire to the east, the Moray coastal plain to the north and Lochaber to the west; latterly, after Wade built his military road, it also linked these areas to Drumochter Pass and Perth to the south. As such, Badenoch must always have attracted travellers and settlers. Traces of prehistoric activity in a 20 km radius of the site include a cairn and stone circle at Delfour, a chambered cairn at Newtonmore and the Iron Age hillfort of Dun-da-

Lamh. Within half a kilometre of Easter Raitts are a cairn, a burnt mound and a large souterrain.

Badenoch's strategic position has made it a highly contested and valued piece of land since at least the thirteenth century, when Norman nobles came into possession of it. The Manor of Rait, in which Easter Raitts lies, was owned by the de Rait family in the late 1200s (Grant and Cheape 1987, 38). Also in the thirteenth century the Norman noble John Comyn built a castle on the natural mound now occupied by the ruined Ruthven Barracks, but the Comyns subsequently lost control of their lands in Badenoch through disloyalty to Robert the Bruce. He incorporated them into an earldom of Moray, which he then bestowed upon his nephew, Thomas Randolph, in 1314 (Shepherd 1835, 67).

By 1371, the lands had passed into the Stuart family under the lordship of Alexander, the fourth son of Robert II, otherwise known as the Wolf of Badenoch (or sometimes as *Alastair mor mac an Righ*, 'Big Alexander, son of the king'). Alexander had his base at the Comyn-built castle at Ruthven, within a few kilometres (and in view) of the site of Easter Raitts. He had an unstable relationship with the local population and the church: he burned the towns of Forres and Elgin, for which he was excommunicated, although he was later absolved (ibid, 68).

A church had been established at Kingussie since at least 1203, and possibly much earlier, although its antiquity is unknown. It was dedicated to St. Columba, and some writers have suggested it was founded by Columba himself on his travels from Dunkeld to Inverness. Although its position between the two places does make the theory an attractive one, without direct evidence it must remain speculation. However, firm evidence of the church's existence in 1203 survives in the form of a charter, granted by William the Lion in that year, which presented the Bishop of Moray with, among others, the 'Church of Kinguscy'. Another document of 1226 refers to the churches of 'Kingusy and Inche' and their manses (MacPherson 1893, 119).

In 1380, the church and the Wolf of Badenoch clashed when the latter demanded the Bishop of Moray's presence at the standing stones of the 'Rathe of Kingussie' to show his titles to lands the church held in the Lordship of Badenoch, including 'lands of the chapels of Rate and Nachton'; the bishop protested, but the Wolf prevailed (ibid, 121). The following year, however, he formally abandoned his claims on these lands, and in return the bishop ceded ground in Rothiemurchus.

By 1452 the lands which included the site of Easter Raitts had passed to the first Earl of Huntly, in return for his services to James II at Brechin. By the late fifteenth century, however, the portion of their land belonging to the Manor of Rait appear to have passed to the Mackintoshes of Borlum (Grant and Cheape 1987, 38). In the early nineteenth century traditions lingered of a priory at Kingussie; Shaw, an early ecclesiastical historian of Badenoch, claims the priory was founded in 1490 by an Earl of Huntly, and was reassumed by the family after the Reformation (Shepherd 1835, 68).

The earliest cartographic reference to settlement at Raitts is Blaeu's map of 1654, which is based on Pont's work of the 1580s and '90s. It shows three settlements, named (from west to east) West Rait, Mid Rait and Rait. The first edition Ordnance Survey six-inch map (Sheet LXXXVII, 1872) also shows three groups of mostly ruined settlements; it calls the westerly one Upper Raitts, the central one Baldow and the south-easterly one Kerrowdow. Those shown on the Ordnance Survey map very likely correspond to the three groups of remains surviving: the well-defined settlement currently under investigation, a smaller group of buildings c 250 m to the west, and another small group c 100 m south-east of the central one. The settlements shown on Blaeu's map may also represent these remains, although given their positions the most easterly one, Rait, might be the site of the supposed Norman castle to the east of the known ruins (perhaps near the site of the later Brigadier Mackintosh's house and present-day Balavil; see below). In any case, the settlement under investigation here may never have been called 'Easter Raitts'; Mid Rait or Baldow are more likely candidates for its name. However, for the sake of continuity from earlier studies (e.g., Cameron 1995 and Dalland and Smith 1995) and until its proper name is confirmed, the name Easter Raitts continues in use in this report to refer to the largest and most central of these three groups of remains.

Easter Raitts lay less than a kilometre from and overlooking a medieval road (Scarlett 1988) which passes just below the large souterrain (see Fig 2), known in the nineteenth century as *An Uaimh Mhoir*, 'The Great Cave' (ibid, 409). A story which reappears in many sources and various forms describes how members of the Macniven clan, having raided cattle from and insulted the local Macphersons and been pursued by them, successfully hid for some time in the souterrain, which is exceptionally large; the inhabitants of a nearby hut (or, according to some sources, a cottage built over the cave) kept them supplied with food, and they entered and left the souterrain by raising one of the flags of its roof. A wily Macpherson called Allaster Caint disguised himself as a beggar and went to the cottage; he eventually discovered the robbers' hiding place, and they were all extracted and massacred (MacPherson 1893, 408; Scarlett 1988, 33; MacDonald 1835, 88). The original written source for this story, 'Old Biallid', places its occurrence in the fourteenth century.

Whatever the veracity of this story, travellers on the medieval road must have been vulnerable to bandits and often (as the second quote below suggests) to control by blackmail. The same was true of its successor, the military road built by General Wade in the early eighteenth century, which linked Perth and Inverness. One Brigadier Mackintosh (of the Mackintoshes of Borlum, an owner of the Raitts estate imprisoned for his part in the 1715 Jacobite uprising) wrote "A Short Scheme whereby it is proposed by the help of the Military Road made by Lieut. Gen. Wade . . . effectually to stop Depredations and Theft so frequently committed and so destructive to the Northern Counties of Scotland" (Scarlett 1988, 35). His own grandson, however, turned highwayman and "disgraced his clan and descent by highway robbery, committed not in the old legitimate piratical way of levying blackmail, but by attacking travellers" (Dr. Carruthers, quoted in MacPherson 1893, 258).

The military's intensive occupation of this part of Badenoch in the first half of the eighteenth century must have had profound effects on local people's lives. A later writer describes the moral "pollution" which followed the soldiers, mostly in the form of prostitutes who took up residence in the townships near the barracks (MacPherson 1893, 31). The military, in league with the clergy, imposed certain rules on local life. The parish records, extant only from the 1720s, suggest a certain disregard among the inhabitants for the behaviour thought proper by both ministers and occupying forces; they list offences including fist fights, fiddling and fishing on the Sabbath as well as prostitution (ibid, 30-38).

The estate of Raitts was sold by the Mackintoshes in 1788 to James Macpherson, the controversial translator of ancient Gaelic (so-called Ossianic) poetry. He had been born at Ruthven village and worked as schoolmaster there for several years (MacPherson 1893, 255; Shepherd 1835, 70). When he bought the Raitts estate, he renamed it Belleville (later Gaelicised to Balavil), pulled down the "old highland domicile" of Brigadier Mackintosh and built in its place an elegant mansion, using local labourers. Mrs. Grant, a local lady, wrote in 1790: "Only think how this [house] must dazzle people accustomed to look on glass windows as a luxury, and on floors as convenient but by no means necessary appendages to a building" (quoted in MacPherson 1893, 260).

Our knowledge of how people built and lived in their houses in the post-medieval Highlands comes from several sources. These include contemporary observers' descriptions such as those of Burt (1756) and Grant (1794), later ethnographic work such as I F Grant's (1961), and archaeological investigations such as Fairhurst's (1968). In general, houses were built of stone and turf -- with walls sometimes of cut turves built upon low stone footings, sometimes largely of drystone construction or pointed with clay, and sometimes with alternating layers of stone and turf. In most cases, these walls were thick and built with a broad batter, and they were not load-bearing. The thatched roof was supported by timber couples or crucks, seated in the foundations or resting on stone pads on the ground. Each pair of crucks was bound together at the top and supported the 'roof-tree', which lay parallel to the axis of the house and formed the apex of the roof. This form of architecture was well-suited to the available materials in most parts of the Highlands. It also had the advantages of being easily renewable -- one source says such a house could be built, with co-operative effort, in a day (Grant 1961, 149) -- and of creating fertiliser, in the form of smoke-permeated roofs and turf walls, for the fields.

Detailed descriptions of vernacular houses in Inverness-shire come from the letters of Edmund Burt, an Army officer serving under Wade, written between 1724 and 1728. He described a Highland settlement as "composed of a few huts for dwellings, with barns and stables, and both the latter are of a more diminutive size than the former, all irregularly placed, some one way, some another, and at any distance look like so many heaps of dirt" (Burt 1756, 99).

He described a typical Highland hut as formed of a skeleton of crooked timbers, supporting a much larger roof beam; the weight of this beam (the roof-tree) helped the house resist gusts of wind. The walls generally stood about 4 feet high, and were lined with panels of wattling, with an outer skin and roof of cut turves.

"When the hut has been built some time, it is covered with weeds and grass", and sheep sometimes stepped onto the roof from adjacent slopes to feed on it; worms were also known, in dry weather, to drop from the ceiling for want of moisture. The floors were of earth, uneven and usually damp except by the fire and in the corners.

Although turf walls provided good insulation, heavy rain would make its way through the smoke-permeated thatch to drip blackly on the house's inhabitants; rain which came through the roof had its own name in Gaelic -- *snighe* (Grant 1961, 151). The peat fire occupied the centre of the hut, and the smoke escaped partly through a hole in the roof and partly through its fabric. With typical snideness Burt compares the appearance of a smoking roof to "a fuming dunghill removed and fresh piled up again, and pretty near the same in colour, shape and size." He adds: "By the way, the Highlanders say they love the smoke; it keeps them warm", but opined that it gave them sore eyes and even caused blindness (88-102).

MacPherson carried out wide improvements on his estate and these apparently involved moving the inhabitants of Easter Raitts to another location, presumably to free their land for sheep. Local and family tradition says the settlement was cleared in 1803 (B Ramsay, pers comm), and the last inhabitant is thought to have left by 1839 (Rental Books of the Balavil Papers). The village of Lynchat, at the base of the terrace on which the old settlement lies, was newly established by 1835 (MacDonald 1835, 93), and it may be that those living in Easter Raitts were moved there (see Fig 2).

The ways of life and material culture of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Highland people have been thoroughly documented and described by I F Grant (Grant 1924; Grant 1961). The Old and New Statistical Accounts, compiled by parish ministers at the end of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth, also provide a detailed contemporary account (if generally biased toward the Improvements) of the people's living conditions and modes of subsistence, and how they changed in these unsettling decades. The accounts for the parishes of Alvie and Kingussie, written in 1792 and 1790 respectively, describe a relatively difficult and insecure existence for minor tenants. People at this social level would have made up most of the population of a settlement like Easter Raitts, which lay in Alvie parish but on the edge of Kingussie parish.

The land was divided into small units of up to 20 acres, and the main tenant would employ subtenants, providing a cottage and up to 3 acres in exchange for assistance with farming (Gray 1981). They sowed oats, rye, barley and potatoes, but the climate was not kind to crops, and late frosts and early mildews would frequently spoil part of the harvest (Gordon 1792, 2). Some tenants kept a few sheep and goats, but black cattle were the main object of farming and source of cash; they were fattened each summer at shielings in the hills (ibid; Anderson 1790, 196).

The ministers writing the first statistical accounts for Alvie and Kingussie both (typically) described their parishioners as brave, hospitable and polite, but inclined to drink and quarrel; few could read, and the ministers tended to despair of their moral education. One author of the second statistical account wrote that the

parish register "is filled up with disagreeable narratives of sexual immoralities and public exhibitions of feigned repentance on the cutty-stool" (MacDonald 1835, 87).

Comments by both ministers illuminate different attitudes to the military presence in each parish. The inhabitants of Alvie parish were "extremely averse to the military" (Gordon 1792, 5), while those in Kingussie were "inclined to martial enterprise" (Anderson 1790, 201). These differing attitudes almost certainly lingered from the Hanoverian occupation of Ruthven Barracks, which had ended only half a century earlier. Those living in Kingussie parish, which included the barracks, may have known soldiers personally, have benefited economically from their presence and been influenced to join their ranks. Those living slightly farther away, in Alvie parish, may have felt only the military's intrusive presence and stern discipline, and not the personal contacts and benefits which could have sweetened those experiences. Those living in Easter Raitts (in Alvie parish) would have been in constant sight of the barracks, as well as the military road, although separated from the former by marshy ground; given this position, they may have shared the latter views.

Ministers for both parishes bemoaned the tenants' general lack of ambition, saying they preferred their subsistence farming to learning a trade or to working as day labourers for the estates (Anderson 1790, 202; Gordon 1792, 5). They also both condemn the small holdings and short leases granted to tenants, which effectively put them at the mercy of their landlords in a system one minister described as worse than feudal (Anderson 1790, 199). The ministers blamed this system for the people's unwillingness to adopt better agricultural practices or build more substantial houses: with no security of tenure, they had no motivation to improve the land they farmed or build houses which would last.

The second statistical accounts, compiled in the mid-1830s, show changes taking place in local society. Small tenants continued to farm in the same way, in rigs held communally, using both infield and outfield. They continued to build their "wretched hovels" in a similar manner, with "a few wooden couples, joined together with cross spars, and covered with a turf roof, that requires to be renewed almost every second year" (MacDonald 1835, 91). Leases were still short and harvests still uncertain. However, much formerly barren land had been improved and brought under cultivation, and in general tenants were more inclined to partake in the spirit of improvement. The minister for Kingussie notes that large areas had been converted from smallholdings to sheep walks, and expresses a wish that this could be reversed in order to slow the pace of emigration from the parish (Shepherd 1835, 80).

Education in the 1830s was much more widely available, with a private school established at Raitts and even older people being taught to read. Gaelic was by then losing ground to English, especially among the young. The minister for Alvie observed two illuminating contrasting cultural currents. He wrote (on the subject of prevailing winds): "The ignorant country people, particularly the old, who are strongly wedded to the absurd superstitions of their venerated ancestors, consider the whirlwind as indicative of a procession of the imaginary beings called fairies"; he added with satisfaction that such superstition was quickly eroding (MacDonald 1835, 82). Only paragraphs later, however, he records that the cairn

and standing stones at Delfour, a mile west of Alvie church, were still held in such veneration that, although they stood inconveniently in the middle of a ploughed field, farmers always carefully avoided disturbing them (ibid, 87).

These two observations capture the enormous cultural changes taking place here in the first half of the nineteenth century. Highland people, including those who lived at Easter Raitts, were being brought perforce into a modern, capitalist, rational society and, through the engines of improvement and education, being made to conform to it. Within only a few generations, resulting changes in people's world views and ways of life had been pervasive. We would probably recognise those living in (for example) late nineteenth century Lynchat or Kingussie as our antecedents, not greatly different from ourselves. Those living in pre-clearance Easter Raitts, however, would have been very different; they belonged to a different society and culture.

From this perspective, the settlement at Easter Raitts offers an archaeological portrait of a society which had adapted and developed, through centuries of practice, so that it could function in a harsh climate through a rural subsistence agricultural economy; this way of working was intimately linked to the people's understanding of nature and society and their own place within both. That society had changed, certainly, over the centuries, but the changes had been very gradual compared to the rapid and large-scale transformations imposed on it in the nineteenth century.

While the contemporary written accounts of Highland ways of life offer detailed observations and information on certain aspects of that life, they were all written by the educated, who by their integration into modern society had become, or always had been, outsiders. The archaeology of Easter Raitts is another kind of record: an incidental one, created through the everyday living of its inhabitants -- people otherwise, to us, voiceless -- over what may have been a long period of time. In this sense it gives another, richer dimension to our understanding of life in the settlement.

3.0 Aims and Objectives

The general aims of the excavations, as set out in Section 1, were twofold: to provide evidence of the buildings' construction and the nature of their occupation, to be used in their reconstruction at the Highland Folk Park in Newtonmore; and to train those working on the project in techniques of archaeological excavation and recording. The specific objectives of the 1997 season were to answer certain questions about the construction and use of Structures 21 and 24 and Feature 14 (see Fig 3).

