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**To and from the Earth; (Re)collecting place in urban edgelands through the case study of Mount
Vernon and Daldowie**



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*This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of MRes in
Archaeology at the University of Glasgow*

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Abstract

The study of urbanism has been dogged by the legacies of the enlightenment era fixation on an idealised classical world during the birth of such disciplines as city planning resulted in the construction of idealised forms of the city based on sanitised visions of the classical city. Through the ideologies and actions of politicians, planners and bureaucrats, the representation of the idealised city has resulted in the production of spaces of real urbanism, hidden within and around the city. In these spaces those functions essential to the life of the modern city, yet considered improper in the idealised city, are hidden. These spaces, known as the edgelands, encompass everything from suburban landfill sites and municipal waste treatment landscapes, to abandoned railway yards, derelict factory sites and wastelands within the inner city.

In this research an exploration of the urban edgeland landscape of Mount Vernon and Daldowie, in Glasgow, Scotland, is considered in the production of an archaeology of 'real urbanism', concerned not with the idealised city of elite archaeologies of urbanism, but instead with the grim realities of those spaces sanitised from that vision of the city yet essential to its functioning.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Transcript of communications with archivist of the Glasgow Motorway Archive

Appendix B – Finds Catalogue

Appendix C – Digital Gallery

This research project was carried out during the coronavirus pandemic of 2020. The prevailing circumstances affected the research process and impacted on the form and substance of the final output.

Introduction

Between Mount Vernon and Daldowie the River Clyde flows languidly its meandering course across the flood plain. On its north bank the Crematorium of Daldowie, with its monolithic Garden of Remembrance, the Scottish Water Wastewater Treatment Works (WwTW), Drax sludge fuel plant and Patersons of Greenoakhill Landfill are all that remain of the grand Post-Medieval estate of Daldowie. Earlier than that, beneath the towering mounds of the landfill a Bronze Age cist cemetery, was discovered. The landscape of Daldowie Estate today falls within several classifications, a brownfield site, simultaneous Industrial and post-industrial, it has areas of recreation and commemoration, and areas of restricted access, of toxic wastes and power generation. This is an unorthodox landscape neither strictly urban nor rural, neglected by the sanitising efforts of the council planner, with considerations of aesthetic abandoned in favour of utilitarian design.

An un-landscaped landscape. This makes the edgeland a perfect case study for an anti-elite archaeology of contemporary urbanism. The edgeland is a physical representation of the ideological sanitising of the city, able to be studied in the fabric of the built environment by the archaeologist and occurring through all landscapes of the urban realm. In this research I consider the role of the edgeland in the life of the city and set about providing a new archaeological definition of edgelands as a distinct phenomenon which tells of wider processes of within urbanism. These landscapes have been neglected for the very reason that the traditional accounts of western urbanism have neglected working-class heritage in favour of glorifying accounts of the elite. This sanitising of the urban form has occurred through the work of planners, municipal authorities, improvers and historians since the Enlightenment era, who looked back to an idealised, largely imagined, classical world as inspiration for the city of the future (Smith, 2017). The dominance of elite heritage and sanitisation of the city of those aspects considered dirty – edgelands, slums and industry – through zoning, regulation and development were deliberate ideological acts which attempted to re-write the story of the city (Harvey, 2012; Collins and Levitt, 2018). In the centre, and growing outwards, the preservation of structures relating to elite activities is prioritised while industrial heritage and the surplus populations of its decline are neglected or pushed outwards to new towns, suburbs and edgelands, promoting a vision of the city which neglects the work of the vast majority of its citizens in favour of raising wealthy and powerful individuals to lofty heights – often statues topping plinths and columns.

The edgeland landscape has been neglected in the study of the modern and contemporary city, and it has largely been through the work of writers, naturalists and poets, and the growing field of

Contemporary Archaeology that it has come to recognition. This body of research has recognised the marginalised nature of many of the processes and communities which exist within the edgeland and has attempted to explore such marginalised and liminal spaces as landfill sites, motorway systems and industrial estates, refugee camps and spaces of youth culture through an archaeological approach (Buchli and Lucas, 2001; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017; González-Ruibal, 2018; Shanks, 2013). This research aims to build upon this existing tradition and produce a comprehensive biography of an edgeland landscape, charting the processes by which the edgeland is created, and those by which an edgeland is once again consumed by the city. In doing this, it will provide a key case study for understanding processes of urban decline and redevelopment within the edgeland landscape, as well as tying together the study of these landuses and communities in the form of a cohesive and engaging account. The use of a multi-disciplinary toolkit in conducting this research, while not unusual within Contemporary Archaeology, has been experimented with for the explicit goal of producing anti-elite narratives of contemporary urbanism.

The edgeland finds a home neither in urban nor rural archaeologies of the post-medieval city. In scholarship on the ancient world such quasi-urban phenomenon have been studied extensively as hinterlands, suburbs and exurbs (Emmerson, 2020; Witcher, 2005). While more recently the processes to be found within the edgeland, particularly those relating to transportation, light industry and waste processing have been a focus of Contemporary Archaeologists. While the popular conception of the landscape of urban fringes as an urban waste has obviously been problematised by scholarship such as that on the Classical world, in the context of the modern city, the influences of modernist city planning and visions of idealized urban forms continue to marginalize scholarly discourse on the edgeland as an integral part of the urban form. Interestingly these imagined ideals of a cleanly delineating urban form with tidy limits to landuses and municipal jurisdictions is a direct result of the baggage of traditional classical studies which informed so many of the ideals of early planning, these simplistic views of the Roman world have since been thoroughly rejected (Smith, 2017; Veitch, 2019). In the fields of Planning Policy, Urban Geography and Post-Medieval Archaeology the classic models of the city which still dominate popular conceptions of the urban landscape leave little room for the edgeland, and it is only in the emerging discipline of Contemporary Archaeology that the study of the processes dwelling in the edgeland have come to be studied – often as part of the interest in marginalised spaces of modernity (Burgess and Park, 1925; Belford, 2001, p.106; Auge, 1992; Buchli and Lucas, 2001; May et al. 2012).

Central Business District – Inner City – Inner Suburbs – Outer Suburbs

In the neatly designed city desired by the city planner, what place is there for the edgeland? The scraps of land where those land uses essential to the modern city, yet too uncomfortable to confront the citizens with, are hidden. This need by planners to hide and conceal these landuses, which in many ways was the birth of the edgeland, is a legacy of early scholarship and antiquarian forays into the Classical City, where idealised forms of the urban realm were imagined and these incorrect received ideas then formed the basis of the developing field of urban planning, as well as inspiring the principals of how the modern western city should appear (Smith, 2017). In this classically inspired theory planners attempt to push the edgeland, as the ultimate ‘not-in-my-backyard’ beyond the city limits, early classical accounts suggests the ancients held these landuses beyond the city walls (Shanks et al. 2004; Smith, 2017; Veitch, 2019) . Traditional archaeologies of modern urbanism have, trapped within flawed legacies of thinking on what is urban, failed to explore properly those spaces within the urban realm which are ignored through the actions of planners. Instead focusing on those same narratives of urbanism inspired by Classical Enlightenment ideals of how the city should be, they propagate and replicate elite narratives of urbanism. As Liz Lochhead put it in her 1971 poem, ‘Obituary’, “Wondering why the ownership of a famous man should make a simple object a museum piece”, in the practice of archaeology the legacies of the development of our discipline have left a baggage of elitism in the construction of narratives as much as in collection and retention practices. Through this research I have attempted to produce a geo-biographical narrative of this edgeland landscape in order to understand both the complex development and the contemporary experiences of this landscape, allowing for an exercise in place-based storytelling which situates the narrator inside the narratives. Through this I attempt to redress the balance of heritage narratives from an anti-elite perspective – deliberately telling those untold narratives of the landscape and highlighting the processes, networks and connections of the elite which so often loom like an unmentioned shadow in the traditional historic accounts.

Research Aims

This research project aims:

- To explore the biography and development of a contemporary urban edgeland landscape of Glasgow, , adding an important case study for contemporary archaeology which addresses the formation, development and decline of edgelands as an understudied aspect of these important urban landscapes.
- To produce an engaging account of a contemporary urban edgeland landscape which reflects the range of experiences within this complex network of taskscapes, providing an opportunity to explore the edgeland as an anti-elite archaeology of contemporary urbanism.

- To develop a self-reflexive multi-disciplinary toolkit for the study of contemporary edgeland landscapes with the aim of producing engaging interpretative narratives of the past. This will be done by expanding upon existing methodologies within the field of Contemporary Archaeology such as archival research, surface pick-up and creative engagements, with the use of methods from disciplines such as geography including participant observation and psychogeography. The aim of this method will be to produce a toolkit for the study of contentious landscapes such as this with the aim of producing alternative anti-elite narratives of place.

These aims can be boiled down to an attempt to understand and convey the character of an edgeland landscape on the outskirts of Glasgow telling the stories of this largely inaccessible place through interpretation and creative practices. Through this the research aims to provide a case study for writing the biographies of these often-neglected areas to encourage greater engagement with them and provide impetus for a re-evaluation of their place in the urban landscape. It is a skill of the archaeologist to interpret and enchant the stories of the past from ruins and stratigraphy unreadable to the general public, this skill in storytelling is similarly useful in interpreting the edgeland, as a contemporary landscape inaccessible to the public today. Through producing such an archaeology of the edgeland landscapes it is possible to tell the stories of these landscapes that go untold in the classical narratives of elite urbanism, which focus on the lives and times of city building elites in whose often erroneous glory statues and street names are dedicated. The archaeology of the edgeland provides an opportunity for the writing of non-elite narratives of place, telling the story of these landscapes from the ground up, revelling in vernacular heritage and the experience of those who find labour as well as recreation here.



(Figure 2 – 1900 OS Map of Daldowie Estate. In this image the lands of Daldowie estate are shaded in a light grey to denote parkland. Accessed from Pastmaps)

Towards defining the edgeland and contextualizing it in archaeological and urban studies scholarship

This research has drawn on the work of many scholars, theorists, writers and artists from across a variety of disciplinary positions. I have divided this section into those works which inform the study of edgelands, a brief archaeological definition of my vision of the contemporary edgeland as a landscape and those works which have informed the methodology of this research.

The edgeland tradition

The term, and indeed the birth of the study of the contemporary edgeland as a distinct realm of the outer urban sphere of the modern city can be largely attributed to the work of Marion Shoard, a British author, essayist and campaigner on issues of land rights, public access and planning policy. In her pivotal essay 'Edgelands' published in *'Remaking the Landscape'* Shoard (2002) set out a defence of the edgeland as a landscape in its own right, worthy of protection and appreciation as much as the mountains and moors much loved by the classic writers and geographers, arguing "They too have their story. It is the more cogent and urgent for being the story of our age." Shoard (2002) sets out her conception of the edgeland through space and time, giving it a place within the far longer trajectory of urban – rural relations, and to our understandings of the character of place;

"Often vast in area, though hardly noticed, it is characterised by rubbish tips and warehouses, superstores and derelict industrial plant, office parks and gypsy encampments, golf courses, allotments and fragmented, frequently scruffy, farmland. All these heterogenous elements are arranged in an unruly and often apparently chaotic fashion against a background of unkempt wasteland frequently swathed in riotous growths of colourful plants, both native and exotic. This peculiar landscape is only the latest version of an interfacial rim that has always separated settlements from the countryside."

Shoard (2002) then goes on to decry the past attempts by planners to sanitise, contain, reclaim and eliminate the edgeland, to turn it into "proper townscape, with neatly rounded-off development or into productive farmland." Shoard continues to delve into the character of the edgeland, positing its nature as a dumping ground for those land uses modern society needs but wishes it did not;

"These jungles of marshalling yards and gravel pits, water-works and car scrapyards seem no more than repositories for functions we prefer not to think about: blots on the landscape. The apparently random pattern in which they are assembled seems to defy the concepts of orderly planning by humans and of harmony in nature. Should these edgelands follow the suburbs from the dark pit of universal disdain into the sunlit uplands of appreciation?"

Before Shoard the work of Richard Mabey (1973) in exploring and exposing '*The Unofficial Countryside*' is one of the first true forays into the modern edgeland. Mabey (1973) from the perspective of a nature writer and naturalist writes of the canal sides, derelict sites, bings and slag heaps which exist on the periphery of the modern town and city and support a wide array of wildlife, as well as providing a corridor of nature into the built environment.