The excavation of Structure 21, with its main element (A) and annexe (B), sought to establish:

- when the house was used and when it was abandoned;

- how it was built and what internal features would contribute to a picture of the house in use;
- the function of the annexe; and
- whether the annexe was contemporary with the construction of the main part, or whether it had been added later.

The excavation of the apparently earlier building (24A), the smaller, stonier structure (24B) and the scooped feature (14) were designed to establish:

- the nature of the longer building's (24A's) construction;
- what internal features survived to illuminate the nature of its occupation;
- the function of the smaller structure (24B);
- the chronological and structural relationships between the two; and
- the nature and function of Feature 14, and its relationship, if possible to Structure 24B.

4.0 Methodology

The answers to these questions were sought in the following way (see Fig 4). In Structure 21, a trench 9 m long (east-west) by 2.8 m wide was opened across the interior of the western part (21A). A slot 2.7 m wide extended south 1.7 m from this over what was thought to be the entrance, and two slots, each 2 m wide, were dug across the south and north walls, the northern slot extending 4.4 m to the wall of the large enclosure to the north. Another trench, 3 m long (east-west) by 2.7 m wide, was opened over the smaller annexe (21B). Extensions were opened 1 m to the south across the entrance and across the east wall, in a slot 2.8 m long and 1 m wide. The two trenches were joined by an extension 2 m (east-west) by 1.4 m at the intersection between 21A and 21B.

In Structure 24, a trench 16 m long (east-west) was opened across Structures 24A and B, with a 5.7-m leg aligned north-east/south-west across Feature 14, at a right angle to its north-east edge. The trench measured 2 m wide across Structure 24A, 4 m wide across 24B and 2.4 m wide across Feature 14. Two slots, the western one measuring 3.5 m north-south by 2.2 m and the eastern 2.8 m north-south by 2.1 m, were dug across the north wall of Structure 24A, and another, 4.4 m long (north-south) by 2 m wide, was opened across the south wall.

The trenches were de-turfed by spade and cleaned by trowel. Each was planned and photographed at the pre-excavation stages. Layers were planned and then generally removed in spits, and negative features identified were planned, half-sectioned and recorded. In order to establish relationships between various contexts, several slots were dug in both trenches. The positions of finds were recorded in three dimensions. Samples were taken of any contexts likely to yield paleoenvironmental, dietary or dating information.

5.0 Results

This section first treats the main, western part of the structure (21A), moving west to east along its interior and then to the areas investigated outside it to the north and south. It then describes the excavation results at the eastern end of the building (21B). Figure 5 illustrates the discussion.

5.1 Structure 21

5.1.1 The western part (21A)

Before excavation, the walls of Structure 21A were visible as partly turf-clad stone footings, one course (up to 0.8 m) high and c 0.7 m wide, consisting of two skins of boulders with a core of small, angular rubble. Removal of the turf and initial cleaning exposed wedges of stone rubble and soil abutting the walls on either side, especially inside the north and south walls and outside the south wall (21007, 21005 and 21003). The rubble, made up of angular fist-sized stones (up to 0.2 m in diameter) and some larger boulders (up to 0.6 m across) in a compact, dark brown, humic matrix, was interpreted as having tumbled from the walls after the building's abandonment. The compact humic matrix, which occurred as discrete lumps between and below the stones, appeared to be the decayed remains of turves from the walls' collapsed superstructure. The relatively small amount of stone in the tumble could suggest that the walls had been built of turves against a drystone skin, both of which rested upon a dwarf wall, represented by and perhaps never higher than the surviving footings. Alternatively, the walls might have been built of interleaving layers of stone and turf (Walker and McGregor 1996, 17).

Embedded in and sealed beneath the tumble were finds consistent with a building's abandonment: fragments of a glass lamp and a bottle outside the south wall and, inside the structure, the foot of a spade, a flat iron, the base of an iron cooking pot, an iron hook for suspending a pot, a gun flint and abundant sherds of post-medieval pottery. The pottery appeared to be of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century date.

The finds sealed beneath the tumble inside the structure were embedded in a layer interpreted as the accumulated rubbish of abandonment (21039). A dark brown, root-penetrated humic silt, it extended over most of the interior and partly overlay features such as the central hearth. Organic rubbish dumped in the house, sheep droppings and turves fallen from the walls all may have decayed and contributed to this layer's formation.

This abandonment layer sealed features contemporary with the last occupation of the house, as well as a compact, greasy, dark brown loam interpreted as the final floor of the structure (21006). This floor layer extended over most of the western interior, except where other features occupied the cleaned surface, and occurred patchily in the centre of the house. Its upper part had been penetrated with

fine grass roots, and during initial cleaning this made it difficult, in some places, to distinguish the floor from the abandonment deposit above it. However, the abundant (and less trampled) rubbish in the upper layer and the distinctive greasy and compressed texture of the lower aided distinction. The lower deposit appeared to be a trampled earth floor, laid around certain features, sealing other, earlier ones and partly worn away.

The features around which the latest floor lay, which predated it and were still in use when it was laid, included a central hearth and posthole, a paved area and the possible remains of turf furniture at the western end of the house and, at the eastern end, a linear stone feature (possibly a drain) and two stony platforms. Sealed beneath the latest floor and probably contemporary with some of these features were at least two earlier floors, both of them better preserved at the west end of the structure.

The hearth (21041), which lay in the centre of the west end, had been made from a single grey sandstone block, originally at least 0.6 m square. In its centre was a rectangular well for the fire; the stone may have originally been cut out to contain the fire, or it may have become cracked and shattered over time, and a hollow created by fire been tidied into this rectangular shape. Only heat-shattered fragments of the north and east sides of the block remained *in situ*, and heat had also spalled its south part into a fire-cracked hollow. In the fire well, a thick lens of charcoal and dark humic soil, surrounded by pink-orange peat ash, sat above a layer of loose, burnt, orange sandy silt (21037). The hearth slab's southern edge had been bevelled and polished smooth with wear, as if people had habitually sat and perhaps rested their feet on that side of the fire. The separate slab forming the hearth's western edge was also fire-cracked and spalled in its centre, as if extremely hot objects (such as cooking pots) had been set on it.

Framing the hearth on the south, east and west was a crescent-shaped area of paving. Seven large sandstone flags had been closely set to form a hard floor; their surfaces and edges were worn with use. Lying on this paving was a large, rectangular slab, 0.4 by 0.33 m, with an artificial groove around three sides of it (21008); it seems to have been used to cover something, perhaps a pit, or it may have stood vertically, perhaps acting as a window cover. However, given the relative abundance of wood (cf the charred timber, 21008), wood would have been a more likely candidate for such a function. The slab could have been a fireback, although it showed no signs of scorching.

Immediately east of the hearth, set between it and the paving, was a large, bowl-shaped pit (21122), 0.2 m deep and 0.6 m wide. No post-pipe was visible in the half-section dug through it, but the pit's central position and the nature of its lower fill suggest it once held a post. Its lower fill (21121), a dark red gritty sand, may have been subsoil dug out with the pit and redeposited in its base along with several cobbles to provide packing for a post. Its upper fill (21040), a dark brown loam, was very similar to the abandonment layer (21039), and both contained sherds from the same spongeware pot. It is likely that, if it once contained a wooden post, this was removed when the house was abandoned (which would have been consistent with contemporary practice) and that the vacated pit subsequently received

abandonment debris. A post in that central position might have supported cooking pots suspended over the fire, as well as 'fir candles' (the pieces of ancient pine dug out of peat bogs and burned for light as well as protection against fairies; Grant 1961, 164). The post is unlikely to have been structural (S Whyman, pers comm).

To the west of the hearth, lying within but not sealed by the latest floor (21006), were the remains of what may have been a turf platform (see Fig 5). It was visible at the level of the latest floor as a sub-rectangular patch of very compact, grey-brown loam (21042) containing some cobbles (21025). Excavation showed the loam contained no artefacts (in marked contrast to the floor layer around it) and overlay a compact deposit of more cobbles. A linear concentration of cobbles (21026) also ran north-south and formed a western edge to the feature (see Fig 6). The feature may have been a turf seat or working platform, with the cobbles providing a firm base for a cover of turves. Many fragments of clay pipe, concentrated at the north-east corner of the feature and embedded in the latest floor, may indicate that a smoker habitually sat on the platform, facing the hearth.

In the western part of the house, the latest floor overlay an earlier one which appeared variously as grey-brown trampled silt and charcoal (21118 and 21110) to the north and pink to dark red trampled silt (21126 and 21111) to the south. The latter deposit overlay an earlier floor, of compact reddish silt (21126), partly investigated in a small slot trench (see Fig 6).

Abutting the dark red trampled layer (21111) on the east and also visible at the level of the latest floor (21006) was a linear spread of boulders which curved into a rounded northern terminal (21144). Excavation of a small slot through it showed the stones at the north end lay against, and tipped into, a steep-sided cut filled with dark brown silt (21109). Further investigation showed the cut had held a post (see Fig 6). Rounded stones (21127) set in the base of the cut defined the position of the post, and they contained a post-pipe of black-brown loam with large fragments of wood (21132). Below this deposit, within the stone setting, was a hard, subcircular pad of packed grey silt (21133), possibly compacted by the weight of the post above it.

Although this feature awaits full investigation for its thorough interpretation, it contained evidence for a substantial post placed in a stone setting, which may have been one of the crucks supporting the building's roof. A very large boulder outside the excavation trench in the north wall, immediately opposite the posthole, could have braced the opposite cruck. The cut, however, was not fully understood. It appeared to continue south beyond the posthole, with stones capping it, and the line of stones may run north or north-east toward the hearth or the turf platform. The cut and capping stones could be the remains of a drain or air channel with a post planted in one side of it, but only full excavation will clarify their functions. The cut did seem either to have disturbed or be respected by both the dark red trample (21111) and the reddish silty floor (21126) below it. It may have been a late feature in the life of the house; alternatively, these earlier floors may have been laid around a standing post and to the edge of an existing cut.

Traces of earlier floors were also found south of the paving around the hearth in a box section cut through the deposits there. The latest floor (21006) sealed an earlier one, a brown-black, silty clay (21120), which in turn sealed a layer of black, greasy silt (21124). Below this was the earliest floor exposed in the box section, a compact, light brown, sandy clay containing charcoal flecks (21123); it appeared trampled. Also visible in the box section was a layer of fine, light yellow sand (21125), which lay beneath the flags and had partly slumped out to overlie the earliest floor. The sand may have been laid as a base for the paving stones; it is possible that the earliest floor therefore runs beneath the paving and its sandy base, although this has not yet been investigated. To the north of the paving and hearth, the latest floor overlay patches of an earlier one (21110) which in turn overlay a rough, sparsely cobbled surface (21034), interpreted as a hardcore base for the laid floors.

Immediately east of the paving lay a large plank of charred wood (21004), sealed beneath the abandonment layer and lying on the latest floor. It proved to be made of several long, thin pieces of cut timber, probably once joined by nails (two small iron nails were found in it). The wood had been burnt where it lay, as its bottom surface had not been charred. The slab of timber seems unlikely to have formed part of a floor, as none was found elsewhere in the house. It may have been part of a piece of furniture such as a kist or bench, or it could have been a window lintel or perhaps a fireback, which would account for its one charred side. Unless it was a fireback, its burning was probably a late event, contemporary with or immediately before the house was abandoned; if the house had been occupied after the timber burnt, it would have been trampled and its fragments dispersed, if not removed deliberately. However, it does not seem to have been burnt in a conflagration that affected the whole structure, as no other signs of a late fire were discovered. The timber may have been burnt deliberately, and left there when the house was abandoned (but before its walls collapsed) -- perhaps by squatters or shepherds, or perhaps as part of the occupants' preparations for leaving.

The timber lay partly on the previous floor layer (21120), and partly on an earlier remnant of floor -- a patch of baked clay (21130). This clay lay in several lenses across the centre of the structure, as did patches of unbaked clay (21019). Although the baked and unbaked clay had no direct stratigraphic relationships with each other, it is likely that the baked clay was the remains of a floor which had been worn away and then scorched in an early fire, and that the unbaked clay survived from a subsequent floor, also worn away; both had been finally sealed by the last floor (21006). They lay on an uneven surface of loose, orange-brown gritty silt peppered with cobbles and pebbles, identical to that observed to the west (21034) and interpreted as hardcore laid on the natural subsoil as a base for the floors. This putative hardcore was exposed and recorded, although not excavated.

In the southern part of the house's centre, the second-earliest floor (21120) filled what proved on excavation to be a shallow, amorphous hollow (21138), c 1.4 m wide and 0.15 m deep, curving from beneath the south wall to the edge of the paving (see Figs 5 and 6). Its base was filled with a compact, brown-black greasy silt (21137) which lay around roughly set cobbles. The stones were set in a loose, orange-red gravely sand, possibly natural. What appeared to be a setting of stones

standing on end may have marked a posthole, although no cut for it was visible. The hollow appeared to run beneath the south wall, but no sign of it was observed outside the wall. It seems unlikely to have been a drain, given its broad, shallow dimensions and its relationship to the central hearth (from which drainage would probably not have been necessary). The hollow may have been simply worn into existence through earlier use of the house and filled in and sealed later in its life (and it could, as will be argued below, suggest an earlier entrance to the house mid-way along the south wall). Alternatively, it may have held an internal partition, separating the part of the house occupied by humans from that occupied by animals, or the daytime domestic area from the sleeping quarters.

Dominating the eastern end of the interior was a complex of stony features, which could be interpreted either as sleeping platforms or as the elements of a byre. Two platforms, roughly built of stone overlying dumps of soil, lay north and south of a linear stone feature which ran east-west down the centre of the building's eastern end. The platforms (21115 to the south and 21116 to the north) were constructed of stones set upon mounds of redeposited orange gritty sand and light brown silt; the southern platform was slightly larger, and both had probably been robbed and disturbed after abandonment. The edges of both platforms toward the centre of the building were composed of stones clearly placed to form edges (better preserved in the southern platform) which respected the central feature (21050). This appeared on the surface as a band of small boulders, packed together to lie flush with the hardcore surface to the west. At its east end the band of boulders ran beneath a flat capping of large, blocky slabs (21117) which abutted the wall dividing structures 21A from 21B. The feature could be interpreted either as a walkway between sleeping platforms or as a drain for a byre.

Removal of part of the southern platform revealed what appeared to be a linear cut, running east-west and visible for 2.5 m (see Fig 7). From the surface it appeared to cut through reddish-brown gritty sand (21135), possibly redeposited natural, and to be filled with a dark brown humic silt, but its nature and relationships were not tested through excavation. A section dug through the west end of the putative drain revealed that the packed boulders (21050) lay in the top of a shallow cut (21134), 0.5 m wide with a flat base. Set into the base was another layer of cobbles (21139). Above and around them lay a deposit of loose, brown-black, humic silty clay. The feature had been cut into a red-brown gritty sand which may have been natural.

Although the feature was not fully excavated, it might have functioned as drain by simply catching effluent on the surface of the stones, where it would lie until it was shovelled out. If animals were housed in this part of the building, the platforms would have provided them with hard standing and given them access to the putative drain. A drain between the platforms would imply that the animals were tethered to the north and south walls, so that their hindquarters had access to the drain; however, both platforms are too short (on their north-south axes) for this purpose. It seems more likely that the platforms supported box beds (or beds of hay; cf Burt 1756), and that the central stone feature was a cobbled walkway between them.

To the north-west of the linear stone feature in 21B, extending from the baulk, was a shallow, oval scoop (21049), up to 0.8 m across, packed with small rounded stones (21129) and topped with larger stones. Lying in patches and pockets above and around the smaller stones was a black-brown humic silt (21128) containing pieces of charcoal and several crumbs of low-fired pottery in a fragile, reduced fabric. This was initially interpreted as a sump for the putative drain (21050), but upon investigation the linear feature's cut did not feed into the scoop. It may have been a shallow pit, later filled in deliberately. Whatever its function, the presence of early, residual pottery in its fill may have implications for our understanding of the structure's lifespan, a possibility discussed further in Section 5.1.3.

The exterior of the structure was investigated to a limited extent. On the south, two extensions to the main trench were excavated. The western extension was dug through what was thought to be the structure's entrance (probably mistakenly, as discussed below). It exposed the old ground surface (21029) contemporary with the building's last use, and was stained with what may have been slumped turf from the superstructure (21030 and 21035); one subrectangular patch of fine yellow loam (21027) seemed to be the remains of a discrete turf of loess origin. The eastern extension through the south wall exposed the old ground surface contemporary with the building's construction; it showed the stone footings resting on a thin layer of leached humic soil above a mineralised surface (21021). A band of cobbles extending from the wall at the east side of the trench may have been deliberately set there; excavation proved that they were set into the natural subsoil.

An extension was also excavated through the north wall, up to the wall of the enclosure (a possible kailyard) to the north (see Fig 3). This revealed the outer skin of the wall's stone footings (21009) resting on the old ground surface. The inner skin was mostly disturbed (probably as the wall collapsed inward), but a ledge composed of small slabs lay on the inner edge of the wall, above the level of the eroded floor. This ledge may have supported crucks for the roof, or perhaps an inner, insulating skin of turf or wattle.

Outside, echoing the line of the wall and abutting the stone footings, was a sloping deposit of dark brown compact silt (21010) which ran beneath a concentration of cobbles (21012) to the north (see Fig 5). Excavation of these deposits showed the dark brown silt to be the latest in a series of turf slumps, each earlier slump more leached than the next (see Fig 8). These suggest that the walls consisted of turf built against (and then above) the stone footings as a battered outer skin; the walls were regularly replaced as they slumped, each time leaving some residue on the ground beside the footings.

The cobbles appear to have been dumped into a hollow, worn into the ground surface by the passage of feet between the structure's north wall and the large enclosure to the north. They were placed there presumably to consolidate ground made muddy through being saturated and then churned by traffic. The cobbling and hollow appear contemporary with the building's latest turf wall, as the preceding turf slump ran beneath them.

The series of turf slumps sealed a bowl-shaped posthole (21103; see Fig 8), measuring 0.45 m across and 0.16 m deep. Its lower fill, a loose, dark orange gravely sand (21102), was probably natural subsoil redeposited as packing material for the post; its upper fill was a loose dark brown silt, which did not appear to be a postpipe. The posthole lay immediately next to a large stone, part of the wall footings; its surface bore a vertical scorch mark, just opposite the posthole. The bottom of the boulder had been fire-cracked, and the broken piece of stone was missing. This combination of evidence indicates that a post previously occupying the posthole had burnt, the vertical scorch mark a shadow of its burning. When the post was replaced (from the paucity of charcoal in either fill), the fragment of stone had evidently been cleared away.

This evidence for an extensive fire may tie in with the patches of baked clay inside the building; it cannot, however, be contemporary with the charred timber plank, given the latter's late stratigraphic position and relatively intact condition. The posthole's location outside the structure sits uneasily with what we know of the building's architecture. The posthole in the southwest corner and its putative opposite number suggest crucks were placed internally so that they could be braced against the walls; this is consistent with both structural common sense and contemporary building practice. The post outside the north wall may not have supported the main structure itself, but an outbuilding or lean-to of which no other evidence was found in the excavated slot.

5.1.2 The eastern part (21B)

The eastern end of structure 21, called here 21B, abuts the main part of the building, but its south wall is slightly inset from the line of 21A's south wall (see Fig 5). This wall appears to be keyed into the cross-wall between the two parts of Structure 21, although this was not established with certainty.

The walls of structure 21B are of similar construction to those of 21A: two skins of large stone footings, with small angular stones in the core. Outside the structure, they rested on the old ground surface (21070, 20172); near the south wall this had been sprinkled with gravel and small cobbles (21065) to firm the surface.

The interior was covered with a compact, brown-grey humic silt (21060), interpreted as a layer of decayed vegetation which had accumulated after the building's abandonment. Visible in this layer, along the inside of the south wall, was a deposit of dark brown humic soil (21068), which may be evidence that an inner turf skin had slumped and decayed during the post-abandonment phase. These abandonment layers sealed several components of flooring, as well as a posthole and a curving structure, possibly a kiln.

The entrance had become hollowed through use, wearing into an red-brown sandy silt (21084) which may have been the natural subsoil; it was partly exposed but not excavated. Lining the entrance was a large stone block with a natural (iron-stained) criss-cross pattern on the flat side facing the entrance; it may have been selected for that position because of its distinctive appearance. The hollowed

entrance was filled with a compact, greasy, grey-brown silt (21085) which also extended around the hard flooring covering much of the interior.

The interior flooring consisted of several elements. Two large slabs (21067) formed a barrier or partition to the left of the entrance as one entered; they might have supported a higher partition, perhaps of hurdling, forming a small stall. A rectangle of paving (21090) occupied the north side, while a neatly defined area of cobbling (21091) formed a hard surface in the north-east corner. The cobbles clustered around a large, naturally occurring boulder sitting against the east wall; one of the stone footings in the wall had been cut to fit around the boulder. A discrete area on the boulder's top was lightly pecked, indicating it may have been used for some industrial process.

In the south-west quadrant, the floor sloped down from the walls, apparently eroded through use. This was particularly obvious along the south wall, where smaller stones (21092) had been tucked into the gap beneath one large stone footing to support it as the floor wore away (see Fig 5). This part of the floor had been roughly metalled with pebbles set into orange-brown gritty sand (21074), which may have been natural or redeposited natural (it was not excavated). In the south-west corner was a posthole, defined by several small, block-like stones sitting on end in a shallow cut (21081).

Dominating the north-west corner was a stone structure (21087), defined by a discrete curving band of boulders on the south, the curve carried northward by cobbles set into a layer of coarse orange sand. Within the curve were stones lying in what appeared to be a heap, sloping up to the north-west corner of the trench; excavation of a section through the northern half revealed that the stones lay one or two deep on a thick, sloping deposit of sandy loam containing lenses of charcoal, which itself lay upon a slope of orange-yellow redeposited sandy clay. This feature was not fully investigated, but it appears to be the collapsed remains of a curving stone structure, its outer wall defined by the curving band of boulders and cobbles, which may have supported a stone superstructure represented by the stones overlying the heaps of loam and clay. It could have been a kiln of some kind, although neither the stones nor the underlying deposits appeared heat-affected.

Patches of a gritty yellow clay (21086) were observed in the grey-brown silt forming the floor around the paving and cobbles; a box section cut through the upper deposit just inside the entrance confirmed that this constituted a lower floor, partly worn away and overlying orange-brown gravely sand (21084). Also exposed in the box section was a small posthole (21088), defined by a long thin stone sitting upright in a small cut at the entrance.

5.1.3 Discussion of Structure 21

The partial excavation of this building established its long and complex habitation and the manner of its construction. Yet to be determined, however, are the precise function of the annexe, the definite chronological and structural relationships of the annexe to the main part of the building, and the full historical development of the main element's interior.

The focal point of the western part of Structure 21 seems to have been the hearth. Centrally placed and the source of heat, light and cooked food, it would have drawn the inhabitants of the house around it. The many fragments of clay pipe near its west side suggest a smoker usually sat there, perhaps on the putative turf platform. People may have also habitually sat to the south of the hearth, on the paving there, as its bevelled southern edge was worn smooth from the touch of hands; alternatively, they might have sat on a bench or kist against the south wall, and their feet, resting on the hearth slab, polished the edge. They seem to have walked mostly on the north side of the hearth and central post, as floors there were worn away and replaced, and the remnants of each layer contained small, trampled sherds of pottery.

Other pieces of evidence contribute to a picture of a house long lived in. The floor level had been eroded about 0.3 m from the base of the north wall's stone footings. New floors had been laid and replaced at least three times, and the house had recovered from a fire which affected at least its central part, scorching an early floor and burning down an external post. The paving stones around the hearth had been in place long enough for their edges to become worn, and the hearth itself -- extremely spalled and fire-cracked -- suggests a long line of perhaps continuously burning fires (experimental work being carried out at Newtonmore will assess how long a hearth would take to reach this state).

The abundant sherds of mass-produced ceramics and glass (most of it from vessels, but a few sherds of possible window-glass) could suggest that the inhabitants of the house owned a surprising number of plates, bowls, dishes and other household items of relatively high quality. However, much of this debris came from the latest floor (21006) and from the later, post-abandonment layers; it may not have all belonged to the inhabitants, but may have been dumped in the empty, ruined house after they left.

While the shallow, stone-packed scoop at the north edge of the eastern end was not fully understood in terms of function, the feature is significant for what it contained: the only pieces of pottery in a fabric pre-dating the mass-produced post-medieval wares ubiquitous elsewhere at Easter Raitts. From the state of the pottery, it appears to be residual, either in its primary or secondary position; it is the one artefactual suggestion that this structure was inhabited before the mass-produced wares came into use on the site. Unfortunately, this time span is both undatable and unquantifiable and the pottery, along with the well-used hearth, worn paving and superimposed floors, only suggests the dwelling's long use without supplying explicit, fixed phasing.

The eastern end of the house may have been used for sleeping quarters, and the stone-packed linear hollow running down the centre of the structure would have provided a path between the bed platforms. It is, however, still possible that the platforms were used for animals, and the stone-packed feature worked as a drain to catch effluent.

Certain location of the building's entrance would clarify this point. The south-west extension was placed over what appeared from surface remains to be the entrance. While the south wall ends abruptly there and is possibly faced at its eastern terminal, the excavated evidence for a supposed entrance way is not convincing, given the presence of a large post blocking the way. More problematic is the fact that if the entrance were here, then animals would have had to be led past the hearth to their berths. This is a feasible scenario, and cattle did have a close association with fire in post-medieval rural Scotland; for example, cattle were driven round the community bonfire at the annual Samhain festival to protect them from harm in the following year, and a cattle plague could be halted by making a 'need fire', used to rekindle and purify all the hearths in the community (Grant 1961, 66-7). However, an arrangement which required cattle to pass the fire each time they entered or left the building would be an extreme and atypical expression of these associations.

If, however, the entrance lies just east of the slot dug through the south wall, the eastern end might well have been a byre. An entrance there was partly suggested by a hollow worn in the floor in this area, and some large stones near the south wall which could have been disturbed steps into the sunken interior. Outside, a linear band of cobbles (21022) could have been the edge of a denuded cobbled apron, like that outside Structure 24A (see Section 5.2.1). A doorway at this point would have allowed access to both the hearth and the byre. No break in the south wall was observed at this point, but it may have been blocked later in the life of the house.

If animals were not housed in the eastern part of Structure 21A, they may have lived in the annexe (21B). Areas of cobbling and paving show that a firm surface was necessary inside it, and a small stall may have been tucked behind the slabs forming a partition inside the entrance, with the posthole in the south-west corner supporting part of its structure. The annexe would not have accommodated large beasts, but it could have held goats, sheep or pigs. A door probably hung on the post which stood in the posthole at the entrance. An unexplained feature is the curving stone structure in the annexe's north-west corner, which requires further investigation to make clear its purpose. Exposing, recording and removing the earlier, gritty yellow floor may also reveal earlier structural features or occupation horizons which would clarify the annexe's history.

Evidence of the building's manner of construction took the form of the stone footings, shown to rest on the old ground surface; the turf slumps observed against the footings outside the north wall; and the large central postpit and the posthole at the south-west end. A cruck in the latter posthole may have had a twin braced against a large boulder in the opposite wall. Along the central part of the north wall, crucks may have been set on a small ledge formed of slabs, set between the inner footings and braced against the outer ones; the inner skin was too disturbed to identify definite cruck slots between them. The small amount of stone tumble and the turf slumps outside the wall suggest the house was built with an external turf armature, probably set on the ground against the dwarf stone wall as a kind of batter and built up to rest on top of it. As each succeeding turf wall decayed and was either augmented from above or completely replaced, a layer of slumped turves was left on the ground, gradually raising its level against the footings. An inner skin of stone may

have provided an interior wearing surface, as the small amount of stone tumble around the structure suggested.

The lone posthole outside the north wall seems to date from early in the life of the house: it burned, and was presumably replaced, when the stone footings were already in place, but before the earliest discernible turf slump occurred, as it was sealed beneath all the slumps. It may have supported an adjacent structure outside. Alternatively, if cattle or people frequently passed the house on this side, as suggested by the hollow worn along it, perhaps another post on that side helped support the wall. However, the full structural implications of the post have yet to be assessed.

The interior of structure 21A was not fully excavated, and therefore its phasing and internal features and floors are not yet completely understood. Full excavation might reveal earlier phases than have yet been uncovered, and in any case would answer questions posed by the excavations so far, yielding a complete picture of the structure's history up to its abandonment.

5.2 Structure 24 and Feature 14

These structures, which comprise the earlier longhouse 24A, the later stone building 24B and the cobbled yard 14, are discussed together, as they constitute one complex with at least two phases (or four sub-phases) of construction and use: the occupation and modification of the longhouse; and the building of a smaller structure above its west end, with the later addition of a platform and the re-use of the longhouse for animals. The phasing of the cobbled yard in relation to the other structures could not be established with certainty. The results are presented beginning with the earliest phase, 24A, at the east end of the trench, and moving west along the structures and through the phases. Figures 9 and 11 illustrate the discussion.

5.2.1 The earlier longhouse (24A)

Before excavation it appeared from surface remains that the western part of Structure 24 (24B) was a later addition to a longhouse (24A), as it sat higher and its fabric contained much more stone than the more ruined, eastern part of the structure. Excavation confirmed this hypothesis and found some evidence for the longhouse's method of construction and its occupation, which spanned two sub-phases.

The longhouse in its excavated state measured just over 9 m long (east-west) and 4 m wide internally. The walls were investigated in three slot trenches, two across the northern wall and one across the southern. The northern wall proved to have been built by first cutting (24041) vertically 0.3 m into the fluvio-glacial sands and gravels of the natural slope (24103, 24022). This allowed the builders to set the wall's large stone footings (24003) at roughly the same level as those of the southern wall, creating a relatively flat surface for the interior.

The wall was built of two skins of large boulders, the northern skin set almost flush against the cut (separated from it only by a thin barrier of dark silt, probably trickled or washed in), and the core packed with smaller stones (see Fig 10). It is likely that a turf skin was built against the outside of the stone footings, probably continuing upward as the turf superstructure built atop the dwarf wall: a wedge-shaped deposit of very compact, yellow-brown loam (24027/24101) lay against the footings above the cut, sealing the old ground surface (24022/102) and sealed by a scatter of boulders in a humic matrix (24037) interpreted as tumble from the wall's final collapse. In the easternmost slot through the north wall, at least three discrete layers of slumped turf could be observed, suggesting the turf skin was replaced and subsided several times. Stones -- resulting in the tumble -- may also have contributed to the superstructure, either as a drystone skin built inside the turf or in layers alternating with turf ones.

The turf-clad remnants of the southern wall were excavated at its west end and partly in its centre. It appeared to have been built by placing boulders -- again in two skins, although they were much more disturbed on this side -- directly on the old ground surface, and filling the core with stone rubble. The eastern end wall was entirely missing, except for a linear spread of leached, grey, degraded turf (24010) lying across the building where the end wall should have been. The degraded turf could be the remains of a turf panel in the gable wall (see Walker and MacGregor 1996, 16). The wall (or at least the turf panel) may have been demolished and replaced intermittently through the structure's life to allow mucking out of manure, and was probably demolished one last time and never replaced.

An alternative interpretation, one suggested by the reconstruction of this house at the Highland Folk Park in Newtonmore, is that the east wall consisted simply of timber members radiating down and out from the end of the roof-tree to give the building a rounded terminal. The bottom ends of the timbers may have rested on stone pads on the ground, with a turf wall built around and between them up to the eaves of the thatched roof (S Whyment, pers comm). Such a method of construction could have left just those traces found in the excavations if the stone pads were later disturbed or removed, as they could easily have been.

A single piece of evidence for the roof's support took the form of a cruck slot (24067), in the south-west corner of the surviving building. This was a rectangular setting formed of closely set stones; it contained a greasy humic post-pipe (24061) in a fill of packed silt (24066). The cruck appears to have been set in the stone frame and had soil and small stones packed around its base, and it probably decayed *in situ*. The setting abutted a very large boulder in the longhouse's south wall, which extended across the line of both the inner and outer skins of footings and probably helped brace the cruck against pressure from the load it bore. On the west, the cruck slot abutted the stone footings of the later structure (24B), placed directly against it, and on the north a rough platform, dating to the later occupation by animals, had been built. These features are discussed below (section 5.2.2).