Earlier still J.B. Jackson working in the United States in the 1950-1960s was a pivotal figure in the development of 'cultural landscape' theories across the Atlantic. His focus on the 'vernacular landscape', which straddles and flanks the road network of America as viewed from the window of a passing car or peaked at from a crossing plane provided a significant leap in both the nature and subject of landscape studies, moving away from a focus on the rural, idyllic and perceived as culturally static interior (Jackson, 1951).

In Archaeology, studies of urban space have long been debated in various contexts, from the Classical Mediterranean, Ancient Mesopotamia and the Near East, to Classic Era Meso-America (Smith, 2017). Explorations of the urban fringes of the Rome, Athens and a variety of other contemporary urban sites have developed over much of the 20th and 21st c. and theories of the hinterland landscape and their trajectories have been much debated in Archaeological studies of Urbanism (Witcher, 2005). In this research I have limited the scope deliberately to the archaeology of a contemporary edgeland. However, to ignore the legacies of the Classical World, real or imagined, in modern society, and their role in forming many modern ideals in planning, architecture and the arts would be to ignore much of the inspiration for the development of the form, governance and design of cities such as Glasgow. Indeed, in the traditional study of urbanism Glasgow has long been considered a case study in the development of the Enlightenment era city, the gridiron layout developed in the mid 18th C. considered the epitome of the classically inspired urban morphology (Morris, 1979, p.248).

Robert Witcher (2005) argues strongly against the overused duality of urban and rural in relation to the consumer city, which applies well to both Ancient Rome and modern urban sprawls. Witcher (2005) notes that the boundary of the city proper is permeable both to physical movements of people and goods, and to the flow of identity and ideas, suggests the sprawling *suburbium* of the city confuses the careful delineations of town and country previously desired. The features of the classical *suburbium* echo to some of the features of the edgeland today;

"These suburbs were characterized by horti, burial, rubbish dumping, extraction, manufacturing, punishment, religious practice, horticulture and storage" (Witcher, 2005, p.121)

The *suburbium* suggested by Witcher (2005) is an extended region beyond the traditional city where there is a degree of permeability of movement, goods and identity, extending to the networks of settlements and dwellings proximate to the city which served and were served by the city. Morley (1996) similarly explores the relationship between City and Hinterland in terms of the flows of resources between these. The site of Gabii, an urban centre in Central Italy, provides a case study of this existing body of study on the fate of the city and the cultural role of the hinterland or *Suburbium*. Gabii developed on a similar urban trajectory as Rome before it was eclipsed by its close neighbour, shifts in burial pattern and land use illustrate the fluctuating nature of what may be considered the ancient edgeland (Farr, 2014, p.48-49). In this site, within proximity of the traditional heart of the urban landscape, plots were converted into a variety of industrial and social land uses associated more strongly with the suburbs and hinterland, including burial spaces, middens and quarries (ibid). In some instances, earlier house structures were converted into industrial premises or were cannibalistically quarried for stone to be shipped to Rome for the continued expansion of the Imperial heart (ibid, p.124). These spaces, within the traditional city bounds, are similar to the appearance of edgelands in the post-industrial cities of the modern world. Such peri-urban spaces have been debated extensively in the context of Classical sites and nuanced understandings of the development and delineation of these spaces exist within this field.

However, this body of theory, struggles to access the nature of similar spaces in the contemporary world where the delineation of the 'edgeland' is more specific than the *suburbium* of the classical world. Instead of the large mixed-use sprawls of *suburbium*, edgelands are often crammed, squeezed and slotted into scraps of land; along busy roads, huddled beside motorways and railways, or expanding like mould at the edges of the once grand tapestry of commutable estates. Edgelands are often delineated from other landuses and zones by infrastructural or topographic boundaries, contemporary and abandoned railways, motorway and carriageway embankments, estate boundary walls, fences and hedges, loops of river or wasteland too toxic for redevelopment provide a huddled space visually and physically divided from the mixed residential-commercial-industrial suburbs. Deeper within the city of Glasgow than Daldowie, at Clydesmill and Clydebridge a similar edgeland straddles the M74 and Clyde, being separated from the districts of Eastfield and Rutherglen, Tollcross and Dalmarnock by railways, and the route of the A74. Edgelands can vary in scale from small neglected industrial estates to sprawling peri-urban landscapes encompassing former country estates. These can be nucleated around a key 'dirty' landuse or sprawl along an infrastructural artery. For such distinct spaces, physically delineated from the wider city, the terms of classical urbanism – Hinterland and *Suburbium* – are too vague and encompassing. Edgelands may exist

within the '*Suburbium*' or Hinterland, their specificity as features and landscapes renders them distinct from these broader labels.

Michael E. Smith (2017) champions comparative urbanism to understand the morphology and trajectory of urban spaces in the ancient and contemporary world. Smith (2017) argues that the methods of archaeological investigation of urban spaces is not limited in possibilities to ancient urbanism but in fact offers an alternative lens to understand contemporary urbanism. Smith (2017) suggests that the role of the past in shaping ancient and modern urban spaces can be read through deliberate acts of urban planning, choices to retain street patterns, relict structures and architectural styles were deliberate ideological and political acts in shaping the form of the City, principles which have largely survived to the present planning system. Through this he charts the development of modern planning as a discipline from the early forays of enlightenment improvers, through the 18th and 19th Centuries, tracking the projection of idealised forms of the classical world onto the modern city in a multitude of expressions and ideologies (ibid). It is this idealised vision, echoed through the politics of the Enlightenment elites, Victorian sensibilities, Post-War planners priorities and Neo-Liberal developers revanchist aspirations, that has shaped the morphology of the City and Edgeland, defining where is 'clean' and where is 'dirty', and justifying the sanitation of space against undesirables (Smith, 2017; Harvey, 2012; Patton, 2009). These classical aspirations can be read in the elite narratives of urbanism produced by those who justify this sanitising, Sir Alyn Williams (1988, p.3), in article in the Sunday Mail justifying the gentrification and development of the Merchant City states;

"In those days Glasgow pulsed with industrial power... Here was a city-state of classical authority with citizens to match... When I returned to Glasgow and suffered a second shock, the city no longer stood proud in its Victorian splendour. Large areas had been reduced to rubble or were scarred with high-rise and low-slung slabs of concrete. Ribbons of tarmac in tortuous bows parcelled off the older parts, which bore most of what was left of Glasgow's mighty industrial past as a sullen grime on their sandstone facades... the city has now been so extensively refurbished that by 1990... it will be fully restored as one of the most self-possessed and handsome centres in the western world"

These Ideals have justified the redevelopment of neighbourhoods, clearance of slums, privatisation of public spaces and the preservation of elite heritage. This ideology in planning and municipal governance has seen the retention of the Merchant City at the same time as the wholesale demolition and development of the Gorbals and the industrial heritage of the cities working class (Collins and Levitt, 2018).

Through this research on the character of the edgeland, although in a modern context, it is possible to consider the role of the edgeland as a feature of cities throughout the archaeological record, in a variety of regions and contexts. Edgelands are the physical manifestation of the ideologies and

visions of city planning elites, and results from the intentional sanitising of processes deemed 'dirty' or undesirable, from the city, resulting in these patches of land within and surrounding 'proper' urban spaces where these landuses and processes are hidden. Throughout the history of urbanism, bureaucratic elites have through various ideologies attempted to shape the urban form, from the ancient Near Eastern City-States to Aztec Meso-America, thus it is possible to consider edgelands as an aspect of urbanism which allows us to consider the realities of urbanism rather than the idealised and imagined projection of it presented by elite narratives. The use of the modern city in this research allows for the study of the development and trajectory of an urban edgeland within a context where substantial and comprehensive data is available and where the decision making of planners can be divined through public records. A study of this kind, to define an archaeology of the edgeland would be significantly more difficult, though not impossible in the context of ancient cities where only partial pictures of the urban character are available. By producing an archaeology of the edgeland this research contributes to wider discourses within urbanism on the gulf between idealised urbanisms and 'real' urbanism which considers the character of the city complete with those aspects sanitised in traditional accounts.

In the field of Archaeology, the primary study of modern edgeland landscapes has often been the rescue by record of industrial archaeology in rapidly de-industrialising spaces, or in those places where the old city is retreating to be consumed by shiny modern industrial estate units. This industrial archaeology has been since the 1950s a frantic effort by individuals, societies and latterly by the archaeological establishment to record the industrial structures of the 18th, 19th and 20th C industrialised city, as these structures rapidly disappeared under the pressure for progress in this period. Redevelopment and urban renewal spells death for the inner city edgelands of our industrial cities as much as for those abandoned spaces on the city limit (Hume, 1974). These landscapes, such as the former site of Howdens engineering works on Shields Road and the Dixons Blazes industrial estate, form a network of edgelands which spear into the heart of the city, consuming landscapes which formerly employed hundreds even thousands of the city's citizens.

In Glasgow one individual can be credited with the recording of much of the cities once famous industrial landscapes before their demolitions. The work of John R. Hume (1974), collected in his key work, *'The Industrial Archaeology of Glasgow'* provides a comprehensive guide to the vast array of large and small industrial spaces which once cluttered the inner city and industrial suburbs of Glasgow and which for a long time categorised the city as a manufacturing and engineering powerhouse of global repute – when 'Clyde Built' was a hallmark of quality from ships to sugar drums, steam engines to cigarettes. In this volume Hume sets out what is often recognised as the principal work in Industrial Archaeology, one of the earliest comprehensive studies of this field,

which contributes much to our understanding of the development of industrial Glasgow and its infrastructural supports (ibid). In stating his motivations for recording these relict structures, in a time when their presence as a reminder of an industrial past was viewed as unpleasant, Hume (2018) states it was to record the places “where people had worked”. These spaces, viewed then as “dark and satanic, something to be swept away” are spaces of great importance to the social history and family histories of the inhabitants of Glasgow – it is unusual not to know someone whose father, mother, uncle, grandfather or family friend worked in the Parkhead Forge or the Govan Shipyards, the Saracen Street foundries, or Springburn North British Locomotive Works (ibid). My Grandfather worked all his days at Eglinton engine works in A & W Smith & Co., Sugar Machine Manufacturers as a driller, my Grandmother worked as a dyer in the Rope Works attached to the shipyard that launched the QE2. Heavy Industry for a time was the story of Glasgow, making the work of Hume in recording and petitioning for the protection of these places where much of the city’s population once toiled an important intervention in the social memory of the city (Hume, 1974).

The loss of these industrial heartlands within the city, places where hundreds, often thousands of people travelled to and from and spent their working lives within must have a deep impact on understandings of place, and the nature of the city. Their subsequent development into a scarring edgeland landscape of demolition, dereliction and patchy development over the course of the latter 20th C provided the last death-rattle for a number of districts within the city from the Gorbals, once so riotous to be known as ‘Little Ireland’, to Saracen Street. These former industrial districts have allowed the growth of the inner city edgelands which sprawl along the M74 – M77 corridor. Many of these derelict sites have been hastily filled by a patchwork of shiny glass and corrugated steel sheds to form sprawling industrial estates. Acres of former inner city devoted to a new edgeland of largely undesigned space, hulking call centres, bottling plants, garages, wholesalers, warehouses, outlet stores and offices. While the factories of the old Inner City formed part of the fabric of the city entwined with rows of tenements and workers housing blocks, the vast sprawls of industrial estate are an edgeland, distinct from surrounding residential areas, even when attempts are made at beautification with artful roundabout furniture or scattered ornamental planting.