Several other elements of the longhouse's occupation by humans had survived its later re-use for animals. The most substantial was a central hearth setting (24005), placed west of the entranceway. The hearth itself was a large,

rectangular slab, fire-cracked into four pieces and lightly spalled, with traces of pink peat ash still visible on it (see Fig 9). Framing it on the north and south was a band of closely set cobbles and slabs, some of them also heat-affected. Immediately east of this setting, a large triangular slab lay flat above a pale grey ashy deposit (24017); the slab may have been a backplate for the fire, protecting it from draughts from the doorway and later fallen over onto rakeout from the hearth. A possible interpretation for the band of slabs and cobbles framing the hearth is that it supported a stake-and-rice partition, although no direct evidence for this (such as stakeholes for the wattle panels' sails) was found.

Beneath a layer of scattered stones in a rooty matrix, interpreted as collapsed superstructure, most of the interior was covered with a dark brown humic silt (24006) accumulated during its later re-use, and overlying a roughly cobbled or hardcore surface (24031). Floor levels contemporary with the house's occupation had been mostly worn away by the later re-use. However, patches of a clay or beaten earth floor (24035) survived along the north wall, and a slot dug across the interior found a shallow deposit of charcoal-rich, grey-black clay loam (24038) filling a hollow worn just inside the entrance.

Negative evidence for an internal partition survived in the form of two depressions running along either side of a faint ridge across the interior, between the doorway and the hearth (see Fig 9). The depressions may have been caused by traffic on either side of a partition, although no stakeholes or other structural evidence survived.

Very small sherds of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century pottery were found trampled into the hardcore surface, as well as an iron belt buckle. A whetstone bearing knife marks lay near the hearth, in the dark humic silt (24006) attributed to the latest (animal re-use) phase. Given the absence of preserved floor layers, it is difficult to place the other finds in the lifespan of the house. They may date to just before the building's abandonment by humans, but the later disturbance of the interior distorts the picture.

The southern slot exposed the longhouse's original entrance (see Fig 9). It was defined by a rectangular threshold stone (24016) framed by two lines of stones; the edges of the threshold stone were polished with wear. The stone itself had been placed on deep hillwashed deposits; no objects (as might be expected beneath the threshold of a Highland longhouse) were found beneath it. However, a small iron key (find no. 598) was found wedged between two stones in the wall just beside it (see cover illustration). The key may have been dropped there, but it may have been deliberately put there (see discussion below).

The doorway led outside onto a cobbled apron (24023), formed of closely packed rounded stones, neatly defined on the south by a shallow step. Small sherds of pottery and glass were found lying on and trampled between the cobbles, especially just in front of the entrance. Directly south of the apron is a small, scooped feature with a slight turf-clad bank defining its south side, and lush grass growing inside it. This may have been the longhouse's midden; rubbish would have been carried out the front door to be dumped just down the slope, and sherds of

broken crockery must have occasionally been dropped on the way and become pressed among the cobbles of the apron.

Later in the life of the house the entranceway was remodelled: a wedge-shaped facade (24030) was added on the west side, formed of boulders laid on windblown soil accumulated on the cobbles; this facade extended from the doorway's west edge about a metre and then turned sharply to rejoin the south wall to the west. It may have been added to provide shelter from the prevailing wind and keep draughts from entering by the door. A stone-framed gap (24025) at the southern end of the facade may have held a post, set upon a gravel base, which supported a porch superstructure.

With its entrance roughly halfway along one long wall and its hearth near one end, the longhouse may have been a byre dwelling, with cattle housed at the opposite end from the humans and the entrance conveniently placed for both. While, a byre should require a drain, and no drain was discovered in the two slots dug in the eastern part of the structure, the drain might have consisted only of paving, later removed. A slot through the east end did reveal a deep deposit of formerly cultivated soil (24018) outside the structure, which extended to roughly where the east gable should have been. It appears, therefore, that the ground immediately east of the house was cultivated at some point while the house was standing.

5.2.2 The later structure (24B), the cobbled yard (14) and the longhouse's re-use

Presumably after the longhouse had been vacated by humans, but probably before its re-use for animals, a smaller structure (24B) was built over its west end (see Fig 11). It measured c 4 m (east-west) by 2.5 m, internally. Its surviving walls, like those of the longhouse, were built of two skins of boulders with a core of rubble hearting. The walls were generally thicker and apparently more robust than those in Structures 21 and 24A, and more stone tumble lay in and around it than elsewhere.

A deep slot excavated through the two structures' intersection showed the relationship between them. The boulders (24053) forming the east wall of structure 24B had been set on the base of a cut (24214), to the east of its vertical (north-south aligned) side. The floor of the cut was a compact, dirty, mixed orange gravelly sand (24217). Between the boulders and the cut was a thick deposit of gravelly, grey-brown sand (24213), its surface level with the top of the cut. Above this, a wedge-shaped deposit of yellow sand (24087) lay against the boulders and finally, sealing this, was a thick layer of gritty brown sand and stones (24081), mixed with fragments of charcoal and probably redeposited to form a firm floor.

From this stratigraphic sequence it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of events. The builders of 24B had set its large stone wall footings on the existing surface -- probably the scoured floor of the old longhouse -- and within an existing cut, originally made for the longhouse's west wall. They dumped the grey-brown gravelly sand to level the surface and fill in the old cut, and they may have laid yellow

sand against the boulders to aid drainage there. Finally, they laid the roughly cobbled floor.

Given the amount of material they deposited to raise the ground level and the fact that they did not set the boulders against the side of the cut, it appears that the cut was already there when they began to build, and not conveniently placed for their planned wall. It follows that the slope had been cut into on the west end of the longhouse (24A) to receive the western wall, as it had been on the north. The builders apparently removed the western end of the longhouse, perhaps re-using the stones of its gable wall for the new construction, and in the process removed most traces of the earlier occupation, although the dirty, compact orange gravely sand may have been the remains of a longhouse floor (or its hardcore base).

Inside the later structure, the rough cobbling gave way along the south wall to a compact brown humic silt (24088), possibly an occupation deposit (see Fig 11). A setting of small upright stones along the south wall (24093) may have been a post setting. On the west, the flooring was neatly retained by a threshold formed of several flat-sided stone blocks (24096). Wedged between two of the stones was a bent iron sickle, probably mass-produced rather than home-made (B Powell, pers comm). From this threshold, one stepped down onto a carefully paved surface (24092) which led down through the entrance. It was bounded on the western part of the interior by a low, curving structure (24072) composed of slabs and containing an uninformative fill of light brown silt (24079). This feature did not appear, from its fill or structure, to be a kiln; not enough of it was exposed and excavated to determine its nature.

Where the paving ended abruptly outside the entrance, a linear band of stones (24202), some apparently set on edge on either side of a central line, continued down the slope for over a metre, forking near its end. A box section dug through the feature showed the entrance paving lay upon hillwashed gravels (24083), while the lower stones lay in a very shallow cut. The paving, leading out of the building and down the slope, probably acted as a drain, preventing effluent from soaking and fouling the ground and holding it until it could be shovelled out.

Probably at the same time as Structure 24B was built, a platform (24090) was constructed in the corner between it and the longhouse (24A) (see Fig 11). The south wall of structure 24B appeared on the surface to consist of a stone skin (the interior wall face) containing a core of cobbles (24054), with one very large, flat stone on the surface which might have served as a cruck pad. No convincing outer wall face was found. The excavated evidence suggests that the south wall of structure 24B was built on a trampled ground surface (24206). Rubble (24068) and sand (24200/203/207) were dumped in the corner against the south and east walls, and another new wall (24216) was built extending south from the entrance, bounding the west side of the platform, to contain the rubble and sand dumps. Along its south side the platform was roughly faced with stones, some of which later tumbled onto a cobbled surface on that side. The platform, which in its final state measured c 2 m square, may have held hay or peat (the former is more likely function, as no layer of residual peat sealed its surface). A similar platform was noted at Rosal, and was

interpreted as having been used to store peats for immediate use (Fairhurst 1968, 146).

It seems likely, from its small size, roughly cobbled floor, thick walls and entrance-drain, that the later structure (24B) was built to shelter animals. Hay or other feed might have been stored on the platform, and the cobbles outside provided a firm surface for their feet.

The cobbles to the south (24063) were laid after the platform had been built, on the old ground surface (24206) which also ran beneath structure 24B's east wall (24053). Covering them was a layer of fine sand (24064) and one of dark grey wind-blown sand (24075) which lay against the south wall of the longhouse (24A) (24052). The sand may have been laid over the cobbles to give beasts a more secure footing on them.

Cobbling also extended patchily westward across the front of structure 24B (see Fig 11). South-west of the structure the ground dipped abruptly into a bowl, Structure 14, defined by sharp breaks of slope and measuring c 6 m across. The bowl's surface was thickly cobbled (14015), and a section dug through the cobbles showed they lay in a deep deposit (14018), suggesting the surface had been re-metalled gradually and in piecemeal fashion as organic deposits accumulated over them. The revetment was added late in the sequence, presumably to shore up the natural slope and also to define a path which ran along the south-west corner of structure 24B; this path was lightly metalled with a layer of small cobbles (14014), and a layer of grey silt (14026) had built up partly over them, against the revetment.

Among the upper layer of cobbles in the bowl were found pieces of glass and post-medieval pottery, as well as several pieces of slag; large lumps of slag were also found in the fabric of structure 24B's south-west wall (as well as a lump of tap slag in the fabric of structure 21B). This suggests the presence of a bloomery nearby; a small, rectangular stone structure in the north-west corner of the cobbled yard, unexcavated, could be the right size for a furnace. While the yard might have been used at least occasionally for metalworking, it is equally likely it was used for stock. No evidence was found that it was ever roofed, although only part of the feature was excavated; possibly a lean-to roof covered part of it.

Finally, returning to structure 24A, in a late phase this building was used to house animals. Against the newly-built east wall of structure 24B, dumps of stone and soil, including at least one discrete loess turf (24057), had been built into a low, narrow, platform (24105); the most concrete clue to its deliberate construction was a rough but clearly defined stone face on the east. It may have provided standing for an animal, or been used to store feed and keep it dry. Such a function -- and the presence of animals it indicates -- is consistent with the state of the floor (rough hardcore covered in an organic silt, and human occupation levels scoured away) and with the fact that the original entrance had been sealed. Evidence for this sealing took the form of a rough wall (24004/007) lying across the threshold, composed of two stone skins enclosing a core of dark grey, degraded turf. A new, wider entrance may have been made in the east gable wall, if it consisted of a removable turf panel (24010).

The cruck setting (24066) appears to have still been in use during this phase: the rough platform was built around and against it, and the last timber seems to have decayed *in situ*, leaving a post-pipe. This suggests that the building was not allowed to collapse after people ceased to live in it, but was kept structurally intact. Indeed, the cruck slot survived the replacing of the longhouse's west gable wall with the eastern wall of the later building. The builders, then, must have been careful not to disturb it (or the still-standing cruck), building their wall directly against it.

5.2.3 Discussion of Structure 24 and Feature 14

Excavation of these structures established the earlier phasing of the longhouse, if not its precise dating, its chronological and structural relationship to the smaller building, and the likely function of the adjacent cobbled yard.

Although the later re-use of the longhouse (24A) scoured its interior, removing floor layers, enough elements of the human occupation survived to create a picture of the house in use. The hearth, with its surrounding cobbling and paving, would have warmed and fed the occupants, and its fallen backplate could have protected the fire from draughts from the door. This part of the house may also have been marked off and kept warm by an internal partition running across its width, and indicated by the faint ridge left by the passage of feet on either side of it. A similar dividing scarp was found in a turf longhouse excavated at Lairg (McCullagh 1995), and as in Structure 24 it had no associated stakeholes which might have held sails for wattle panels. It could be that the feet of animals later removed shallow features such as these, which could simply have been cut into laid floors rather than into the underlying hardcore.

The floor had been worn down slightly (c 0.10 m) through use inside the threshold, and the slab forming the entrance was worn smooth from the passage of feet which were kept dry as they entered by the firmly cobbled apron outside the door. People entering may also have been given shelter, and the doorway been protected from draughts, by the putative porch added later to the entranceway. The occupants of the house would have carried their domestic rubbish out this door and over the cobbled apron to dump it down the slope in a neatly contained midden, sometimes dropping pieces of glass and pottery which they trampled into the cobbled surface.

The key wedged between two stones by the doorway was a surprising find, given that Highland houses were generally reported as never having locks. However, Easter Raitts lay on a well-used drove route and the house itself faced down onto it; the frequent passage of strangers along the road may have made its occupants more wary than normal. Cattle raiders and highwaymen are known to have operated locally in the medieval and post-medieval periods (see Section 2). Typological dating of the key may help date the sealing of the entrance and the key within it. While it is conceivable that the key was accidentally dropped beside the door and became wedged between the stones of the wall, it is also possible that it was deliberately put there -- either for safe-keeping, or as a symbolic gesture.

The excavated evidence shows how the longhouse was built: by cutting into the natural slope on the north and west, fitting boulders against the cut and, along the line of the south wall, on the ground surface, and piling cut turves and stone on this dwarf wall. Crucks supported the roof, and at least one was erected by bracing it against a very large wall footing and packing soil and stones around its base. Some time after the longhouse was abandoned, but while its crucks still stood, its west end was truncated by a new building (24B), and the stone footings of its west gable wall may have been re-used for the new one. Certainly the builders were careful to preserve the structural integrity of the longhouse, building the new wall against a standing cruck.

The new building, with its rough hardcore floor, thick walls, sturdy paved entrance and putative drain, seems to have been designed to house animals (or for some industrial process, although no direct evidence of any was found). The platform, built in the corner formed between the new building and the old, may have been related to these new occupants, perhaps used for storing their feed. That animals were present and provided for is also suggested by the cobbled surface beside the platform, with its covering of sand to provide better traction, and by the large cobbled yard (14) to the west. The depth of cobbles in the yard and the added revetment, shoring up the metalled path beside Structure 24B, show that this complex of animal-oriented features had a lifespan of some duration, long enough for the cobbles to become muddy and the path to begin to slip down the slope.

The conversion of the longhouse (24A) into a byre, its original entrance sealed -- probably because it was too narrow, designed for humans -- and a rough standing platform built against its new western wall, illustrates the complete animal occupation of this complex of structures. They removed almost all evidence of human occupation, and they left traces of their own, in the dark humic silt which covered the interior, the remnants of manure mucked out, perhaps when the east gable wall was broken down for the last time.

6.0 Conclusions

The excavated evidence from Structure 21, Structures 24A and B and Feature 14 form a picture of different aspects and possibly phases of life at Easter Raitts: human existence in the settlement; its later, if gradual expulsion; and new building projects -- and the adaptation of old buildings -- to serve and accommodate animals.

Structure 21, with its central hearth and paving, its several phases of flooring, its evidence of an early fire, its structural elements and eroded floor, show us a dwelling in long use. Animals lived in it along with its human occupants, either in the main, western part or in the annexe. When the human -- and presumably animal -- occupants left the house for the last time, they left it in a state typical of structures being abandoned: with rubbish lying about (cf Deal 1985; Lelong 1993). Others may later have also dumped their rubbish deliberately in the house, a known

contemporary practice (Burt 1756, 29). Given the state of the house and the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century date of the pottery and other finds left behind, it seems likely that the occupants left the house when they were moved from the township in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

If the first levels encountered in the excavation date to this clearance, the lower ones as well as the building's fabric are contemporary with earlier stages in the house's history, when people lived here somewhat more securely: laying footings, building turf and stone walls and erecting crucks to support the roof (which was probably of reed or heather thatch); making the hearth and laying the paving and, through time, making both their own by leaving their wear and fire-damage on them; and laying floors, trampling them away and laying new ones. The excavations show not only a house cleared, but a house inhabited.

If the evidence from the occupation of Structure 24A, the longhouse, is less abundant, it also shows a house in use, with its essential elements surviving. The hearth, the putative internal partition and the worn entranceway show people's attention to their own comfort and a need for warmth and privacy, and the elaboration of the entrance shows they needed extra insulation -- or perhaps just a more noticeable facade. The evidence also shows the technical know-how they practised in constructing the house, digging into the slope, building turf and stone walls on dwarf walls of stone and putting up crucks, giving at least one a strong brace against the pressure of the roof.

The evidence from the later structure (24B), the cobbled yard (14) and the final stage in the life of the longhouse (24A), taken together, shows the construction of new facilities and the adaptation of old ones in the service of animals: thicker walls, a platform for an animal, hard standing both inside and out, and a narrow, human entrance sealed and a new, re-sealable one perhaps created in the longhouse's missing east gable wall.

The evidence of the buildings' method of construction, particularly the longhouses, accords with what we know of how Highland earth structures were built: with walls of turf resting upon low stone footings; with timber crucks supporting roofs of turf; perhaps with inner skins of stone or, in the case of creel houses, hurdling; and with central hearths. Evidence of this comes from experimental work (Noble 1984), ethnographic observations (Walker and MacGregor 1996; Burt 1756; Pennant 1774) and archaeological investigations (Fairhurst 1968; McCullagh 1995). Newly-built houses would have looked at first like grass-covered mounds, attractive to grazing animals; after the walls became root-bound and the grass ceased to grow, they would have looked like the "heaps of earth" described by Burt (see Section 2).

The houses were primitive and crude to the eyes of educated travellers (cf Pennant 1774; Grant 1794). Although the turf walls needed replacing regularly, this renewable architecture suited the social structure and agricultural practice of the highlands. Once permeated with smoke and in need of replacing, the turf and thatch of the walls and roof could be used as fertiliser on the fields. If a lease was not renewed (or a new one given for a different piece of land), a house could be

dismantled with no loss of investment; the crucks could be pulled up and used to build a new house elsewhere. However, when leases were renewed for the same piece of land, houses could easily be rebuilt, new turf walls raised on the enduring stone footings and around the existing hearth. If the turf houses did waste good pasture, as many Improvers complained, they provided strong, well-insulated shelter. There is some evidence, too, that a new tenant would have bad luck in the house of a preceding tenant; easily built and easily dismantled houses therefore worked within the social structure of the Highlands (Grant 1961).

The houses in use at the time of the clearances formed a living settlement with older, ruined elements, not a static entity without temporal depth. This was a settlement which had changed and developed over time, in its specific historical and archaeological context. At Easter Raitts, this context included its position on the side of the strath, within sight of a medieval castle and drove road and, later, a Hanoverian military barracks and General Wade's road. The landscape had its own temporal depth, and the township's proximity to such a highly contested corridor must have affected it in many ways; its inhabitants must have been aware of their changing surroundings. In this sense the township of Easter Raitts probably differed, at least later in its history, from other settlements where similar structures have been excavated, such as the more isolated Rosal in Sutherland, where change might have been more gradual, less often imposed, at least until the clearances.

The structures excavated in this season's work exhibit several responses to a changing cultural context: at least one structure probably cleared, and another abandoned and incorporated into a complex dedicated to animals. Before excavation, they appeared relatively well-preserved, although not as apparently late as Structures 9 and 10. The settlement also includes much more ephemeral remains, and the future investigation of these could enrich our understanding of a settlement developing over time.

Analysis of the artefactual assemblage from this season of excavation, particularly of the abundant ceramics, glass and metalwork from Structure 21, will help both to precisely date the later phases of the structure's use and illuminate the cultural and economic links between Easter Raitts and centres of manufacture. Processing and analysis of soil samples taken from organic-rich and burnt deposits from both structures may provide valuable information on the occupants' environment and habits, and radiocarbon dating of suitable material will aid precise dating of the different phases. Further investigation of Structure 21 would answer questions raised by this season's work, completing the picture begun of its internal development and the function of the annexe, and possibly providing dating evidence for its earliest phases. Investigation of the putative midden outside Structure 24A could yield evidence for the longhouse's length of occupation and the precise phasing of its occupation and abandonment.

The abandoned settlement at Easter Raitts potentially presents us not simply with a snapshot of an early nineteenth century township. Given the outside influences to which Badenoch was exposed from the thirteenth century onward, Easter Raitts may well have developed as a settlement from a relatively early point, given the apparently earlier remains in and around it and its proximity to a medieval

road. Whatever its origins, it developed within a social system with its own fierce integrity, and the enormity of scale and speed of change brought to this system in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century cannot be overstated. A settlement such as Easter Raitts is the material remains -- the made environment -- of this society. As such it can illuminate not only society in the post-medieval period, but also how it came to be that way.

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9.0 Appendices

Lists of finds and photographs will be deposited as part of the site archive with the National Monuments Record of Scotland, after full publication of the excavation results.

9.1 Summary List of Contexts

Structure 21

	<i>Subdivision</i>
21001 topsoil	21A
21002 stone footings of south wall	21A
21003 tumble and dark brown loam matrix outside south wall	21A
21004 charred plank	21A
21005 tumble and dark brown loam matrix inside south wall	21A
21006 brown-black compact loam; latest floor in west end	21A
21007 tumble and dark brown loam matrix inside north wall	21A
21008 orange-brown gritty sand; lower fill of posthole 21103	21A
21009 stone footings of north wall	21A
21010 grey-brown loam; uppermost turf slump outside north wall	21A
21011 light brown loam; second to last turf slump outside north wall	21A
21012 cobbles in hollow 21045, outside north wall	21A
21013 light brown silt around cobbles 21012	21A
21014 light brown loam (= 21011)	21A
21015 grey-brown loam (= 21010)	21A
21016 tumble from 21044	21A
21017 greasy black loam inside south wall (= 21006)	21A
21018 cut of hollow outside north wall	21A
21019 patchy clay floor in centre	21A
21020 orange-brown gritty sand; hardcore in central interior	21A
21021 orange-red gritty sand subsoil outside south wall	21A
21022 cobbles outside south wall	21A
21023 cancelled	
21024 flagstones around hearth	21A
21025 cobble spread, west end	21A
21026 linear edge of cobble spread 21025	21A

21027	light yellow loam; discrete turf outside south wall (west)	21A
21028	spread of stones outside south wall (west)	21A
21029	light grey-brown loam; old ground surface outside south wall	21A
21030	dark brown loam; slumped turf outside south wall (west)	21A
21031	patch of beige baked clay west of hearth	21A
21032	grey-brown humic silt; upper fill of posthole 21103	21A
21033	yellow sand below flags 21024 (= 21125)	21A
21034	orange brown sandy silt and cobbles; interior hardcore (= 21020)	21A
21035	dark brown loam; slumped turf outside south wall (east)	21A
21036	cancelled	
21037	orange and pink sand and charcoal; fill of hearth	21A
21038	orange silty sand and cobbles (= 21020, 21034)	21A
21039	dark brown loam; post-abandonment layer inside building	21A
21040	dark brown silt; upper fill of central post 21122	21A
21041	central hearth	21A
21042	mid-brown compact loam; ?turf platform above cobbles 21025	21A
21043	band of grey-brown loam; turf slump from 21044?	21A
21044	stone footings of enclosure wall	21A
21045	orange gritty subsoil outside north wall	21A
21046	light grey loam; earliest turf slump outside north wall	21A
21047	cancelled	
21048	cancelled	
21049	cut of stone-packed scoop, east end	21A
21050	linear band of cobbles; ?drain, east end	21A
21051	topsoil	21B
21052	stone footings of west wall	21B
21053	tumble and dark brown loam matrix, west of west wall	21B
21054	tumble and dark brown loam matrix, east of west wall	21B
21055	tumble and dark brown loam matrix, outside south wall	21B
21056	grey-brown loam matrix among stones of west wall 21053	21B
21057	stone footings of south wall	21B
21058	grey-brown loam matrix among stones of south wall 21057	21B
21059	dark brown loam; turf slump outside south wall	21B
21060	greasy grey-brown humic loam; abandonment layer in interior	21B
21061	stone footings of east wall	21B
21062	grey-brown loam matrix among stones of east wall 21061	21B
21063	tumble and dark brown loam matrix outside east wall	21B
21064	tumble and dark brown loam matrix inside east wall	21B
21065	patch of gravel outside south wall	21B
21066	dark brown loam lens; discrete decayed turf in 21063	21B
21067	flagstones forming ?partition inside structure (south)	21B
21068	dark brown loam wedge inside south wall; turf slump	21B
21069	orange gritty sand below 21053	21B
21070	orange silt below 21070; old ground surface	21B
21071	dark grey-brown loam around entrance; post-abandonment layer	21B
21072	light brown loam outside south wall; old ground surface	21B
21073	packing stones in posthole 21081	21B
21074	small cobbles, west interior	21B
21075	cancelled	

21076	cancelled	
21077	stones in entrance	21B
21078	compact greasy dark brown silt; latest floor	21B
21079	red brown sandy silt along edges of entrance; hollowed ?natural	21B
21080	dark brown silty loam; ?postpipe in posthole 21081	21B
21081	cut of posthole, southwest corner	21B
21082	cut of posthole in entrance	21B
21083	dark brown silt and packing stones in posthole 21082	21B
21084	orange brown gritty sand (= 21079)	21B
21085	greasy dark brown silt (= 21078)	21B
21086	yellow gravelly clay below 21078/21085	21B
21087	boulders and cobbles forming curving structure, northwest corner	21B
21088	yellow-orange clay sand; redeposited natural below 21089	21B
21089	light brown loam and charcoal lenses below 21087	21B
21090	rectangular patch of paving, north edge of interior	21B
21091	cobbles, northeast corner of interior	21B
21092	small stones tucked beneath large stone footing of south wall	21B
21093	unassigned	
21094	unassigned	
21095	unassigned	
21096	unassigned	
21097	unassigned	
21098	unassigned	
21099	unassigned	
21100	unassigned	
21101	black residue under iron pot fragment	21A
21102	orange-brown gritty sand; lower fill of posthole 21103	21A
21103	cut of posthole outside north wall	21A
21104	linear spread of stones in ?entrance (southwest corner)	21A
21105	dark red trample west of 21104 (= 21111)	21A
21106	unassigned	
21107	rectangular patch of light yellow loam (= 21027)	21A
21108	grooved slab near hearth	21A
21109	dark brown charcoal-rich layer; upper fill of posthole 21126	21A
21110	grey-brown trampled silt, southwest interior	21A
21111	dark red trample, southwest corner of interior	21A
21112	orange gritty silt, southeast corner of interior (= 21069)	21A
21113	dark brown humic silt, southeast corner of interior	21A
21114	cancelled	
21115	stones and orange-brown silt; southern platform, east end	21A
21116	stones and orange-brown silt; northern platform, east end	21A
21117	large slabs above east end, 21050	21A
21118	light grey-brown trampled silt, west end of interior	21A
21119	patch of cream baked clay outside south wall	21A
21120	dark brown greasy loam; late floor, below 21006	21A
21121	orange-red gritty sand and stones; lower fill of posthole 21122	21A
21122	cut of central posthole	21A
21123	light brown silty clay; lowest floor south of flagstones	21A
21124	black greasy silt below 21120, south of flagstones	21A

21125	light yellow sand under flagstones, over 21123	21A
21126	cut of posthole, southwest corner	21A
21127	packing stones in posthole 21126	21A
21128	black humic silt in hollow 21049	21A
21129	stones packed in hollow 21049	21A
21130	patches of baked clay, central interior	21A
21131	loose dark brown humic silt above stones 21139	21A
21132	pieces of wood in 21109	21A
21133	patch of light grey compact silt in base of posthole 21126	21A
21134	linear cut of drain 21050	21A
21135	red-brown gritty sand and cobbles below 21115	21A
21136	?cut for baked clay 21119	21A
21137	lower fill of central scoop 21138, below 21120	21A
21138	cut of shallow, amorphous central scoop	21A
21139	stones packed in drain at east end, below 21050	21A
21140	yellow-pink trample at west end, abutting 21111	21A
21141	compact red silt below 21111, cut by 21126	21A
21142	red-brown gritty sand and cobbles below 21115 (= 21135)	21A
21143	orange-brown gritty sand and cobbles below 21116	21A
21144	flat stones tipping into north end of cut 21126	21A
21145	orange-red gritty sand subsoil outside north wall	21A

Structure 24

	<i>Subdivision</i>	
24001	topsoil	24A
24002	patch of gravel in north wall	24A
24003	stone footings of north wall	24A
24004	stone footings of south wall	24A
24005	central hearth	24A
24006	compact dark grey-brown humic silt covering interior	24A
24007	dark-grey silty clay; decayed turf in sealed entrance, south wall	24A
24008	brown-grey sandy silt around stones 24009	24A
24009	linear heap of angular stones at east end; ?tumble	24A
24010	patch of light grey silt, east end; ?degraded turf from gable wall	24A
24011	tumble inside north wall	24A
24012	lower topsoil	24A
24013	dark brown loamy patch abutting 24002	24A
24014	light orange-brown sandy silt subsoil, east end	24A
24015	cancelled	
24016	threshold flags	24A
24017	fine grey ash and charcoal east of hearth 24005	24A
24018	brown-grey sandy silt and pebbles; cultivated soil, east end	24A
24019	lower topsoil outside south wall	24A
24020	lower topsoil outside north wall	24A
24021	fill of animal burrow outside north wall	24A
24022	compact light brown silty loam; old ground surface to north	24A
24023	cobbles forming apron south of entrance	24A
24024	dark brown silty loam abutting 24030; ?decayed turf	24A
24025	dark brown silty loam abutting 24030; ?decayed turf	24A

24026	grey-black loam abutting north wall; ?decayed turf	24A
24027	loose coarse orange-brown sand; hillwash outside north wall	24A
24028	cancelled	
24029	fine yellow-brown silty loam; windblown deposit over 24040	24A
24030	curving stone wall at west side of entrance	24A
24031	cobbles in coarse orange sand; hardcore base for floor	24A
24032	dark grey-brown silty loam inside entrance	24A
24033	subsoil inside structure	24A
24034	dark brown silty sand filling hollow in subsoil, north interior	24A
24035	patchy compact dark brown silt; remnants of floor	24A
24036	patch of compact grey silt (?ash), north interior	24A
24037	tumble at east end of north wall 24003	24A
24038	grey-black sandy loam and charcoal inside entrance	24A
24039	mottled brown silty loam against north wall; turf slump	24A
24040	brown silt beneath 24029	24A
24041	cut for north wall 24003	24A
24042	dark brown silty sand below 24038	24A
24043	fine yellow-brown sandy loam inside entrance	24A
24044	fine orange-red peat ash on hearth stones 24005	24A
24045	= 24022	24A
24046	linear north-south band of stones abutting hearth 24005 on west	24A
24047	cut below wall 24053	24B
24048	fine mottled brown sand filling cut 24047	24B
24049	loose dark brown sandy silt between stones of north wall 24003	24A
24050	unassigned	
24051	topsoil	24B
24052	south wall of 24A (= 24004)	24A
24053	east wall of later structure	24B
24054	cobbles abutting south wall, in platform	24B
24055	tumble above platform 24090	24B
24056	grey-brown loam; lower topsoil above 24054	24B
24057	pale yellow-brown silt around cobbles 24054	24B
24058	lower topsoil	24B
24059	black silt; decayed turf in wall 24098	24B
24060	loose yellow sandy silt; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24061	compact dark brown silt lens in 24065	24A
24062	tumble from platform	24B
24063	cobbles abutting platform 24090 on south	24B
24064	fine pale brown sand covering cobbles 24063	24B
24065	dark brown silt; post-pipe in cruck slot 24067	24B
24066	yellow-brown sandy silt around 24065	24B
24067	cruck slot formed of stones, southwest corner	24A
24068	stones of south wall	24B
24069	cancelled	
24070	orange sand below cobbles 24063	24B
24071	patch of black silty clay	24B
24072	slabs forming curving ?structure, west end of interior	24B
24073	mottled dark brown loam; decayed turf?	24B
24074	lower topsoil	24B/14