During the excavations in preparation for the M74 completion project there were extensive excavations of former industrial sites in the post-industrial edgelands of Glasgow (Nevell, 2016). Excavations at the former site of Dixons Blazes Govan Iron Works, Caledonia Pottery Works and the Eglinton Engine Works recorded the vast changes that industrialisation brought to Glasgow as a city and considered the changing spaces of labour in these factories and works (ibid). Recent work by João Luís Sequeria (2019) investigating the personal spaces of industrial complexes in Portugal has provided a significant leap in this discipline, considering not just the passive experience of labourers

within a factory but the active shaping of that environment by those workers, graffiti carved on workbenches, pornographic posters pasted in lockers and political slogans plastered across changing room walls. By recording these personal interventions in the industrial landscape, Sequeria (2019) produces accounts of these places beyond the traditional records of industrial archaeology which focus on the official architectures of production and infrastructures of supply and demand. These former industrial sites within the city have been allowed to fall into ruin, be demolished, or as is common in Glasgow ‘spontaneously combust’ in advance of a new development that a pesky listed status had previously halted (Patton, 2009; Turbett, 2016). The recording of these places within the city landscape which have such connections to the city’s industrial past is an important archaeological intervention in telling the story of a more tangible and relatable heritage for the population when the historical record is so often dominated by the words and actions of the elite (Patton, Collins and Levitt, 2018; Pétursdóttir, 2013). The wiping of these industrial spaces from our built heritage, often through neo-liberal revanchist redevelopments, such as the Glasgow Harbour Project, are a deliberate rewriting of the history and fabric of the city, just as the retention and glorification of the relict forms and names of the ‘Merchant City’ is a similar politically as well as socially conscious intervention – one which has become increasingly contentious (McCool, 2020; Collins and Levitt, 2018; Patton, 2009).

A comparatively new field within Archaeology, ‘Contemporary Archaeology’ is the study of the contemporary past, considering how archaeological theories and methods might be applied to understanding the world around us (May et al. 2012; Shanks et al. 2004; Shanks and Tilley; 1987). The birth of this turn towards the study of the present by archaeologists can be seen first in the work led by Michael Schiffer (2015, p.179) and William Rathje from the University of Arizona (Buchli and Lucas, 2001, p.3; Graves-Brown, Harrison and Piccini, 2013). In particular the latter’s influential garbage project proved revolutionary in its critiquing of methodological and theoretical approaches in Archaeology. Similarly the ‘beer can’ project by Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley (1987) was an important development both within the wider Post-Processual archaeology movement, but also within the development of Contemporary Archaeology, taking an explicitly material culture studies approach to contemporary artefacts. The birth of the CHAT conference in 2003 and its continuing success driving discussion around theory in Historical and Contemporary archaeology has further cemented the importance of this discipline as one at the forefront of archaeological theory (CHAT, 2021; May et al. 2012). Buchli and Lucas (2001, p.4) in their introduction to the co-edited volume ‘Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past’ set out what they see as the dualism which exists in most contemporary archaeology research namely that there is either an attempt to engage with more general issues of material culture with an aim to feed back into debates within particular ‘traditional’

archaeological periods, and there are those who research explicitly the 'archaeologies of us' in the present. Through their volume Buchli and Lucas (2001) attempted to set out approaches to the study of the contemporary past which went beyond shallow ethno-archaeology, to distinguish the field of contemporary archaeology as distinct a mere function of ethnographic approaches. This research aims, to some extent, to combine these two approaches, firstly by producing a detailed and in depth account of a specific edgeland landscape and its biographies, and then to consider it as a case study by which to consider wider issues within the archaeology of urban spaces, such as the power of urban elites to reshape the city towards an idealised urban form.

From Rathje and Murphy's (1992) *'Rubbish! The archaeology of garbage'* the study of a number of those key processes and features of the edgeland landscape became a key focus in the study of the contemporary past – waste, urban decline, ruination, production, and marginalised communities (Shanks, Platt and Rathje, 2004; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017; Graves-Brown, 2015; Graves-Brown and Kiddey, 2015). In particular the aim of this type of archaeology of the present, has been to produce studies of the contemporary world grounded in the "material realities" rather than from "self-conscious self-reports" allowing criticisms of society based upon those irrefutable realities (Rathje, 1996; Rathje, 1981; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; Buchli and Lucas, 2001, pp.5-7).

The work of Alfredo González-Ruibal (2018) in his volume *'An Archaeology of the Contemporary Era'* sets out to chart some key themes within this still emerging field of study. Of particular relevance perhaps to this work, and considerations of the edgeland and urban realm, his chapter on ruins, both of contemporary provenance and remains and relict structures surviving from more distant eras provides a useful tool for considering their role in the psychology of the city (González-Ruibal, 2018, pp.25-28). His notion of the 'systemic collapse' as a moment of traumatic rupture within a society – and the role of ruins and remnants in the remembrance of such events – is of particular interest to the study of the western edgeland phenomenon (González-Ruibal, 2018, p.26). With the edgelands of Glasgow this can be seen clearly in the birth of many such landscapes, arguably events such as the intensive aerial bombardment of the Clyde dockyards and industrial inner city and the collapse of domestic heavy industry in the 1970-80s can be seen as two catastrophic events within the life of the city the scars of which can be seen in the built environment to this day. González-Ruibal's (2018) chapter on materiality in the contemporary explores the overwhelming materialities of the contemporary era, the mass-production of consumables and the monstrous scale of waste. In this he considers some of the archaeologies of the landscapes of production and waste which have developed in the contemporary, where the hazardous processing of materials and wastes is relegated out of sight of the western world, either hidden away in edgeland landscapes, or exported to regions where regulations are less stringent and the processes of manufacture or disposal less

costly (González-Ruibal, 2018, pp.164-165, p. 168). González-Ruibal (2018) sets out his archaeology of the contemporary era as the period where the forces of super modernity have come to dominate life in all corners of the planet – where the demands for production and subsequent rocketing scales of wastage, entrenchment of global inequalities and proliferation of new forms of violence as well as the destruction of ‘place’ in favour of an ever expanding homogenised global ‘space’ (Pacyga, 2019). This account of the contemporary era is different from similar attempts to produce an overview of this anthropocentric epoch as it focuses explicitly on the Global South as setting for the various case studies drawn upon, and in doing so González-Ruibal (2018) redresses many of the critiques which have argued Contemporary Archaeology is a discipline limited to the Global North (Pacyga, 2019; Rhodes, 2016).

This school of archaeological research, grounded in the use of material evidence to tell the untold stories of the contemporary world provides an established starting point for this research, however, while the archaeological approaches which define contemporary archaeology in its practice are useful – particularly the focus on materiality - the following research seeks to go beyond the existing conventions of this sub-discipline to explore a creative multidisciplinary toolkit for contemporary landscape study.

In his work on neighbourhood formation in Semi-Urban Settlements, Smith (et al, 2015) discusses the processes which result in the formation of neighbourhoods as a social and special unit within the urban and semi-urban realm. Smith and his co-authors (2015) argue that neighbourhoods form in settled residential areas, and that a sense of identity forms from factors including sociality and defence against an ‘other’. This is interesting in relation to the networks of identities and affiliations tied to particular neighbourhoods among the youth culture of cities such as Glasgow. It is interesting to consider how concepts of neighbourhood, and those identities may transfer to a landscape of largely temporary habitation, transience and shifting territoriality.

Exploring the social-life of similar spaces in the modern urban realm, Douglas Sheridan (2016) gives an account of ‘*The Space of Subculture in the City*’ in 1990s Berlin, dwelling on the role of ‘indeterminate’ or ‘*terrain vague*’ spaces. These construction sites, ruins and vacant sites within the post-industrial city are understood by Sheridan (2016) to provide a space for a variety of unofficial activities freed from the common policing of official ‘public’ space. These ‘unofficial’ spaces challenge our understandings of place.

“The absence of those conditions that usually predetermine our perception of such places, makes our encounter with their specific qualities all the more intense. For example, a canal bank is used for floating structures, existing waste vegetation becomes a garden, a roofless ruin becomes a terrace...” (Sherridan, 2016, p.6)

The lack of authority, this freeing of the boundaries and breakdown of societal norms within such spaces can be observed in the various ruinous and vacant sites in the edgelands of Mount Vernon and Daldowie.

Similar to this concept of the 'terrain vague', Marc Auge's (1997) idea of the 'non-place' has been hugely influential in the study of many spaces of 'super-modernity' including edgeland landscapes both from a geographic and contemporary archaeological perspective, and shaped much of the narrative around the liminality of these landscapes. His recognition of the forces of globalisation and urbanisation working in tandem to produce spaces across the urban sphere which offer the 'transitory occupant' a glimpse of the 'world city' their almost uniform nature as spaces of circulation, consumption and communication offering "a glimpse of a utopian city world" (Smith, 2009; Auge, 1997; Massey, 2007). In the context of the edgeland this takes the form of the seemingly endless dendritic dominance of the highway network, the sprawling nodes upon it of the industrial estate, and its intersection with unseen networks of waste processing and disposal which linger in these landscapes. This view of these landscapes is worthy of some critique especially when we consider their role not just as transitory landscapes of connection, commuting and circulation, but as landscapes which are also occupied by networks of taskscapes and an array of lived experiences for those who may work or live within them. To thus label these landscapes as non-places is almost to erase the experience of those, be they a small minority in the overall masses who experience these landscapes fleetingly daily, who familiarise themselves intimately with the landscapes of these places through their work.

Similarly the work of the author J.G Ballard often obsessed with the spaces and places of modern life that are neglected in our understandings of the city yet are important spaces for understanding society and change in our modern world. Brophy (2019) argues;

"Ballard's obsessions with gated communities, boundaries, social disorder, antisocial behaviour, subversion and urban decay are all obsessions we should have as archaeologists. His focus on urban edgelands and dystopian developments mirror the working environment of many in the heritage sector. These are our desire lines to the past."

For Ballard the exploration of these architectural and built environment spaces of life came through his vast array of novels, such as *High Rise*, *Crash* and *Concrete island*. Through Ballard's explorations of the extreme extents of the runaway imagination with this architecture of capitalism and post-capitalism it is possible to consider how our understandings of these places can be reshaped through an imagining of their experience in differing circumstances and through alternative vehicles of experience (Brophy, 2019). Many of the features of Ballard's worlds are features of the edgeland, motorways and intersections, industrial estates and shopping malls, railways and service landscapes,

and so perhaps through a critical engagement with his writings it may be possible to access from differing perspectives these landscapes today (Brophy, 2019).

Drawing from the work of Ballard, Kenneth Brophy has championed the terms Urban Prehistory and Hyperprehistory, to understand the interaction of the deep past and the modern urban realm (Brophy, 2019). Brophy (2019) has argued that we can understand the interaction of the deep past and the infrastructures, built environments and lifeways of our rapidly changing and evolving present as “The past and present meet at a stark and jagged edge, a tear, that for a moment gives the illusion of a past that still exists in a degraded form.” Through this it might be possible then to understand the interactions of a variety of pasts that exist buried and upstanding in the edgeland, where 17th C. Dovecots sit beside busy roads, Bronze Age Cemeteries within Landfills and Neolithic Axe heads are uncovered in Sewage Works. Edgelands are landscapes in transit, partially developed partially relict, they are often scattered with ruinous forms of varying antiquity providing a confrontation of modernity and the past that exists beyond the pretty array of relict structures carefully selected, retained and conserved in the city centre in order to project Past eras of greatness. Perhaps Brophy’s (2019) Ballardian outlook on this interaction of past and fleeting present can allow for more considered understandings of the experience of these landscapes by the commuter flying past at 70mph on the motorway, or trundling past with vacant stares from the carriages of a passing train, of the delivery drivers unloading HGVs weighed down with rubbish, or the site engineers who’s daily taskscape are dominated by the infrastructures of our waste.

Recent work by Farley and Roberts (2012) ‘Journeys into England’s true wilderness’ attempts to characterise the nature of these landscapes in England, drawing on experiences from cities such as London and Manchester as well as the popular imagination. However, this work recounting the character of the urban edgelands of England from the creative perspective of two authors and poets paints the picture of a very general edgeland, failing to access or comprehend the complex interweaving biographies written into these often palimpsest landscapes which shape them to this day (Farley and Roberts, 2012). The authors while attempting to lead a re-evaluation of the edgeland as a landscape worthy of exploration fundamentally fail in this attempt to create a sense of place in these supposed non-places by ignoring their complex networks of memory (Farley and Roberts, 2012). This perhaps is how the Archaeologist may contribute to the study of these contemporary landscapes, interpreting and representing the landscape for a more diverse audience, considering their landscapes on scales both local and global, and tying their biographies as an aspect of contemporary urbanism to wider discussions of perceptions of urban heritage. Edgelands provide a perfect canvas for attempting to rebalance the heritage of our urban realm by casting light on the

array of experiences represented in these landscapes and by telling the sometimes gritty, sometimes mundane realities rather than glories of the elite.