24075	black-brown silty sand	24B
24076	sparse cobbles outside entrance	24B
24077	compact orange brown sand; dumped against south wall	24B
24078	tumble inside structure	24B
24079	brown silt within 24072	24B
24080	= 24073	24B
24081	compact gritty brown sand and cobbles; floor of 24B	24B
24082	tumble inside structure (= 24078)	24B
24083	compact yellow-brown silt and fine gravel; ogs outside 24B	24B
24084	light brown silty sand; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24085	light yellow-brown silt; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24086	compact dark brown plastic silt; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24087	yellow-brown silty sand; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24088	compact mottled brown silt abutting south wall 24098	24B
24089	upper stones of platform 24090	24B
24090	platform abutting structure 24B	24B
24091	tumble above paving 24092	24B
24092	paving flagstones in entrance	24B
24093	possible stone setting, southeast corner of interior	24B
24094	light yellow sandy silt (= 24085)	24B
24095	loose dark brown sandy silt; part of platform 24090 fabric	24B
24096	threshold to interior	24B
24097	dark brown silt among stones of platform 24090	24B
24098	south wall of structure (= 24068)	24B
24099	= 24097	24B
24100	light brown sandy silt; turf slump abutting north wall (east)	24A
24101	compact yellow-brown loam; turf slump abutting north wall	24A
24102	light brown fine silty sand (= 24103?)	24A
24103	mid brown sandy silt; old ground surface (= 24022)	24A
24104-		
24199	unassigned	
24200	= 24099	24B
24201	red-brown silt; old ground surface outside structure (= 24083)	24B
24202	linear stone setting outside entrance; part of drain	24B
24203	= 24097	24B
24204	= 24201	24B
24205	dark brown greasy silt lens in 24079	24B
24206	= 24201, 24204	24B
24207	compact yellow sandy silt abutting south wall 24098	24B
24208	red-brown sandy silt in 24072	24B
24209	= 24201, 24204	24B
24210	= 24092	24B
24211	sandy matrix in west wall 24212	24B
24212	stone footings of west wall	24B
24213	grey-brown gravely sand filling cut 24214, below east wall	24B
24214	cut for east wall (= 24047)	24B
24215	cancelled	
24216	low stone wall defining west edge of platform 24090	24B
24217	gritty orange sand; ?redeposited natural cut by 24047/24214	24B

Feature 14

- 14001 topsoil
- 14002 lower topsoil
- 14003 cancelled
- 14004 cobbles covering scooped yard
- 14005 stones revetted slope east of yard
- 14006 loose black-brown humic silt; percolated among cobbles 14004
- 14007 tumbled stones on cobbles 14004
- 14008 unassigned
- 14009 unassigned
- 14010 brown greasy silt below cobbles 14015; ?hillwash, west of revetment 14005
- 14011 light grey-brown sandy silt over cobbles 14015
- 14012 gravel spread
- 14013 mottled grey-brown silt covering 14012
- 14014 cobbled surface immediately southwest of structure 24B
- 14015 cobbles; part of 14004
- 14016 = 14013
- 14017 light brown silt abutting revetment 14005
- 14018 dark brown stony silt; base laid for cobbles 14004 and 14015
- 14019 loose mid-brown sandy loam below cobbles 14014
- 14020 natural slope below revetment 14005
- 14021 light brown silty sand; ?windblown deposit predating cobbles
- 14022 gritty orange-brown sandy silt; packed below revetment as its base
- 14023 brown sandy silt; matrix of revetment 14005
- 14024 loose gritty sand; redeposited natural below revetment 14005
- 14025 cancelled

9.2 Summary List of Samples

<u>Sample No.</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Description</u>
001	24007	degraded turf from north wall, 24A
002	24010	turf slump outside north wall, 24A
003	24066	fill of cruck slot 24067
004	24061	till of cruck slot 24067
005	21014	turf slump outside north wall, 21A
006	21016	degraded turf outside south wall, 21A
007	24059	degraded turf in south wall, 24A (west)
008	24024	degraded turf outside south wall, 24A
009	24075	black-brown silty sand
010	24064	pale brown sand covering cobbles
011	21068	degraded turf inside 21B
012	24025	degraded turf outside south wall, 24A
013	24077	sand abutting south wall, 24B
014	21006	dark brown humic silt, interior of 24A
015	21071	degraded turf in entrance, 21B

016	21037	fill of hearth, 21A
017	21024	deposit between flags and hearth
018	24071	black silty clay
019	24025	degraded turf outside south wall, 24A
020	21005	degraded turf inside south wall, 21A
021	24022	old ground surface outside north wall, 24A
022	21046	degraded turf outside north wall, 21A
023	21032	upper fill of posthole outside north wall, 21A
024	21011	degraded turf outside north wall, 21A
025	21005	degraded turf inside south wall, 21A
026	21047	organic silt, northwest corner of 21B
027	24073	degraded turf inside 24B
028	24032	dark grey silty loam inside entrance, 24A
029	24094	light yellow sandy silt in 24B
030	24094	light yellow sandy silt in 24B
031	24095	dark brown sandy silt in platform 24090
032	24038	sandy loam and charcoal inside entrance, 24A
033	24044	peat ash on hearth, 24A
034	24099	dark brown silt in platform 24090
035	24200	dark brown silt in platform 24090
036	24097	dark brown silt in platform 24090
037	24087	yellow-brown silt in platform 24090
038	24080	mottled dark brown loam
039	21119	remnant of clay floor, 21A
040	cancelled	
041	24079	brown silt in 24072
042	21120	black-brown greasy silt floor, 21A
043	24203	dark brown silt and charcoal in platform 24090
044	24035	dark brown compact silt, floor remnant, 24A
045	24207	yellow silt abutting south wall, 24B
046	21109	upper fill of posthole 21126, 21A
047	24039	?degraded turf inside south wall, 24A
048	24017	ash and charcoal east of hearth, 24A
049	21124	black greasy silt, early floor, 21A
050	21118	trampled silt floor, 21A
051	cancelled	
052	21128	black humic silt in hollow 21049, 21A
053	21131	dark brown humic silt in drain 21050

9.3 Summary List of Drawings

<u>Sheet</u>	<u>Drwg.</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Scale</u>
1	1	Pre-excavation plan, 24B	1:20
2	2	Pre-excavation plan, 24A	1:20
3	3	South-facing section through 24002	1:10
3	4	Plan of north-east corner, 24A (24008, 24009)	1:20
3	5	Profile of wall in south-facing baulk (24009)	1:10
4	6	Plan of west end of trench (24005, 24012)	1:20

3	7	East-facing section through cruck slot (24067)	1:10
5	8	Post-excavation plan of 24B interior and entrance	1:20
6	9	Pre-excavation plan, 21A (centre)	1:20
7	10	Pre-excavation plan, 21B	1:20
8	11	Plan of north exterior, 21A	1:20
8	12	Plan of 21021	1:20
9	13	Plan of interior, 21A	1:20
3	14	West-facing section through 24075, 24077, 24064	1:10
1	15	Pre-excavation plan of west half of 24B	1:20
11	16	Plane-table plan of 24A and B	1:50
12	17	Profile of 24A	1:50
12	18	Profile of 24B	1:50
12	19	Profile of 24B and 14	1:50
3	20	West-facing section through north wall, 24A	1:10
13	21	South-facing section through 24025	1:10
14	22	Plan of interior, 21B	1:20
15	23	Post-excavation plan, 21B	1:20
12	24	East-facing section, north exterior of 21A	1:20
16	25	Pre-excavation plan of 14 and west half, 24B	1:20
13	26	Plan of north exterior, 24A	1:20
13	27	Plan of entrance, 24A; overlay on Drwg. 6	1:20
14	28	Overlay plan on 6, showing 24029	1:20
18	29	Plan of hearth 24005, 24A	1:20
15	30	Pre-excavation plan of posthole 21032, 21A	1:20
15	31	Half-ex plan of posthole 21032, 21A	1:20
15	32	North-facing section through posthole 21032	1:10
17	33	Overlay plan of interior of 24B	1:20
12	34	Profile of posthole and packing 21081	1:10
12	35	East-facing section through turf slumps, 21A	1:10
19	36	North-facing section through posthole 21122, 21A	1:10
20	37	Pre-excavation plan of north wall 24003, 24A	1:20
14	38	East-facing section through 24072, 24B	1:10
21	39	West-facing section through 24034, 24A	1:10
21	40	Plan of north wall, 24A	1:20
21	41	Plan of hearth, 24A	1:20
12	42	North-facing section through posthole 21126	1:10
19	43	Profile of cruck slot 24067	1:10
22	44	Overlay plan of box sections through 24090	1:20
23	45	West-facing section through interior, 24A	1:20
23	46	East-facing section through 24003, east end 24A	1:10
19	47	West-facing section through 24003, centre 24A	1:10
20	48	North-facing section through 24053, 24A/24B	1:10
27	49	Overlay plan of excavated slots, 21A	1:20
19	50	South-facing section through 24053, 24A/24B	1:20
23	51	South-facing section through east interior, 24A	1:20
24	52	Pre-excavation plan of 24042 and location of slot	1:20
25	53	Plan of 21A interior, after removal of latest floor	1:20
26	54	Plan of entrance slot and finds, 21B lower level	1:20
13	55	East-facing section through turf deposit in 24057	1:10

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Post-excavation plan of north exterior, 21A 1:20
Post-excavation plan of 21B (lowest level reached) 1:20

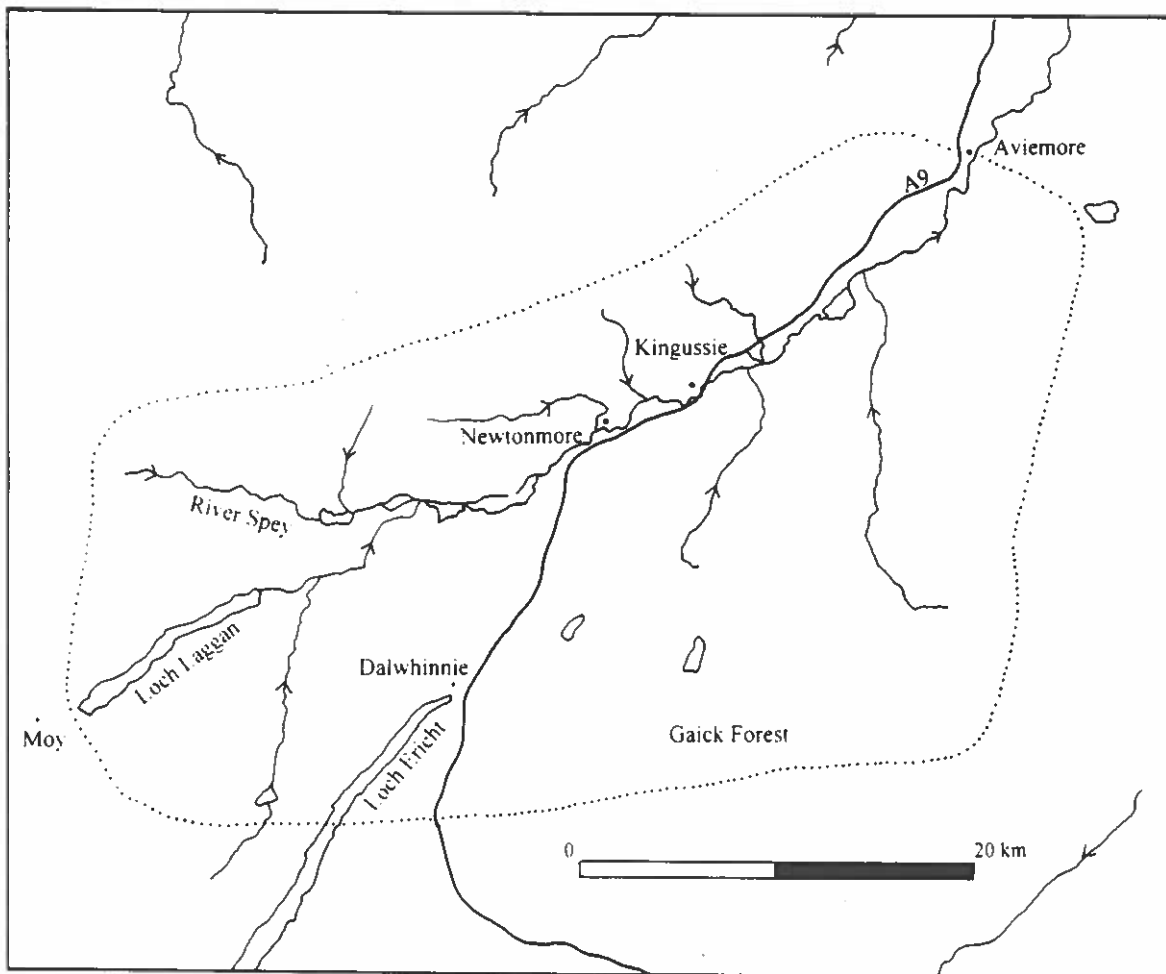


Fig 1 Location map showing the district of Badenoch (after Scarlett 1988).

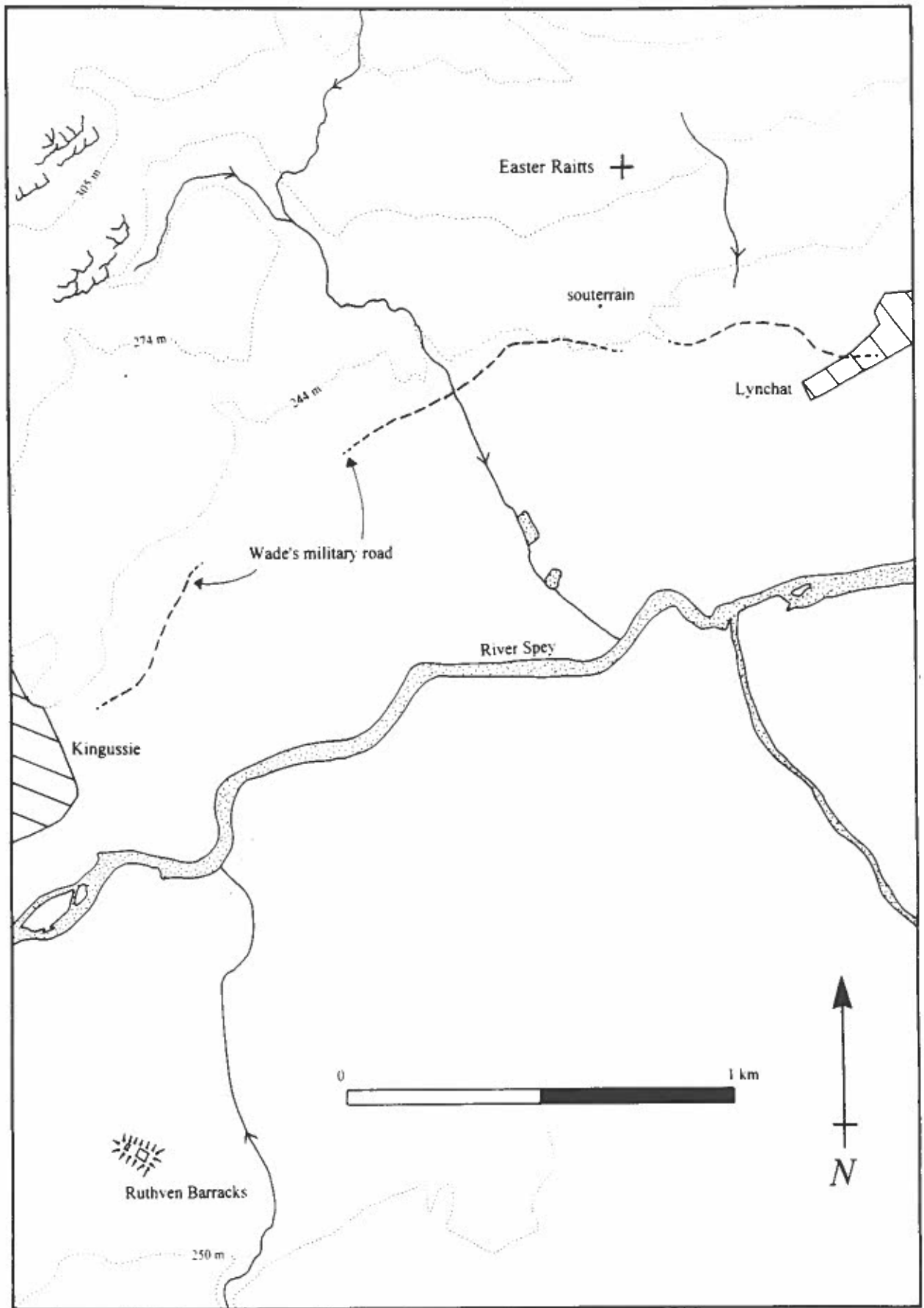


Fig 2 Map of the vicinity of Easter Raitts.