These works represent the principal interventions and explorations of the edgeland phenomenon and provide the theoretical underpinnings and the framework used in this research to explore the edgeland of Mount Vernon and Daldowie. In the next section I intend to lay out an Archaeology of the edgeland, considering the character, development and death of the edgeland.

An Archaeology of the edgeland

The edgelands, as observed in the morphology of the contemporary city, are those areas of the city where processes considered unclean, unwanted and un-urban are dumped as part of the ideological sanitising of the city by the bureaucratic system and municipal planners. These scraps of land are the result of the realisation of the idealised vision of the city executed by city planners, politicians and bureaucrats (Smith, 2017). Into these landscapes the processes and landuses sanitised from the city proper, yet essential to its functioning are poured (Fairley and Scott, 2012; González-Ruibal, 2018, p.168). These are landscapes dominated by waste, waste flows into and through them, is processed or accumulated here, hidden from the view of citizens. Shanks (et al. 2004, p.69) note the phrase 'out of sight out of mind' dominates attitudes towards garbage and waste processing in the global north. They can be vast landscapes such as the official municipal waste facilities at Mount Vernon and Daldowie, Shieldhall and Dalmarnock, or they can be derelict inner-city plots used for illicit fly tipping. These landscapes are often physically delineated from the surrounding city, obscured from access or sight by boundaries such as railway and motorway embankments, river bends, hoarding, fences and hedges, roads, architectural barriers or strategic planting schemes. The Dalmarnock edgeland, a sea of industrial units, storage yards and a vast sewage works is an example of this as it sits nestled between a loop of the Clyde and raised railway embankments. This delineation, separating the edgeland from surrounding residential and commercial districts is what differentiates the edgeland from Witcher's (2005) *Suburbium*. Edgelands can also exist in a variety of sizes, from the vast sprawling corridor of industrial units, derelict plots and storage yards which straddle for five miles the M74-M77 from Cessnock to Carmyle, to abandoned docklands along the Broomielaw of four hundred metres across, to a derelict plot at Laurieston of twenty metres squared, or smaller still a piss-streaked alleyway crowded with bar and restaurant bins behind Sauchiehall Street. The edgeland is the physical manifestation of the sanitising of the city where processes and functions considered too dirty or ugly to be allowed to exist in plain sight within the modern idealised city are hidden and collectively forgotten (Shanks et al. 2004). Landuses associated with the edgeland today in official and unofficial forms are the storage, processing and removal of waste such as sewage works, landfills, scrapyards and fly tipping sites, the disposal of the dead in crematoriums and cemeteries, the infrastructure of travel such as railway sidings, motorways, garages and showrooms, the yards and sheds of modern light industries and the ruinous forms of previous landuses overgrown and neglected (Shoard, 2002; Rathje and Murphy, 1992; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017).



(Figure 3 – Photograph of a derelict plot in Laurieston, the site has been cleared following the bombing of the original structure during the second world war and now is used as private car parking, fly tipping and occasional storage of construction and demolition waste. This site while well within the city of Glasgow forms part of a patchwork of edgeland sites within the districts of Laurieston and the Gorbals which were largely cleared of slums and redeveloped with limited success in the post-war period. Photo by Author)

The edgeland is born when land within or around the city is made available, usually land that is sub-prime for development and thus does not initially attract the avaricious gaze of the property or commercial developer. Traditionally the edgeland has been considered to exist on the urban fringe – thus the term edgeland – however if we consider the characteristics of the edgeland, I argue it is possible to identify these landscapes within the city, in the former factory site left undeveloped in the shadow of motorway flyovers, in the sea of industrial estates which spear along roadways into the heart of the city, and in the furrowed topographic scar of the disused railway line, the edgeland forms at all interfaces of the sanitised city and the grimy realities of ‘real’ urbanism (Shoard, 2002; Fairley and Roberts, 2012; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017). Temporally, the biography and development of edgelands can be complex to unravel, their trajectories often involving patterns of ownership which result in the edgelands being bypassed by wider urban development or being rendered undesirable by past landuses and associations. At the Estate of Newhailes in Musselburgh

an edgeland formed as the estate was gradually sold off over the 20th C. by the last scion of the family to fund repairs to the aging enlightenment era mansion house (Rhodes, 2013). In the course of this initially the outer parks of the estate were sold off to become an industrial estate, then gradually the inner parks were sold as an aggregate quarry then converted to a municipal landfill (ibid). Eventually even the former walled 'lady's garden' attached to the house was converted to a mink farm where minks were reared, skinned and their remains converted to dog food (ibid). This biography, from estate to edgeland, is not uncommon and bares similarities to the trajectory of the Daldowie landscape. In the inner city edgelands can form as the architectural manifestation of those ideals of the sanitised city, backcourts, alleyways and boarded up vacant plots become foci for activities of waste disposal, similarly former bomb sites, ruinous structures and undeveloped brownfield sites are left to become waste ground or are developed with a clutter of industrial units (González-Ruibal, 2018).

The death of an edgeland is also a process of sanitisation, similar to those processes which resulted in its development. This sanitisation of the edgeland can result from a variety of sanitising processes, from gentrification to development. The Porta Portese in Rome is an area of former dock warehouses and market along the western bank of the Tiber adjacent to the suburb of Testaccio. The area lies out with the traditional walled boundaries of the city in the Suburb of Trastevere – taking its name from the old city gate which lies at its Northern limit – and was until recently a prime example of an edgeland, complete with a variety of mechanics garages, second-hand car parts dealers, scrap merchants, abandoned warehouses, derelict plots, overgrown pavements and sex shops. However, in recent years the increasing popularity of the Sunday market here has resulted in the gentrification and development of much of the former warehouse vaults, into a variety of themed leisure spaces, this in turn has resulted in a tidying up of this district and the process of removing this edgeland has begun. In another such case the Estate of Newhailes mentioned above was for much of the latter 20th C. a prime example of a suburban edgeland, complete with many of the associated landuses, however upon the death of the last resident scion of the family, the estate passed to the National Trust for Scotland who set about returning the estate landscape to its enlightenment era glory, removing the mink farm in favour of ornamental gardens and covering over the landfill with a restored haw-haw and lawns (Rhodes, 2013). Thus, in the death of an edgeland we can see the very sanitising processes which resulted in its development, the edgeland forming a confrontation with the grim realities of 'real' urbanism previously hidden by the actions of planners, once confronted, must be designed out in order to maintain the illusion of the sanitised ideal city.

In producing this archaeology of the edgeland it became increasingly clear that the archaeological edgeland diverges from previous definitions of this landscape. In understanding the processes which

form and destroy the edgeland it became clear than rather than existing purely on the urban fringe the edgeland is an aspect of 'real urbanism' throughout the urban realm, from central business district to outer suburb. While previous definitions of the edgeland have considered their formation to be a random process involving the siting of essential urban functions this research argues the edgeland is the product of a long tradition of sanitising the city and that their formation and destruction can be directly tied to the ideological cleansing of the city by bureaucrats, politicians and planners.

Telling Tales

Having considered the development of edgeland scholarship, from both popular writings, Industrial and Contemporary Archaeology, and Geography and produced an archaeological definition of the edgeland, as a landscape formed by the sanitising of essential yet undesired processes from the urban realm, we will now consider how best to tell the stories of the edgeland. The works below have contributed the methodological and theoretical approaches to this research and the construction of narratives for this edgeland landscape. This research has drawn from a variety of perspectives in order to produce an account which reflects an anti-elite archaeology of contemporary urbanism, which disrupts traditional top down accounts of landscape.

Jacquetta Hawkes (1951) published '*A Land*' her ground-breaking synthesis of the story of Britain through geological and archaeological time in the 1950s. Hawkes (1951) was an archaeologist, prehistorian, writer and journalist and wrote her history through deep time of the land of Britain from a position mediated through the body, and her experience of that land. It both provides an unconventional history of rock formation and regional scenery and early life, and "an impressionistic portrayal of self through ecstatic physical apprehension of the earth forces and environmental fields" (Lorimer, 2012, p.87). This storytelling style, telling the narratives of landscape and place with the author "featuring as protagonist as well as commentator" rendering '*A Land*' in effect a biography of Britain mediated through the bodily experiences, memories and understandings of Hawkes (Lorimer, 2012, p.87-88). The entwining of memory, self and landscape delivered by Hawkes is an interesting stylistic choice in undertaking the exploration of a landscape and provides a useful point with which to consider how contemporary explorations of landscape utilising post-processual landscape theory may be narrated for wider audiences.

A consideration of the Hoskin-esque style of landscape study, grounded in local histories, memory and fieldwork may provide another route to access these landscapes (Hoskins, 1986). W.G Hoskins (1986) was a landscape theorist and geographer in the 1940s and 50s, based in the local history department of the University of Leicester. Hoskins (1986) is famed for his development of a biographical study of landscape which considers the millenniums of human and natural processes and activities which have shaped the landscapes of today, creating a dense network of cultural meanings. In his book, '*The Making of the English Landscape*' Hoskins (1986) sets out a style of exploring landscape which is heavily rooted in experience, memory, and nostalgia. Hoskins work can be seen as drawing heavily from the writings of Wordsworth and his school of Landscape writing which appreciated these attributes in the Lake District (Wesling, 2016). Hoskins (1986) it should be noted was working in a period of intense development across Britain with cities expanding,

motorways, power stations and other infrastructure of modernity appearing across the country. In the introduction to his chapter on the landscape today, Hoskins (1986, p.289) makes his distaste obvious “especially since the year 1914, every single change in the English Landscape has either uglified it or destroyed its meaning, or both.” He was a strong opponent to development, which he saw as destroying landscapes through unravelling the timelessness of the bucolic, one can suppose he held similar views regarding the encroachment of the edgeland on his imagined rural idyll (Hoskins, 1986). Although Hoskins (1986) was a strong opponent of the development of such landscapes, his perspective on landscape study, which was rooted in local scale investigations of the palimpsest of activities which formed landscapes, exploring themes through memory and nostalgia, may provide a starting point for future investigations of place. This method for landscape study is a step away from the traditional theories and approaches to the study of urbanism employed by archaeologists which often are deeply rooted in problematic legacies of what constitutes urban handed down from the 18th and 19th C. Although Hoskins (1986) work was very much focused on the idyllic and rural landscape its integration into a framework for studying urban edgelands allows for a consideration of a wider array of experiences and understandings of the landscape which are ignored in traditional archaeologies of urbanism. Through deliberately rejecting traditional archaeologies of urbanism it may be possible to establish the value of previously ignored or sanitised spaces as part of a ‘real urbanism’.

David Seabrook (2018), another writer, wrote ‘All the Devils are Here’ an alt-history of the declining resort towns of the Kent coast. This is a gritty, experienced and exploratory depiction of the lesser known, lesser seen and lesser talked about biographies of once desirable leisure landscapes (Seabrook, 2018). His journey around characters, acts and events is almost psychogeographical, as he recounts his physical journeys alongside the stories he uncovers, providing as he goes insights into his emotional responses to often repugnant crimes, conflicting characters and resonant places providing a rather interesting study of conveying sense of place, as well as experiential accounts in writing (Seabrook, 2018). One reviewer described it as;

“an archaeological dig, an exorcism, an occultist reading of wrongdoings in Rochester, Chatham, Ramsgate, Deal and Margate. It’s neither crime study, travel guide nor history text, yet somehow a bricolage of all – a Broadstairs Babylon.” (Myres, 2018)

China Mieville (2009) in his fictional portrayal of two twin and overlapping cities ‘*The City and the City*’ explores the ability for city dwellers and municipal governments to “Collude in ignoring real aspects of the cities in which they live – homelessness, political structures, the commercial world or the stuff that’s ‘for the tourists’” (McKie, 2009). Through the book this is Mieville’s (2009) primary commentary, one which can be read both through the policing of these dual cities and through the

ability of the citizens to deliberately unsee those overlaps of place and space. This has interesting parallels to the urban edgeland as areas of the urban fabric which exist in patches and scraps from the outer-limits right into the inner city and which play host to landuses that the general populace ignore and exclude from their appreciations of the urban form, and which planners police to maintain the status quo of urban sanitisation. Mieville's (2009) novel provides those interested in the study of non-places, edgelands and those aspects of 'real urbanism' excluded from idealised and sanitised visions of the urban form with an alternative means by which to consider the experience of these places within the city, as existing almost as an alternative city, complicity ignored by the citizens, bureaucrats and planners.