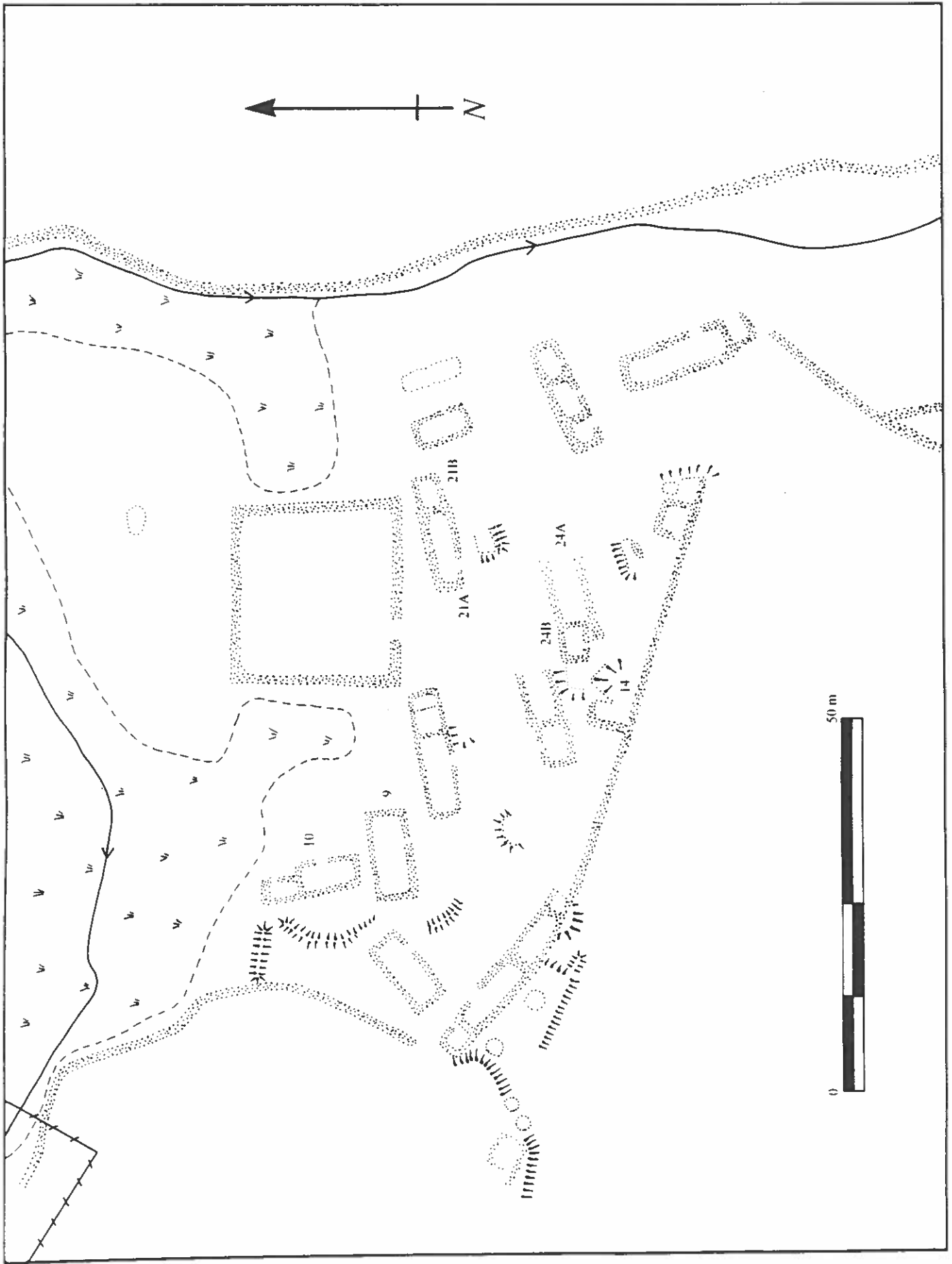


Figure 3 Plan of the visible remains at Easter Raitts (after Dalland and Smith 1995).

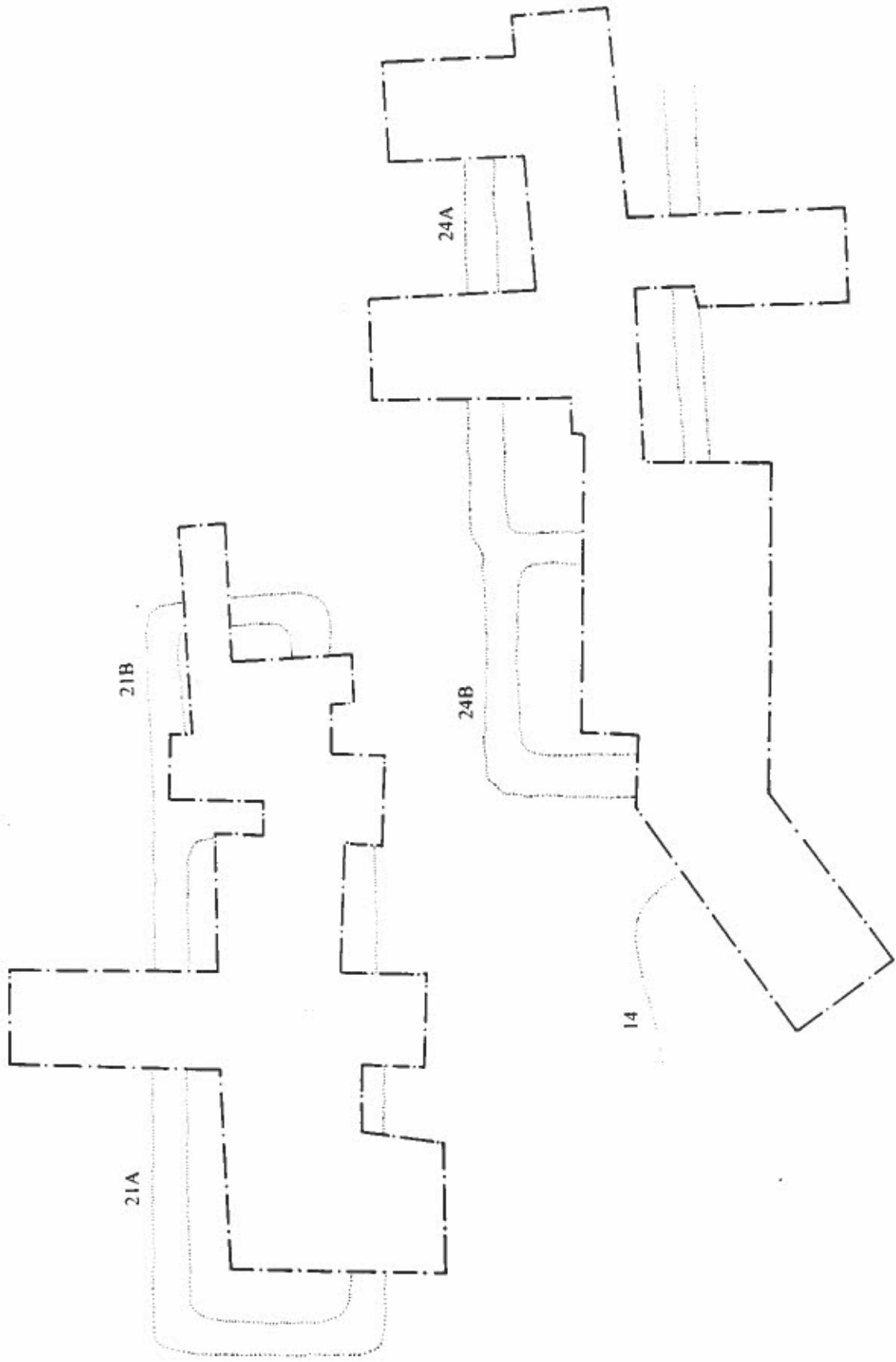


Figure 4 Position of the trenches over Structure 21 (top) and Structure 24 and Feature 14 (bottom).



Figure 5 Plan of Structure 21, after removal of the latest floor in 21A.

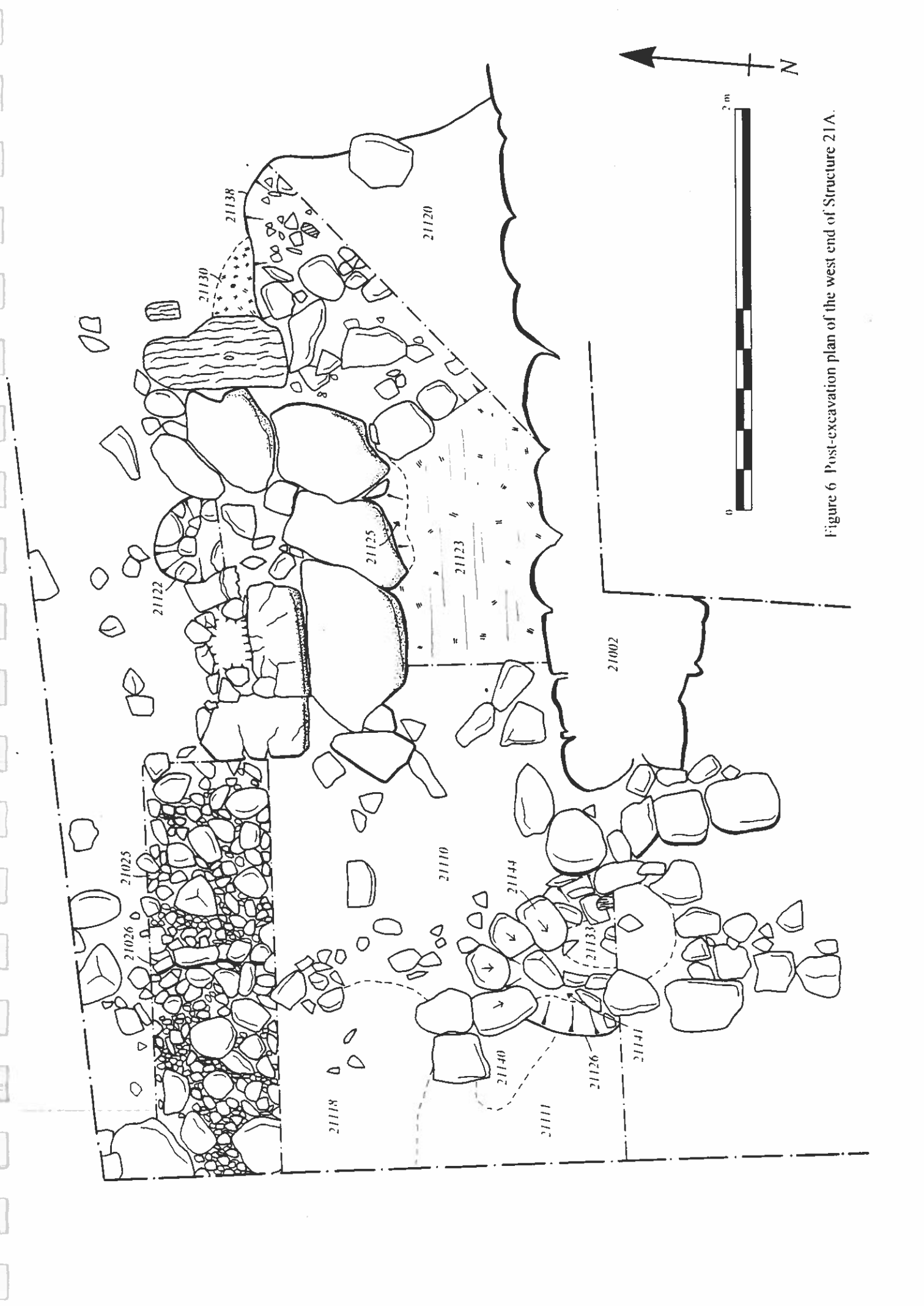


Figure 6 Post-excavation plan of the west end of Structure 21A.

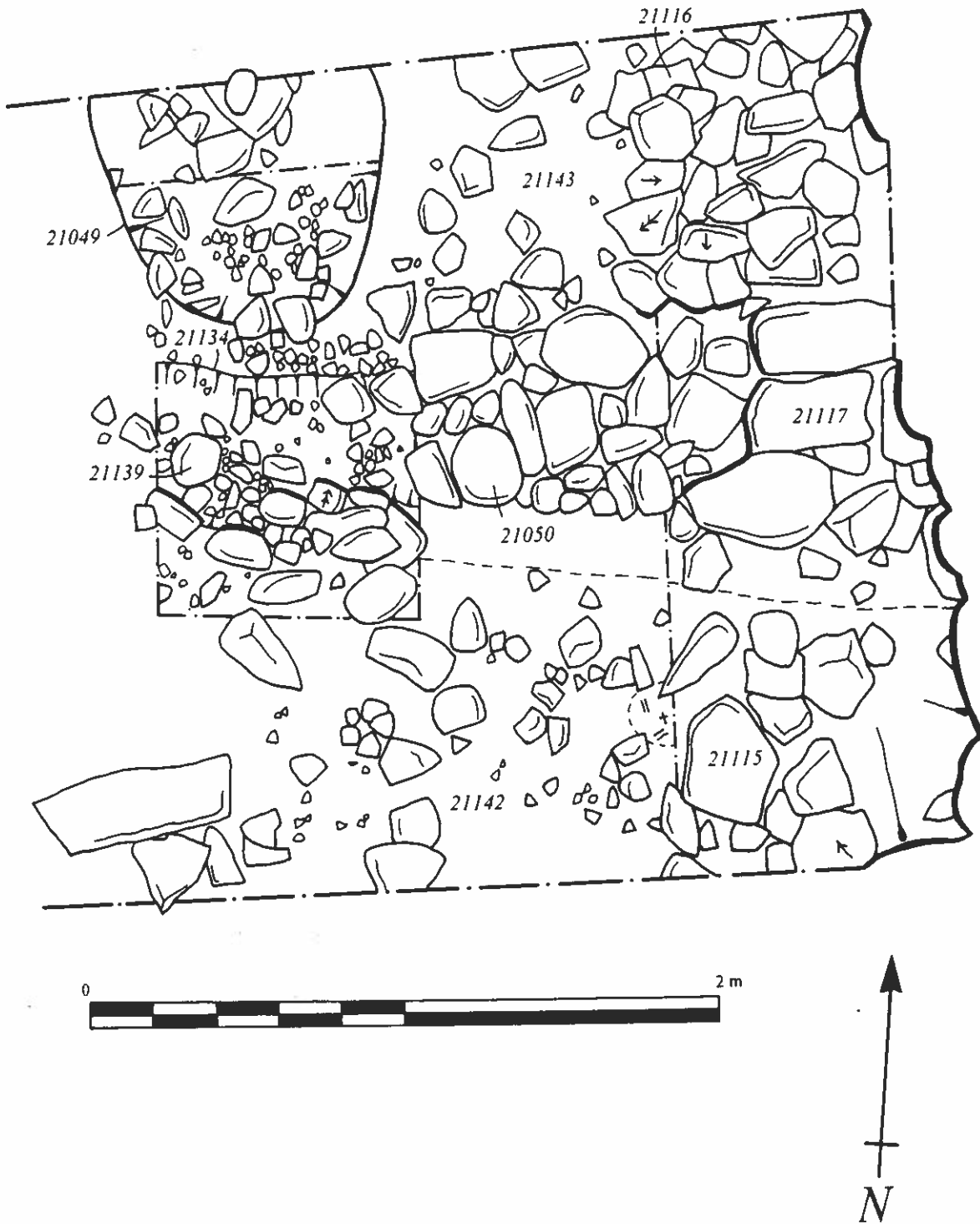


Figure 7 Post-excavation plan of the east end of Structure 21A.