From the creative and exploratory work of writers such as Seabrook and Mieville, approaching their chosen landscapes from differing perspectives it can be seen how certain methods of landscape study and understanding within the creative writing sectors can provide new means of accessing those stories which form the unofficial or alternative histories of the urban landscape often ignored in favour of elite or sanitised narratives, and can produce different frameworks for considering the hidden or sanitised city, in order to access more diverse and complete 'real urbanism'.

From Geographical schools of landscape study, I have considered the tradition of psychogeography as a potential theoretical and methodological entryway into the study of the edgeland.

Psychogeography has a long and complex history undergoing several transitions and disciplinary shifts over its trajectory. Its origins as a method and theory of landscape arguably can be derived from the birth of the literary figure the '*flâneur*', a romanticised, solitary, entitled figure strolling at leisure the streets of Paris, following the flows of the city within but apart from them (Coverly, 2010, p.57). A significant criticism of psychogeography is that it entitles the experience of some in the interpretative process as interpretation has been limited to a narrow, indiverse world view and experience (Fisher, 2000). The evolutionary thinkers of this method have been exclusively white males leading to a method that could quite easily suggest a universality of experience when none such exists in the experiencing of place (Fisher, 2000). Similarly, the figure of the *flâneur* is undeniably a privileged male figure, unconstrained by those social controls which may limit where and when he can wander the city (Coverly, 2010). For the purposes of this study I have attempted to utilise Psychogeography as a means to consider how movement around this landscape could be narrated, using past flows of movement – derived from historical accounts of rambling – to explore different means of experiencing place – however I must acknowledge in doing this that I am just another privileged white male.

Hayden Lorimer, a cultural geographer and geographical storyteller, has contributed enormously to geographical understandings of landscape rooted in memory, experience and creative collaborations. His work often charts the biographies of individuals and places within their landscapes, including 18th-19th century estates, reindeer herds in the Cairngorms and a pet cemetery (Lorimer et al. 2018; Lorimer, 2006; Lorimer, 2018b). Through exploring understandings of place through the experiential accounts of those who have lived and worked in them Lorimer (2018b; 2018a) has produced a style of landscape writing that is emotive, involving and vivid. Geographical storytelling as Lorimer (2018b) terms it, is artistic as much as it is scholarly, seeking to convey emotional connections to landscape through the telling of stories which relate to the reader and allow them to gain Lorimer's understanding of those landscapes. Lorimer's (2018b) geographical storytelling of a pet cemetery highlights his skill in writing place, with the embodied experience of the narrator central to his telling of the character of this obscure cultural landscape and those characters that work within it. Through his '*A Methodological Manifesto for Doing Landscape Geography*' Lorimer (2018a) sets out a multidisciplinary methodology for the study of landscapes at a micro scale, setting the researcher as at once an embodied observer, cartographer, archivist, archaeologist and antiquarian, naturalist, activist and collector of place.

Creative interventions in archaeological practice has a rather lengthy tradition, from the evolution of archaeological drawing conventions, to reconstruction drawings and on to more nuanced and critical engagements. The work of Mark Dion illustrates well how the freedom of expression allowed for artists can provide an interesting disciplinary criticism to the practices of the archaeologist in fieldwork and display. In '*Raiding Neptune's Vault*' Dion (1999) 'excavated' materials dredged from the canals of Venice in a laboratory-come-exhibition. The array of materials, spanning many hundreds of years was then carefully displayed in a deliberate evocation of the early museum and archive, arrayed in cabinets, drawers and display cases. The creative process of this act of performance and display was a direct critique of the practices of galleries and museums, as well as of the archaeologist (Dion, 1999). Similarly, Dion's '*Tait Thames Dig*' explored archaeological practice as performance through the delivery of a large river-combing style excavation and walkover survey of the banks of the Thames in London, exploring the material regurgitated by tide and river's flow (Dion, 1999). "Archaeological collecting/fieldwalking as process of destruction, obsession through Dion's work becomes the final scenes of an epic theatre" (Cole, 1999, p.32). Through this collecting and displaying as an act of critical performance Emi Fontana (1999, p.47) observes, "Things, objects and fragments take the place of people and do not hesitate to tell you their stories and their version of the facts". This is art, which is archaeology, or is it archaeology which is art? Dion (1999) uses the familiar and unfamiliar materials 'excavated' in his digs to tell stories and evoke critical thought on

the nature of art and the artefact, and at what point trash regains a status of value as a relic evoking memory.

This is similar in many respects to the recent work of Amy-Leigh Bird (2018) which focused on the act of collection as an entryway into a deeper appreciation with landscape, and a means to explore self through the mediation of experiences of collecting materials and the child-like joy that that can bring. This project looked at the archaeological traditions of fieldwalking and survey alongside the act of collecting as a creative process through collaborations with students and staff of Archaeology including myself at the University of Glasgow. This was an interesting project to be involved in the practice of, allowing for critical consideration of what and why certain 'artefacts' hold that status and others retain the title of 'rubbish', how do the interests and existing *comperanda* of the collector become reflected in the assemblages produced. In reflection Bird (2012, p.18) suggests that the act of collecting as a communal activity had allowed her to connect with place in a manner that the walker, runner, cyclist or picnicker may not;

"my work had allowed me to enjoy the pleasures of the riverside: the sounds; the textures; the colours; the escapism... It was a fulfilling and personal experience shared through a framework of collective ideas. I enjoyed challenging the stereotypical actions of an archaeologist and what constitutes as one. If I may say so, I consider myself as an archaeologist, an explorer, and an artist. The ideas which cluster around all of these professions are heavily interrelated and when they can cross paths to such an extent, it can have quite an outcome."



(Figure 4 – Photograph of final degree show of Amy-Leigh Bird at the GSA. In the image the clean sharp aesthetic of the modern gallery space contrasts sharply with the ‘cabinet of curiosities’, exhibit tank and resin plaque, which evoke the habitat of the Victorian antiquarian and collector. Photo by Alexandria Parker-Banks, used with permission of Amy-Leigh Bird and Alexandria Parker-Banks)

The work of Mark Dion and Amy-Leigh Bird in collecting and creatively displaying everyday objects retrieved from the landscape as artefacts and allowing those artefacts to tell their own stories is an interesting approach to some of the methods and processes of archaeological fieldwork. The use of artefacts, with minimal interpretation to tell stories of landscape and to produce a sense of place while removed, into the context of a gallery, is an interesting intervention in thinking about producing landscape narratives. Giving the artefacts agency in the building of landscape narratives may be a means to subvert reliance on documentary evidence and existing collections which limit traditional accounts of historic and modern urbanism, the assemblages produced by this form of jumbled collecting may allow for the narration of a more representative archaeology of urban landscapes.

Dieter Roelstraete (2009) argues that the interaction of contemporary art and archaeology can be seen in their material similarities, “both art and archaeology are ... work—hard and dirty work, certain to remind us of our bodily involvement in the world.” This is seen well in the practice of Rose Ferraby, Archaeologist and Artist, who draws heavily on her experiences in the commercial and academic sectors in archaeology. Ferraby’s (2019) work seems to draw in many ways from her understanding of archaeology as an art, “sculpting the land” the array of archaeological methods and skills akin to those of the artist in moulding and reshaping a subject for representation. Ferraby (2019) argues that both archaeology and art require processes of enskillment, gaining a highly intuitive and subjective knowledge of the subject through bodily practices (Ingold, 1993). Ferraby (2017) argues that the evolution of modern archaeology owes much to creative thinkers throughout its evolution, many early archaeologists, such as Sir Mortimer Wheeler, were also artists or dabbled in artistic circles. Ferraby, (2017, p.1) suggests;

“The processes used to collect, alter, interpret and visualize visualise the data are creative acts that have parallels with more easily recognizable recognisable arts practices such as painting, drawing or photography.”

In her work, Ferraby (2019) argues that the subjective elements of both art and archaeology are what facilitate communication of the archaeological past in context to alternative audiences, the ability of visual art to convey texture and tone enhances our ability to convey some of the essential qualities of the act of excavation through which much of our data is derived. The interaction, and indeed confusion, of the role of the artist and archaeologist in the study of the contemporary past

has received increasing attentions of late, considerations on a variety of scales of the cross-disciplinary interactions provoked by these meetings has provided points for re-evaluating our collective toolkits for the study of contemporary places (Hawkins, 2018; Thomas et al, 2018; Dixon, 2018; Pearson, 2018). The work of Michael Shanks (2013) and Þóra Pétursdóttir (2014) in creatively documenting spaces of contemporary ruination through photography provides an example of such practices which straddle the archaeological and artistic. The emotive and accessible possibilities provided by more creative forms of representation and interpretation, including in the form of visual arts, is an opportunity to go beyond traditional textual narratives of the landscape, allowing the creation of alternative experiences of landscapes past, present and future which could both appeal to wider audiences but could also inspire emotive responses to the edgeland landscape.

Activist Scholarship and the Politics of Urban Place

In studying the archaeological edgeland and becoming involved in the debates surrounding its formation and destructions it is important to consider the wider impacts of those ideologies of sanitising the city which are played out in a variety of forms across the urban sphere. Archaeology is inherently political and to engage in debates around the sanitising of the city without consideration of the inherent politics at play is unwise. Who sanitises the city and for whom? In this section I consider some existing scholarly activism which considers what and why we record, as well as who is recording and for whom? In this work on the archaeology of the edgeland I attempt to subvert those elite narratives of urbanism which justify and replicate the continuing sanitising of the city which results in the privatisation of public space, anti-homelessness architecture and the increasing policing of who and what belongs in the city.

In Glasgow, the work of Mitch Miller (2017), an artists and former geographical artist-in-residence, is an interesting bridging point of disciplines and fields. His 'Dialectograms' in his own words;

“Take a dash of cartography, a pinch of architecture and a fair bit of ethnography and you have the dialectogram, graphic art that depicts place from the ground up” (Miller, 2017).

Miller (2017) works primarily in spaces within and on the fringes of Glasgow, recording places and landscapes both present and recent past, drawing together memories and oral histories with cartographic and figural representations which access, interpret and represent a sense of place through illustrations. Sites recorded include the Red Road Flats, Carntyne Showman's yard and the Brig Bar, these are sites which face or have faced the might of revanchist local government attempts to sanitise the city, the Red Road flats now demolished, along with the Brig Bar which lingered in their subterranean concrete caverns, and the showman's yards of Glasgow are regularly threatened by the actions of the council. Mitch Miller's (2017) works can be a very direct form of creative

activism, recording 'from the ground up' those places and spaces of Glasgow threatened by civic neglect or worse the gaze of the revanchist improver. Yet in recording these places, and the stories of them, Miller (2017) is also in many ways the archaeologist of their stories, recording often their final days and last memories, the bingo hall, pub, concierge station and even a flat in the Red Road in the years before their inevitable and long foreseen demolition. This is an archaeological as well as an artistic activism, and one which has possibilities in the edgeland as a similarly neglected and unrecorded landscape.

In the main stream archaeological discipline Sara Perry (2019, p.361) argues that there needs to be a radical reorientation of the motivations and practices of archaeology today, shifting away from the constant dialogue of 'rescuing' an imperilled resource towards a practice which justifies the use of archaeology for the 'enchantment' it can provide. Perry (2019) goes on to argue that this reorientation could drive new focuses in archaeology into the ability of archaeology to bring good in contemporary society through creative and socially conscious action. Perry (2019) develops this idea by considering the 'enchancing' quality of archaeology as a practice capable of bringing excitement and joy to its practitioners, participants and the public. In terms of the archaeology of edgelands this may bring a new outlook to the study of these landscapes, which instead of focusing on those relict structures threatened by development or decay, considers more widely the capacity for these often underappreciated, misunderstood and avoided landscapes to be reclaimed as spaces of socially conscious action.

Similar to the work of Miller (2017), often contemporary archaeological research has focused on similar spaces threatened with extinction within the modern city, such as the work of McAtackney and Ryzewski (2017), which explored themes of creativity, decline and political action in the urban realm. Such works have sought to actively critique aspects of modern life such as unsustainable consumption and waste production, revanchist improvement and the treatment of marginalised communities (González-Ruibal, 2018; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017; Rathje and Murphy, 1992). Work by Shanks (2013) and Pétursdóttir (2014) has sought to record ruinous spaces threatened by revanchist improvement, and Mike Pearson's (2013) performances in Cardiff can be seen as an attempt to explore the boundaries of archaeological practices, place, politics and performance within the city, with performances occurring in a number of spaces within the city which had undergone or would undergo revanchist improvement from the docklands at Mount Stuart to the arcades and markets of the city centre.

Alfredo González-Ruibal (2018, p.49) in his book, 'An Archaeology of the Contemporary Era' sets out to deliberately challenge what he sees as the 'soft politics' of some practitioners within the field of

Contemporary Archaeology, setting out five operations to offer more radical approaches to the study of the contemporary; “dissensus, disclosure, defamiliarisation, desublimation and descent.” González-Ruibal (2018) takes a decisively activist approach to his scholarship, recognising the nature of archaeological research as a political act and the impact our affiliations and ideologies have on our practice, and yet goes beyond this to seek to challenge what he labels the hegemony of liberal soft politics within mainstream archaeology – which seeks to stifle conflict and political intervention in favour of a politics of consensus – and in doing critiques some of the key buzzwords of contemporary liberal soft politics in archaeology ‘Multivocality’ and ‘Multiculturalism’ (Shanks and Tilley, 1987, p.114; González-Ruibal, 2018, pp.51-53). While qualifying that the principals of multivocality were sound in providing a forum in the archaeological process for democratising interpretation and widening access to the creation of narratives he goes on to argue that “multivocality is the excuse to embrace forms of soft politics that eschew structural inequality and conflict. It is my impression that archaeologists do not pay enough attention to the fact that some voices speak louder than others” (González-Ruibal, 2018, p.51; 2020) and goes on to suggest that in contentious settings the use of multivocality and a ‘soft politics of reconciliation’ may be harmful in the process of provoking greater mutual understandings in the present (Žižek, 2002; Pluciennik, 1996; González-Ruibal, 2020). González-Ruibal (2018, p.52; Žižek, 2002) goes on to suggest that in such spaces of contentious heritage a policy of intolerance may be necessary;

“The choice of reconciliation, dialogue and consensus may not work and archaeologists will have to take sides, whether they like it or not, while at the same time trying to remain autonomous, as producers of objectified knowledge ... The idea is that reconciliation cannot be achieved at the expense of justice. Multivocality has often been used by heritage practitioners as a sort of shortcut to reach reconciliation without dispensing justice, but it rarely works”

Taking aim at another buzzword of soft politics in mainstream archaeology ‘Multiculturalism’ González-Ruibal (2018, pp.52-53) argues that while the strong concern for the representation of minorities has been a positive move, its role in shifting the dominant focus of emancipatory politics to the ‘culture wars’ has chartered archaeological activisms often into the realm of progressive neoliberalism rather than radicalism. The focus on antagonisms between identity groups and the reconciliation of these, rather than horizontal antagonisms around class, inequality and capital have unintentionally provided “support for oppression and inequality today by neutralising it in the past” (Orsen, 2011, p.538; Pacyga, 2019). The work of Paul Graves-Brown, Schofield and Rachael Kiddey, engaging with homeless communities can be seen as an example of this where by attempting to ‘embrace the margins’ through positive narratives they, at points, unconsciously call for the acceptance of inequality as mere differences to be celebrated (Graves-Brown and Kiddey, 2015;

Schofield and Kiddey, 2011; González-Ruibal, 2018; p.53). Through this form of liberal multiculturalism applied to the archaeology of the recent past “there is the risk to transform marginalised class and racial identities into just another form of difference that must be celebrated” instead of contesting the inequalities and actions which resulted in the marginalisation (González-Ruibal, 2018, pp.52-53; Pacyga, 2019).

From a geographical perspective David Harvey (2013) has argued that the privatisation, through development and regeneration or ‘improvement’, of urban public spaces is an act of disenfranchisement by governments and the private sector resulting in the expulsion of undesirable elements from supposed public spaces, the encroachment of private interests on the public realm and the erosion of the freedoms to protest and shape our spaces of public life (Doherty, 2008). This erosion of what Harvey (2013) terms the ‘right to the city’ is occurring in the edgeland as much as in the *piazas*, pedestrian districts and former markets squares of the city centre. The overgrown and neglected public park is sold off for re-development and the traditional right of way footpaths are blocked and re-routed around new private or industrial spaces. Harvey (2013) proposes a radical opposition, the formation of ‘rebel cities’, enshrining the ‘right to the city’ in an ‘Urban Revolution’. Through this research I intend to consider the development and destruction of the edgeland through the lens of Harvey’s (2013) ‘right to the city’ as the privatisation of public space in the CBD and inner city is a direct result of the same processes of sanitisation which result in the edgeland, and acts of developers and planners in attacking the edgeland through redevelopment and renewal is a similar attack on the ‘real urbanism’ of the edgeland. I will also consider where within the right to the city and urban revolution the edgeland falls as arguably one of the few uncontrolled, unregulated and ‘wild’ landscapes of the urban realm, and one which is in constant danger of development by the revanchist municipality.

From 1988, in advance of Glasgow as European City of Culture 1990, a collective known as the ‘Workers City’ set out to publish an anthology of articles against this neoliberal Thatcherite revanchist reimagining of the city of Glasgow, which saw the city’s drive for redevelopment as an act of historical cleansing which sought to glorify the elite histories of the city while sanitising the industrial heritage of the worker classes.

“There is widespread acceptance that it has nothing whatever to do with the working-or the workless-class poor of Glasgow but everything to do with big business and money: to pull in investment for inner-city developments which, in the obsessive drive to make the centre of the city attractive to tourists, can only work to the further disadvantage of the people in the poverty ghettos on the outskirts” (McLay, 1988, p.1)

It was during the run up to the awarding of Glasgow with 'City of Culture' status and funding that the Merchant City area was redeveloped from a previously run down warehouse quarter to the centre of a trendy and vibrant bar, restaurant and shopping district, an act which saw a number of traditional public spaces within the old city, including the old Fruit Market, Hutchiesons Hospital and the Briggait (Collins and Levitt, 2018). The glorification of the Merchant City, its rebirth and remarketing as a new centre of Glasgow's arts, culture and entertainment scene has been at the expense of the City's industrial heritage – a heritage which is both more accessible and more relatable to the citizens of this city of Workers (McLay, 1988; Collins and Levitt, 2018). During this period efforts were made by the city to council to remove monuments and memorials to working class heritage and solidarity, such as the statue of 'La Pasionaria' on the Broomielaw, which commemorates those Scots who volunteered despite state sanctions to fight in the international brigades of the Spanish Civil War (Grater, 2018). The 'Workers City' collective published extensively on the loss of the Glasgow of the worker that had existed in their minds until the redevelopments and regenerations of the 1970s and 80s when the decline of heavy industry, and the subsequent development of large high rise suburbs shattered neighbourhoods and bonds of solidarity (Collins and Levitt, 2018).

"where and how in your calculations did you quantify the value of a community? Of community life? Of a sense of belonging? Of the feeling of identification? These are rhetorical questions. I know the answer. Such human considerations do not feature in their thought processes... I can understand how attractive this prospect must be to those at the top. Those of us who refuse to be pawns in their power game can be picked up by their bureaucratic tweezers and dropped in a filing cabinet under "M" for malcontent or maladjusted. When you think of some of the high flats around us, it can hardly be an accident that they are as near as one could get to an architectural representation of a filing cabinet." (Reid, 1972)

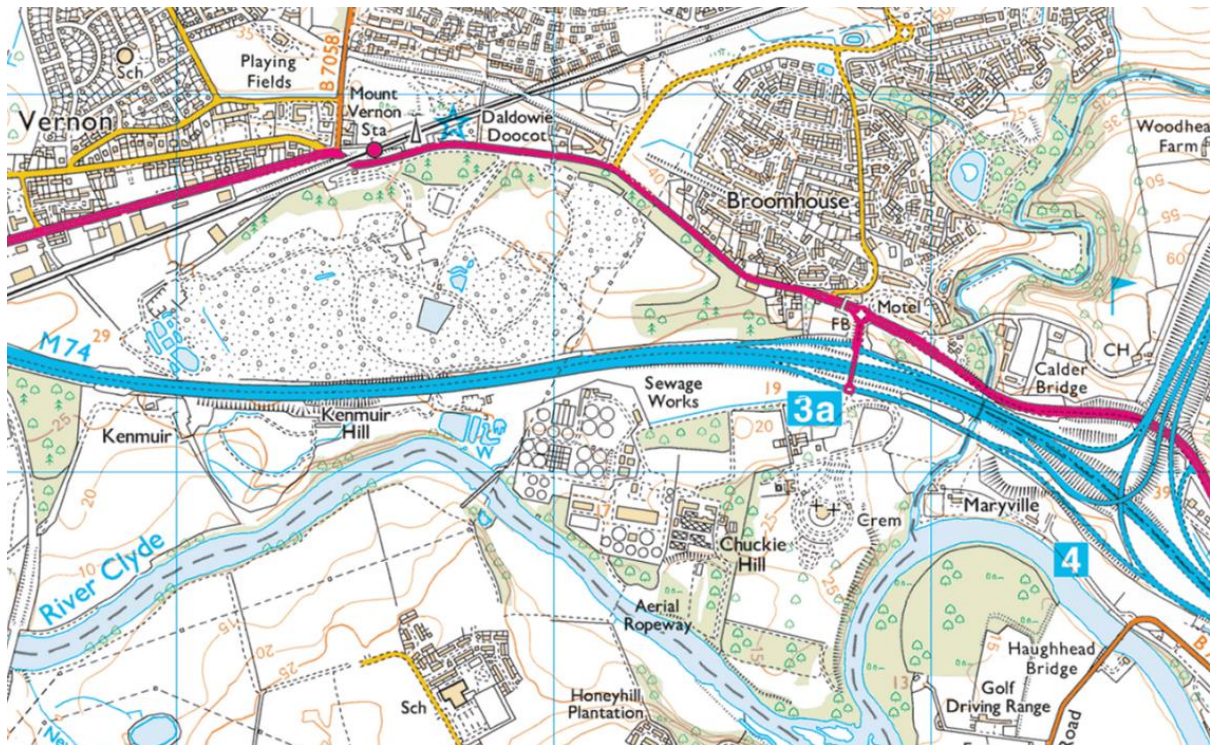
In this passionate Rectorial address to the students of the University of Glasgow given by Jimmy Reid, who led the 1971 Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in, aspects of the alignment of political ideals to planning policies are identified, namely the sanitising of the city through the exile of surplus populations to the vertical slums of the high rise flats, and new towns (Independent, 2010). This tradition of political protest, from the working-class activist-authors, provides an insight into often impassioned styles of narrative and narration which can be stirring, uniting and provocative – forging bonds of solidarity and citizenship among even scattered communities.

The study of this Urban Fringe was for a long time the preserve of the commercial sector in Archaeology. This often highly fluctuating and changing landscape only periodically delved into to rescue-by-record some relict structure or subterranean relics from the rolling advance of the city as industrial estates and a plethora of other edgeland developments threaten green and brownfield sites alike. It is only recently that studies have been conducted into the nature and character of the

edgeland as a landscape and phenomenon (Shanks et al. 2013; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017). These often neglected 'non-places' have their own distinctive land uses, biographies, communities and experiences, and until recently the study of these has been the preserve of the Psychogeographer, writer and Artist (Auge, 1997; Brophy, 2019). They have been relegated thus as a direct result of the sanitising of the City which formed the very motivation for their development. This revanchist sanitising is similarly used in a deliberate attempt to control the narratives of urban heritage and the archaeology of urbanism. Through selective designation and conservation of relict structures, the propagation of narratives of elite grandeur and the sanitisation of working-class heritage, the narratives of urbanism and urban change in the modern era are deliberately written and rewritten by elites. Through this research I will attempt to consider these complex landscapes from an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing in aspects of archaeological, geographical and artistic interpretation to enrich our understandings of an edgeland on the Eastern fringe of Glasgow, and to produce an anti-elite archaeology of contemporary urbanism.