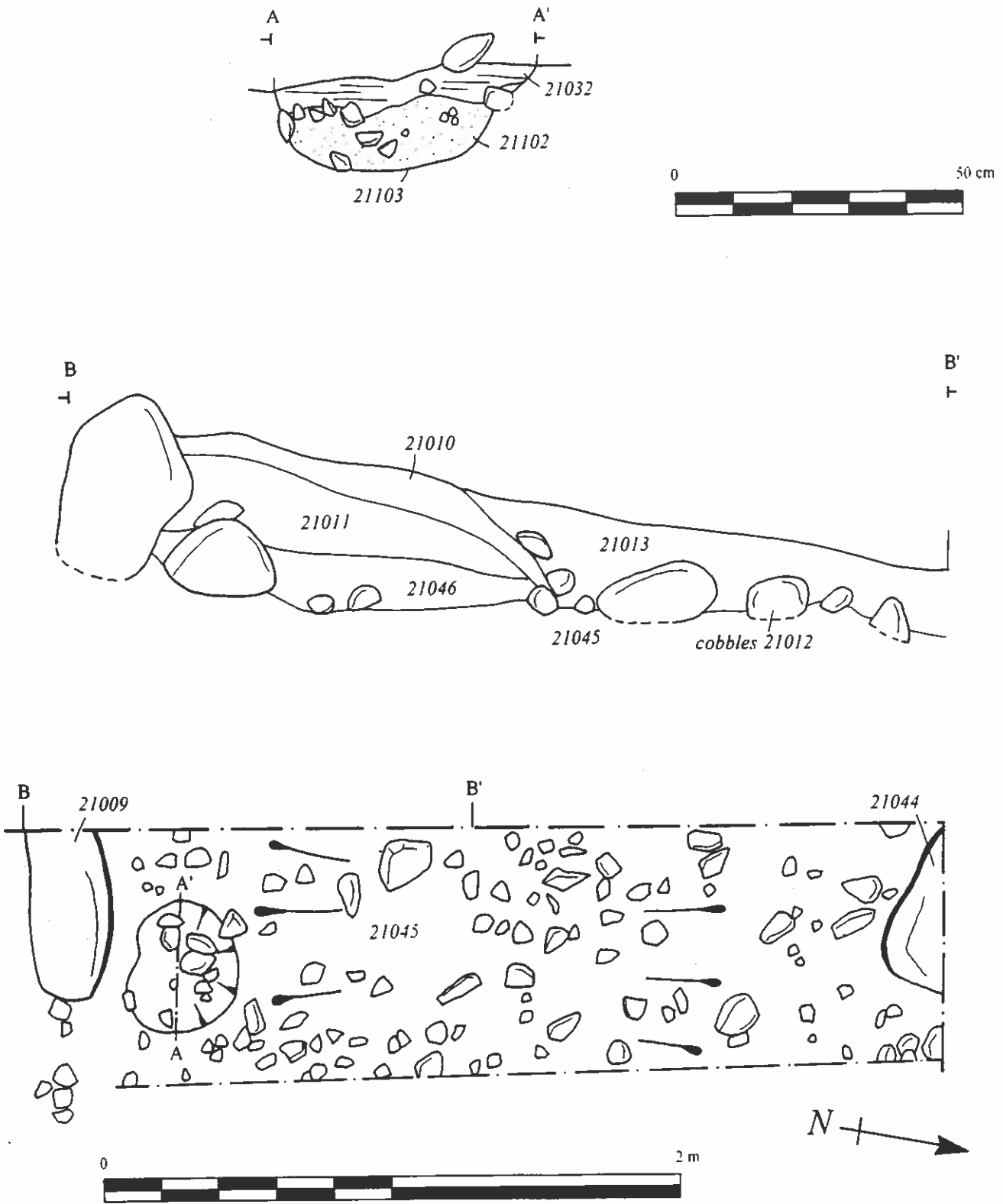


Figure 8 Outside the north wall of Structure 21A: section drawing of posthole 21103 (top): section through turf slumps abutting the wall (middle): post-excavation plan of the north exterior (bottom).

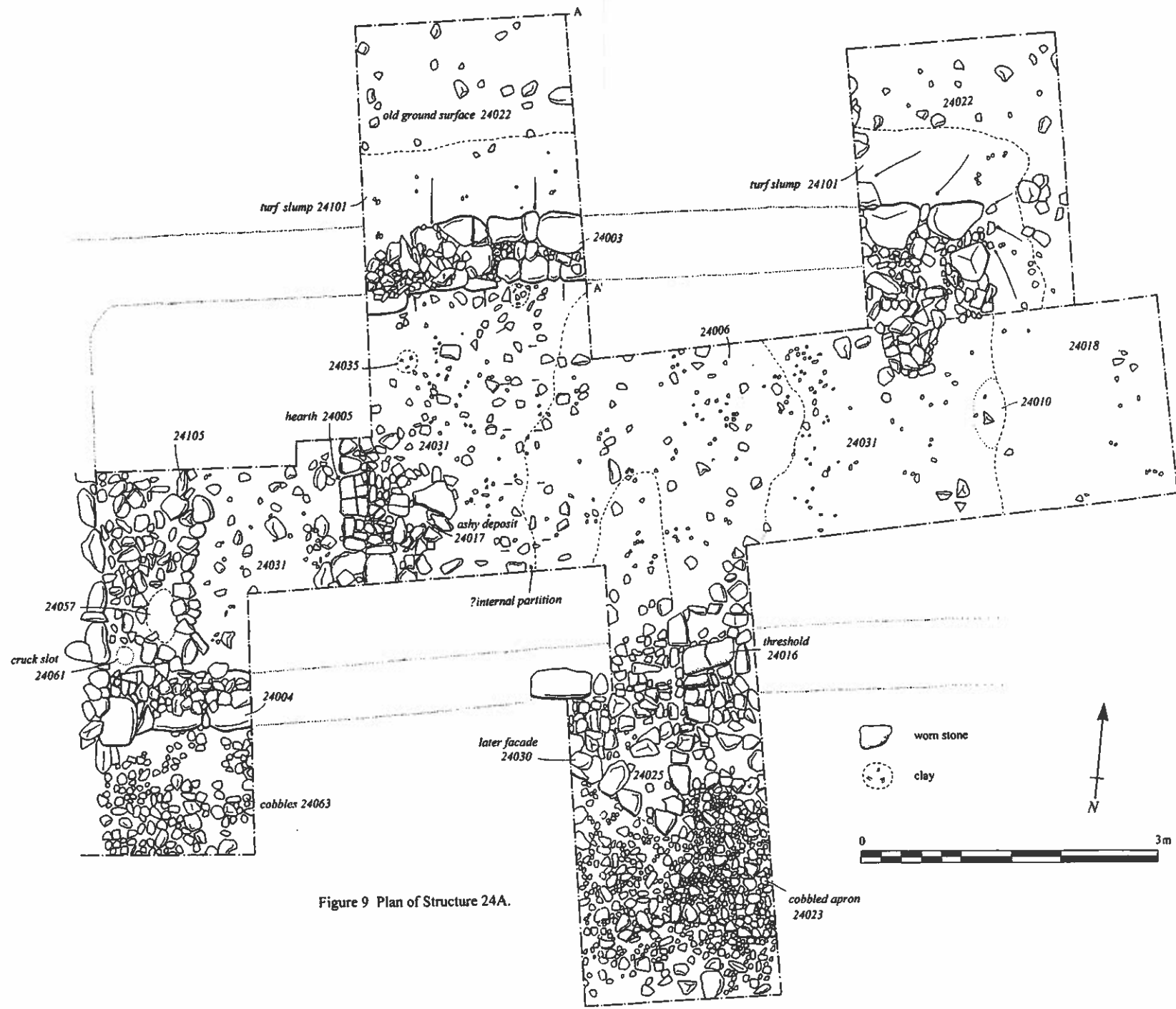


Figure 9 Plan of Structure 24A.

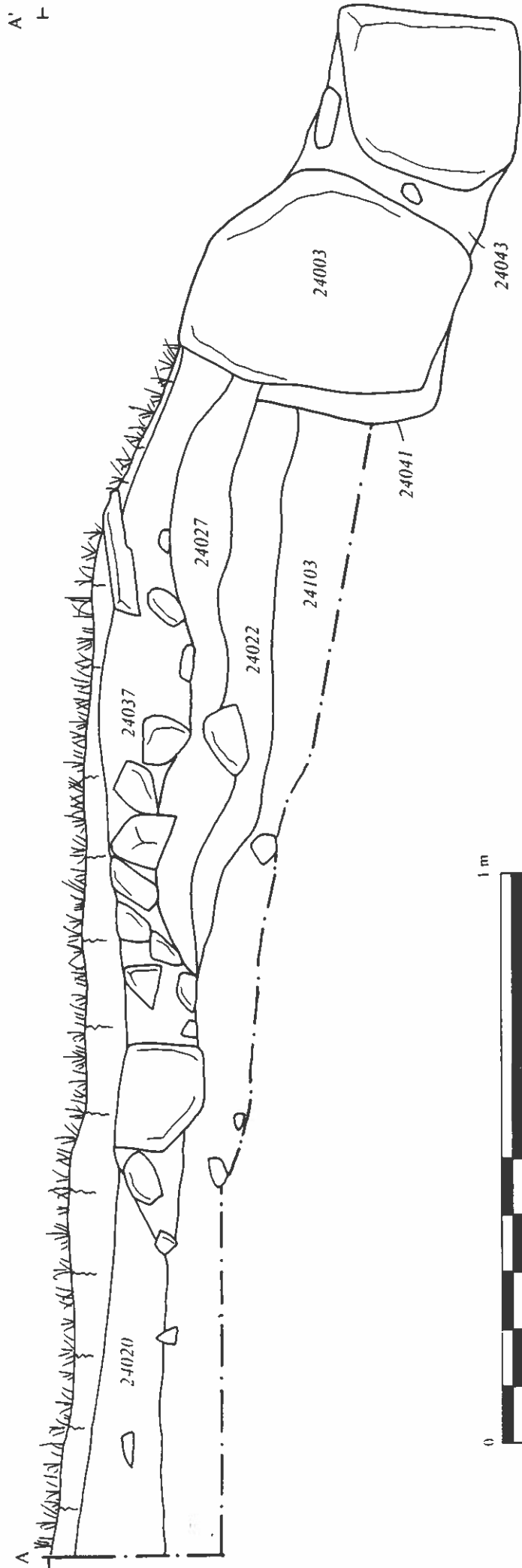
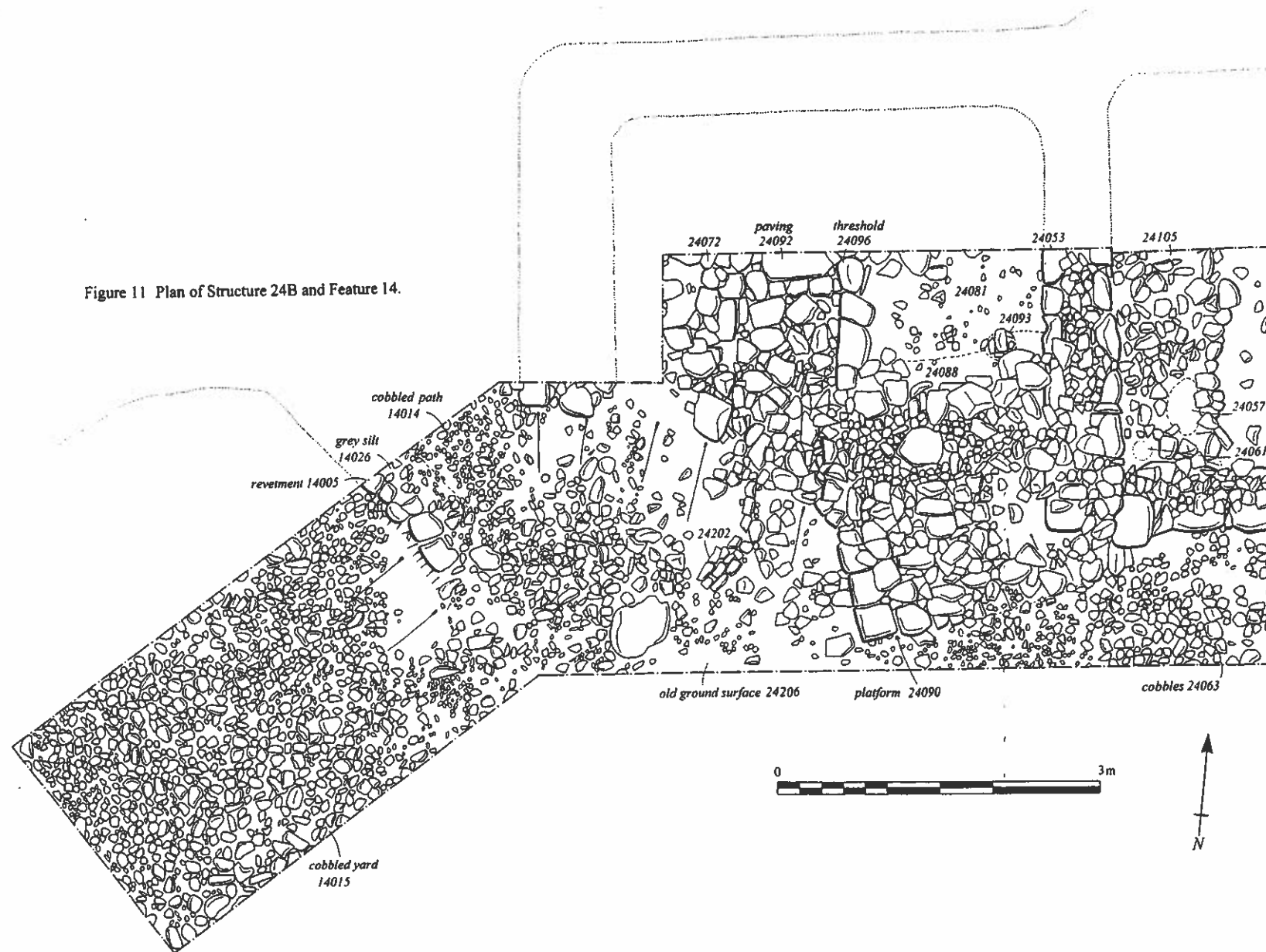


Figure 10 West-facing section through the north wall of Structure 24A, showing slumped turf (24027), wall tumble (24037) and the cut for the wall (24041).

Figure 11 Plan of Structure 24B and Feature 14.



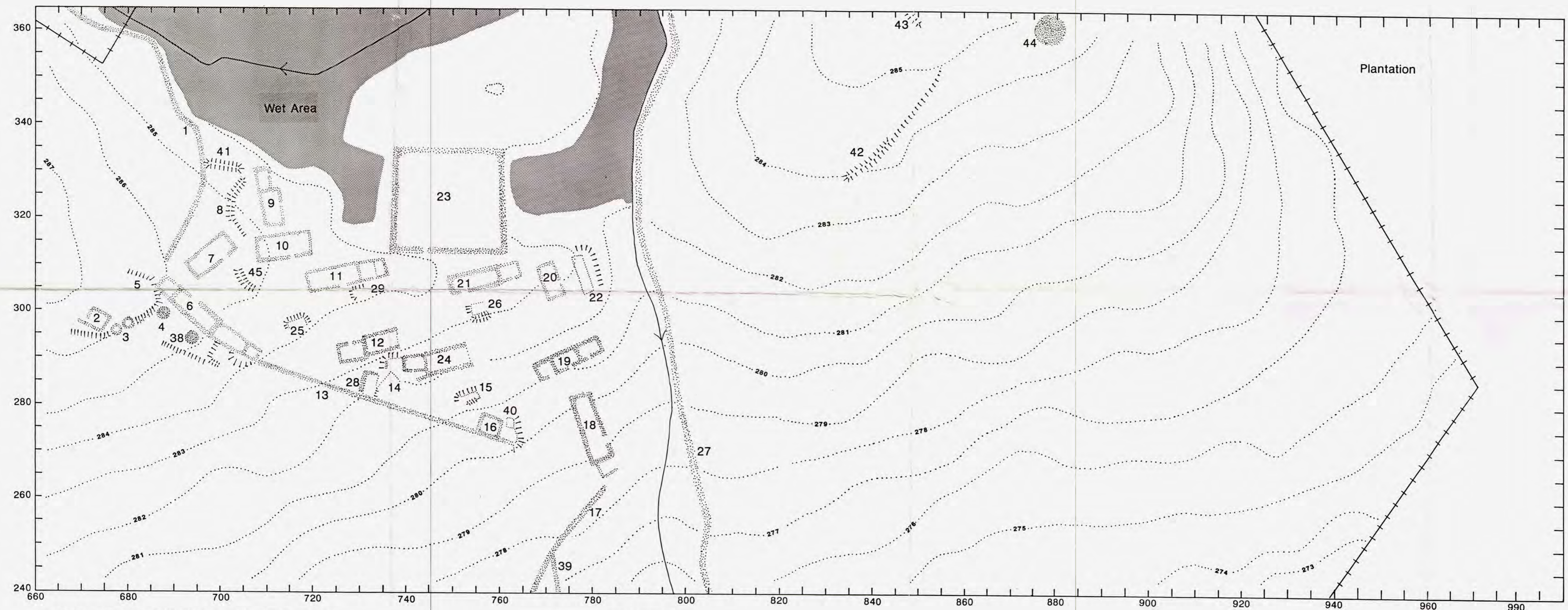


Figure 2 Easter Raitts (East Area) Scale 1:500

Water Course