Methodology

Methodologically this research aims to provide a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of urban 'edgeland' landscapes, promoting an experiential approach to the researching and presentation of these sites, to produce engaging and embodied narratives of these disconnected spaces. Through this I have developed a toolkit for the study of these landscapes, borrowing from a variety of theoretical and disciplinary positions incorporating psychogeography, phenomenology and storytelling with fieldwalking and a consideration of the material interactions of this landscape. I have decided to coin the term (re)collection for this jumbled toolkit of methodological positions, tying them into a common theme of memory, and the collection of memories through landscape and materials. (Re)collection as a methodological toolkit is defined here as a narrative based studying of landscape, rooted in physical interactions with it, mediated through movement and sensory engagements. An exploration of place and collecting memories of it, through archaeological, ethnographic and geographical investigations and a physical interaction with the materiality of the landscape through the collection of surface detritus as evidence of the palimpsest of activities which tell the stories past and present of place. This is an explicit attempt to move away from traditional methods of landscape study which often result in the revisionist retelling of the same elite narratives of urbanism, methods developed as the apparatus of the elite – antiquarians, geographers and explorers - this toolkit aims to radically reshape the range and diversity of sources which are made available for narration by the archaeologist. As González-Ruibal (2018, p.61) argues the role of the contemporary archaeologist can be to "re-enchant space, by adding density, depth, meaning, and mystery" to fight back against the weakening of 'place' in super modernity through such methods as Pearson and Shanks (2001) 'Deep Mapping', which aim to produce narratives of such intense familiarity and understanding of place that they themselves are place-making. The aim of this toolkit of methods is to bring a physical connection with the landscape into the interpretation and narration of this landscape disconnected from the idealised city and abandoned in traditional narratives of contemporary urbanism. I have attempted to apply this toolkit to the landscape of the Mid-Clyde from Mount Vernon to Daldowie, in order to test the possibilities of '(re)collection' in a complex historical and contemporary landscape.



(Figure 5 – 2018 OS Map of Daldowie and Mount Vernon. In the image the various contemporary land uses can be seen arrayed around the corridor formed by the M74. The study area can be seen here, bounded to the West by the disused Railway embankment at Kenmuir Road, to the North by the Railway line via Mount Vernon and the A74, to the East by the looping bridges and embankments of the Maryville Interchange and to the South by the River Clyde. Accessed from Past Maps)

Documentary Research: (re)collecting Memory.

In order to tell the stories of this landscape significant volumes of archival research was required, digging into a variety of sources to uncover those recorded memories of the Post-Medieval, Modern and Contemporary landscapes. These took a number of forms; from the Bogle families financial papers and personal correspondence held at the Mitchel Library and National Archives, to newspaper articles recording Ludovic Mann's excavations, industrial accidents at the Broomhouse Collieries and Court appearances in the wake of the M74 extension, to planning permission reports and development proposals for not yet realised developments. Some of this required in person visits to libraries and archives, however due to the circumstances over the latter research period it became necessary to rely more heavily on online and digitised sources.

Participant Observation: Collecting the Contemporary Landscape

From the fields of Geography and Anthropology I have employed participant observation as a method of recording contemporary landscapes from a position embedded within them (Jackson, 2012). This allowed me to explore the interactions occurring within this landscape through my bodily mediated experiences of them (Lorimer et al, 2018). These observations principally took the form of a series of site visits to the various areas of this landscape. Due to the hazardous nature of this landscape these usually took the form of tours guided by members of the site teams who showed the workings of their patches of this landscape alongside a wealth of anecdotes. These structured site visits normally took the form of walking tours, although on one occasion I was zipped around a site in the managers 4x4 buggy. These visits allowed me to access this landscape in a way few are ever privileged to, and to learn about their processes, rhythms and experiences first-hand from those whose daily taskscape revolve around the ever towering landfill, churning sludge and turgid sewage (Tilley, 2019). As an archaeologist, rather than a Geographer, Engineer or Chemist, my interest in these landscapes proved something of a point of confusion in recounting the purposes of this project. Often such interventions are regarded as 'too soon' to be considered the realm of the Archaeologist, as Paul Virilio (1997, p.14) noted when he was confronted with such opinions in the 1950s while recording the relics of the Atlantic Wall. Similarly Jesus Alonso, Jaime Almansa-Sánchez and partners (2019) were met by disbelief when applying for permits from the Spanish heritage authorities to conduct excavations on 2000s Leisure structures in Alicante, where they were given free rein to excavate a former leisure complex, disco club and brothel as this was not considered archaeology. Shanks (et al. 2013, p.66) noted that those who study the contemporary past, often face up to barriers from their peers in other periods, notions of a 50 year rule, hampered Rathje's early studies of Garbology, despite the fact that "Tips and middens are the kind of places archaeologists work. Archaeologists sift through detritus."

As part of my research into the complex network of taskscape and experiences which form the landscape of this edgeland, I have recorded in the form of informal interviews the comments and anecdotes of the guides on my site visits, with their permissions. This allowed me to access some of the more intimate, interesting and involved experiences of this landscape gained by those who work here. These accounts of the workings of contemporary landfill, sewage and sludge plants has given me a route to access the experience of these sites beyond the transitory gaze of a one-time visitor, a tourist of all things wasteful, enriching my accounts of the contemporary landscape.



(Figure 6 – Photograph of PPE signage at visitor and delivery entrance to Patersons of Greenoakhill site. Photo by Author)

In those areas of the landscape where access is not so limited, I was able to explore the area on foot, self-guided or in one case guided by the footsteps of a long dead author. On these visits following new footpaths, abandoned roads, desire lines and dirt-bike tracks I was able to access a different side to the edgeland landscape, far from the regulated walkways, PPE signage and watchful eyes of the formal edgeland. Here I could creep cautiously through the perilously crumbling ruins of Kenmuir Farm or stand on a motorway bridge and listen to the grumbling gear shifts of HGVs tackling the rising elevation into Greenoakhill. I could drive past, over and through the landscape in my car, or lazily trundle past from the kaleidoscope coloured seat of a Scot Rail train. Through all these adventures, I recorded my engagements with this landscape carefully with photograph, field sketch and frantic notetaking. During the use of photography I considered carefully the balance between creative and archaeological recording of this landscape, and what has been termed by some as voyeuristic ‘ruin porn’, and in attempting to strike the correct balance in my portray of this landscape have been careful in the inclusion of images within this and all other outputs (Þóra Pétursdóttir, 2018). Being in such a sensorial landscape, I attempted also to record my experiences of the landscape as mediated through various senses, the feel of the earth beneath by steel-toe-capped boots, the whipping rasp of brambles and branches against exposed skin, nylon hi-vis and

hard hat, the cry of birds and growl of shifting gears and the olfactory bouquet presented by the various modern landuses (Skeates and Day, 2019). Through this I considered not only my own interactions with the landscape but those of others evidenced by foot and paw prints, tire skids, scorch marks and the shattered evidence of fruitive evening libations.



(Figure 7 – Photograph of the Greenoakhill aggregates operation to the west of this edgeland as viewed from the window of the Scotrail service from Glasgow Central to Motherwell via Mount Vernon. Photo by Author)

Psychogeography: Walking the oft-trodden path

Over the course of my site visits I have attempted to explore this landscape through the guise of the flaneur, wandering with leisure the desire-lines, paths and pavements of Mount Vernon and Daldowie. In the absence of the great crowds of the city from which the traditional Psychogeographer took their flow, I have followed the route of a long dead author.

Hugh Macdonald was an eminent journalist 19th C. Glasgow, son of a Dyer in the Barrowlands Factory, born in 1814 (Mearns, 2011, p.68). He worked from the age of seven in a factory before in the 1840s he became a writer and later editor of the Glasgow Morning Journal (ibid). Macdonald was a pioneer of Rambling in 19th C. Glasgow and regularly published accounts of his travels in the papers before compiling these into a volume, 'Rambles Around Glasgow; Descriptive, Historical and

Traditional' (ibid). In this publication Macdonald (1910) gives detailed accounts of the places he visits, many of which were soon to be lost under the relentless expansion of the city over the next century. In these accounts Macdonald gives insights into the topography and antiquities of these landscapes, their characters and traditions, in wonderfully imaginative and poetic prose (Macdonald, 1910; Mearns, 2011, p.68). In following the footsteps of Macdonald (1910) through Carmyle, Kenmuir and Daldowie, I have experimented with psychogeographical wanderings, pulled by the flow of a long dead Rambler through an irreversibly changed landscape.

Fieldwalking: Collecting Place

Another strand of this research has been the collection and curation of tangible artefacts of this landscape's past and contemporary stories. In order not to dive into antiquarianism, I limited this fieldwalking to the shallows and stony river beaches of the Clyde as it flows through Daldowie. Surface collecting as a method both in traditional archaeological practices and in contemporary archaeology is nothing new, and indeed has been carried out in a variety of contexts in the study of the contemporary (Harrison and Schofield, 2010; Harrison, 2011). The collecting of these context-less artefacts evokes the practice of Mark Dion (1999) and does not impact our understandings of chronology and stratigraphy as reckless test pitting would. These artefacts have since been cleaned, catalogued and photographed, providing a record of the array and variety of materials recovered. A selection of these have been investigated and explored to tell stories of connections across this landscape and beyond, these include pipe stems, cream jugs, sauce bottles and teacups. Through this artefact focused storytelling I hope to reduce the traditional reliance of historical archaeology on written records so often written from the perspective of the literate elite.



(Figure 8 – Photograph of assorted white ceramics sherds collected from the bank of the Clyde at Daldowie. They are in various stages of river erosion, from angular to rounded. Photo by Author)

From the collections of artefacts collected from positions devoid of context amid the tumbled river pebbles and worn sea glass of the silty beaches of the Mid-Clyde, stories of this area's past can be told. As Williamson (1999, p.75) said of Dion's Thames river collections, "The nature of the river as Continuum is reflected in the undifferentiated material that is left on the surface of its banks"

Sherds of extravagantly decorated Victorian bowl, ink pot and planter, more recent china teacup, coffee mug and lamp base, a vast jumbled array of tile sherds worn by the river's motions, all tell of lives lived by the Clyde. The stories these artefacts tell are difficult to unravel, they are not a cohesive assemblage, tied to a package of events or coming together to tell of lives lived, they are contextless, yet in each anonymous scrap we can tell a story far more entrancing than the patterns of pottery consumption of an 18th C. merchant family, it is the story of a landscape and a city.



(Figure 9 – Photograph of materials collected from fieldwalking the river beaches of the Clyde between the settling ponds of Greenoakhill Landfill and the edge of Daldowie WWTW. Photo by Author)



(Figure 10 - Photograph of materials collected from fieldwalking the river beaches of the Clyde to the East of Daldowie Crematorium. Some of the assemblages and typologies we can create from this material prove aesthetically pleasing. Photo by Author)



(Figure 11 – Photograph of assorted decorated ceramics sherds collected from the river beaches of the Clyde between the North Calder Water confluence and the Kenmuir Mineral railway line at Carmyle. Photo by Author)



Figure 12 – Photograph of materials collected from fieldwalking the river beaches of the Clyde to the South of Daldowie Crematorium. Photo by Author)

This is a landscape littered with evidence of more nefarious and unregulated deposits of waste material, as with many edgeland areas, fly tipping is a significant issue which has forced a many changes in the infrastructure and access of this landscape, including the blocking off of Kenmuir Road at Carmyle, and the addition of CCTV facilities in the area around Daldowie WwTW.

Alongside this deliberate illicit commercial dumping there is also the litter of passing people, elongated middens formed by rubbish thrown from vehicle windows line the motorway and lanes of this landscape, along the Clyde the rivers eddying currents gather thick deposits of modern waste – primarily plastics of various types and colours – onto the tide marks of past spates. When visiting the banks of the Clyde I found, to my initial dismay that another collector had explored this stretch of the river before me. Hanging from the trees lining the bank below the Greenoakhill settling ponds hang little laminated notes and bin bags. These notes, as shown in figure 13, below, read;

‘The River Clyde is our river. Its banks are beautiful and support our wildlife. Please put litter in here and I will take the bags away when they’re full and replace the bags. Thanks. *A wee Auld Glesga wummin.*’

Quite heart-warmingly just up the bank from here lay a heap of these bags filled to bursting with collected plastics, packing foams, wrappers and cups, even a full kitchen unit and a large pipe valve I

suspect was accidentally added to this assemblage from the various bits and pieces lying around the nearby Patersons of Greenoakhill site.



(Figure 13 – Photograph of river cleaning notice and bag tied to tree near Greenoakhill. Photograph by Author)



(Figure 14 – Photograph of collected assemblage of ‘rubbish’ from the banks of the Clyde. Interesting alongside the expected plastics, packing foam and pipe scraps, a variety of bricks were also collected and added to this pile, some of these were far older than much of the surrounding landscape, posing interesting questions over the nature of rubbish and the subjectivity of what can be considered to be litter. Photograph by Author)

In presenting these artefactual stories of landscape, I have chosen to intersperse these between the sections within my narrative, bringing the stories of the artefacts alongside those of the landscape and allowing the artefacts to speak to greater networks of connections made tangible in ceramic, glass, plastic and metal. These were also collated into a digital gallery, along with some of the creative and photographic outputs of this project in order to produce an accessible outreach output to this project – this can be found linked in appendix C, alongside screenshots.

Creative Responses: Creating Place

From my explorations in this landscape I then attempted to produce a series of creative responses to that landscape which could assist in conveying an experience of that landscape. These like any such piece were subjective representations of this landscape and are very much grounded in my experiences of the place and intimacies with it (Pearson, 2018). These reflect well the conditions site visits occurred under, as well as my own preoccupations within and beyond this landscape. In presenting these creations it was decided to utilise them in the storytelling of these places, as the interpreted imagery gives some insights into experiences of this place (Pearson, 2018; Thomas et al. 2018).

Often today, artistic inputs are sought in the remarketing of landscapes, as part of place-making initiatives funded by developers and government bodies to 'improve' landscapes. Sculptures and installations are sought to brighten up dowdy estates or provide colour to the sterile concrete labyrinths of the motorway or roundabout (Thomas et al. 2018). However, rarely do these creative inputs reflect the landscapes they inhabit - they are placemaking in non-places. I have attempted to represent, interpret and understand the edgelands of Mount Vernon and Daldowie through artistic explorations inspired by my site visits as a form of creative activism which can provide a challenge to traditional and exclusionary forms of heritage engagement, and which can often be more affecting and emotive than the written or spoken word (Ferraby, 2019; Thomas et al. 2018; Pearson, 2018; Þóra Pétursdóttir, 2018).



(Figure 15 – Photographs of a 'Greenman of Greenoakhill'. Both masks were produced with ash tempered clay, however the right-hand mask was their badly fired in a pit kiln and reassembled from shattered fragments. Created by Author)



(Figure 16 – Photograph of sherds of clay pipe collected on the river beach of the Clyde to the South of Greenoakhill. The pipe sherds, collected over an area of the riverbank approximately near the former location of the Marriage Well and Daldowie Dovecot, tell of networks of connection in this landscape that cross oceans and delve into a history, geography and politics of race. These pipe sherds, of differing styles and eras represent the most tactile and relatable of the evidences for the Tobacco and Slave trade in Glasgow. Clay pipes were in their heyday a cheap and disposable commodity, often given away free with the purchase of a pinch of tobacco, their prevalence as a find in a multitude of post-medieval contexts tells of their status as mass produced consumer goods designed for a market with little regard for waste. Photo by Author)

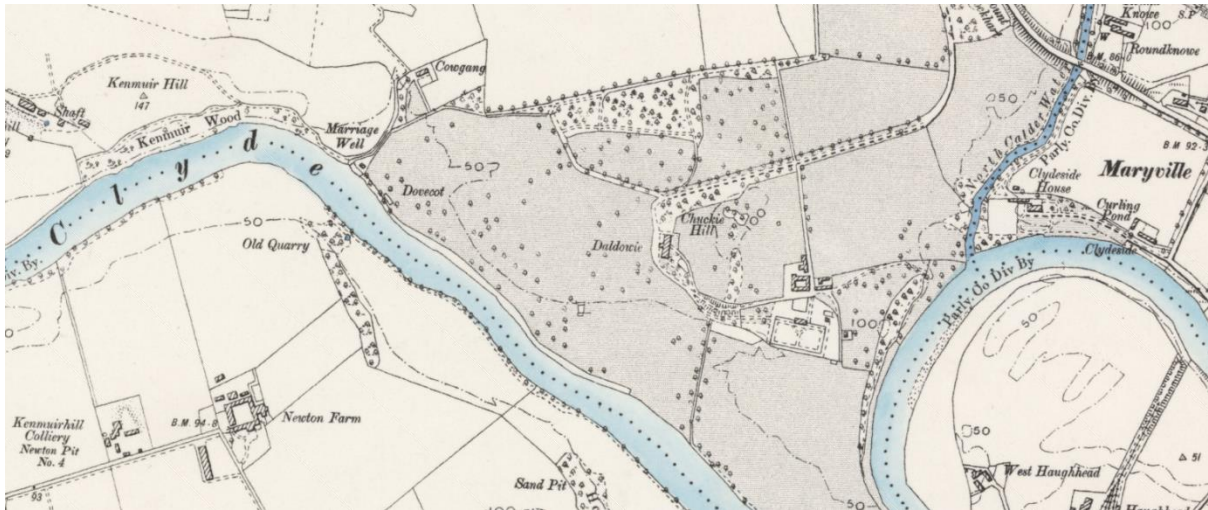
A green and pleasant land

The Old Powers

In the recent past the landscape of the Clyde was dominated by a patchwork of estates which stretched from the estuary to Lanark. In this stretch of the Clyde Valley the estate of Daldowie controlled the shaping of this landscape as it passed through the hands of many of Glasgow's great families before its eventual demolition in the 1960s (Small, 2008, p.107). The estate at Daldowie is first recorded in 1521 (Drummond, 2014, p.396). The earliest recorded holders of the Daldowie Estate were the Stewarts of Minto, Barons of Blantyre, a significant civic family in Glasgow between the 1500s and 1700s (Small, 2004, p.107; Elliot, 1897; Burke, 1833, p.118). In 1653, Sir Ludovic Stewart sold the estate of Daldowie to James Wardrop Jr of Dalmarnock, it was then sold in 1671 to James Muirhead of Bredisholm (Small, 2008, p.107). The Grandson of James Muirhead sold the estate in 1724 to Robert Bogle, patriarch of the Glasgow mercantile family of that name (ibid). The Bogles are recorded as being tenant farmers of the Bishops lands at the farm of Bogleshole, West of Carmyle and South of the Clyde from the 16th Century (MacEwing, 1906, p.6; OS, 1861, p.102). During this time estates in Shettleston, Calderbank, Hamilton Farm and Carmyle came into the ownership of branches of the Bogle family. The Bogles of this time were well connected with the local and national elites (Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.33).

“Elizabeth, married in 1680 her cousin, Robert Bogle of Shettleston. She died in 1743, aged eighty-one, and having survived her husband many years. She was a very clever woman, and when a widow she continued to carry on her husband's business, that of a Dutch merchant; and many of her correspondents, unaware of her sex, used to address their letters to Mr. Bessie Bogle” (Smith and Mitchel, 1878, p.33)

It was a descendant of these Bogles, another Robert Bogle, who acquired in 1800 the Estate of Gilmourhill before the site was bought over for the Westward expansion of the University of Glasgow (Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1896, p.74; MacEwing, 1906, p.6; Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.33).



(Figure 17 – 1900 OS Map of Daldowie Estate. In this image the lands of Daldowie estate are shaded in a light grey to denote parkland, in the centre the mansion of Daldowie is marked, to the East of this the estate offices and an area of ornamental gardens are marked. To the West of the house the farm of Cowgang and the Dovecot are marked. Accessed from Pastmaps)



(Figure 18 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of Daldowie Dovecot. Created by Author)

The Estate passed to George Bogle Senior, in 1734 on the death of Robert Bogle (Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1896, p.74). In 1745 George Bogle Senior oversaw the redesign of the estate house and grounds with an ambition programme of modernisation and landscaping – a deliberate redefining of the families status through architecture, stepping away from the traditional landowning ‘house’ marked on the 1596 map by Timothy Pont (1654; Small, 2008, p.107). During

this time the mansion was constructed as well as the dovecot which survives to this day. George Bogle Senior was a prominent Virginia trader and had interests in plantations in the Americas and West Indies as well as being a founding partner in the Glasgow Tan works and Eastern Sugarhouse (Anon, 1780; Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1896, p.74).



(Figure 19 – Portrait of George Bogle of Daldowie c. 1730-1740. Image accessed from Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, acquisition number 2516)

As a prominent Tobacco Baron in 1700s Glasgow and a prominent citizen in Glasgow civic life, George Bogle Senior held Rectorships at the University of Glasgow three times between 1738 and 1750 and had seven children with his wife Ann Sinclair; Martha, Robert, Mary, Elizabeth, John, Anne and George the Younger (Anon, 1780; Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1896, p.74). His sons John Bogle and Robert Bogle held stakes in a Virginia plantation and a Grenada cotton plantation as well as the short-lived Bogle and Scott Importing House in London (ibid).



(Figure 20 – Portrait of Ann Sinclair of Daldowie c.1740-1740. Image accessed from Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, acquisition number 2514)

In 1745 the Jacobite forces of Charles Edward Stuart garrisoned a hostile Glasgow over Christmas (Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.35). In a series of letters from this time it is seen that during this process the Highland army raided the Daldowie stables and abused the servants of the estate, to which George Bogle was given a notice of protection from the Prince (ibid). It is recorded by the family;

“George Bogle's eldest daughter, at that time nine years of age, used to tell her grandchildren that she went to Bothwell Bridge to see the Prince pass. He was a fine-looking young man with long fair hair, and who had upon his banner a crown and a coffin.” (Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.35)

This march Southward ended at Derby, less than one hundred miles from Glasgow and the Jacobites were defeated at the battle of Culloden a year later, putting to rest any notion of a Stuart restoration or Scottish political independence for a time.

The third son of George Bogle, George Bogle the Younger, secured an appointment to the East India Company through a family connection with Sir Warren Hastings, and arrived in India at the peak of the Bengal Famine (Anon, 1780; Bogle, 1775; Markham, 1876). The young Bogle rose rapidly through

the ranks of the East India Company and in the estimations of Sir Warren Hastings, serving as his Private Secretary for a while (Markham, 1876). During the Bhutan Crisis in 1773 Bogle was sent to explore the region North of Bhutan with the aim of initiating trade relations with Tibet and the Chinese interior. George Bogle is credited with the formation of the association of Tibet with the mythical *Shangri-la* (Bogle, 1775; Markham, 1876, p.150). Here the youngest son of George Bogle Senior had two daughters with a 'daughter of the Panchen Lama', Martha and Mary, who were sent to his family home at Daldowie for education, and a son, George, of whom little is known (ibid; Singh, 2020, p.18). During his time, after his exploration of Tibet with the East India Company, Bogle is credited with founding the Rangpur Fair while Collector to Rangpur.



(Figure 21 – Painting of 'The Teshu Lama Giving Audience c.1775. In the painting by Tilly Kettle Bogle is seen dressed in traditional Tibetan attire to the left of the image, the Lama occupies the dais flanked by attendants. The painting which intends to represent the affable encounter, the British diplomat adapting to the customs of his host, was presented as a gift to King George III. Image accessed from Royal Collections Trust, Royal Collection itinerary number 407227)

In a letter from his father, the younger George Bogle is thanked for paying off the remaining family debts on the house at Daldowie, which had been incurred due to commercial losses in trading ventures organised by his brother Robert;

“Accept of these few lines from your affectionate parent now running his eightieth year in good health and who with the highest gratitude very often reflects on the substantial great favour you laid him under in clearing off the debt on Daldowie by which it may be continued in the family” (Markham, 1876, p.149)

Markham (1876, p.148) records four thousand pounds was paid to allay these family debts at Daldowie, and regular correspondence with the family is recorded throughout this account of the expeditions of Bogle. Thus, we can see that tied into the physical structure of Daldowie Mansion, paying for the debts on the very stone and mortar was finances derived from trading in human suffering, both in the plantations of the Americas and the colonial activities of the British in India. Writing to his sister Elizabeth from Tassisudon in Bhutan, August 1774, George Bogle the Younger remarks;

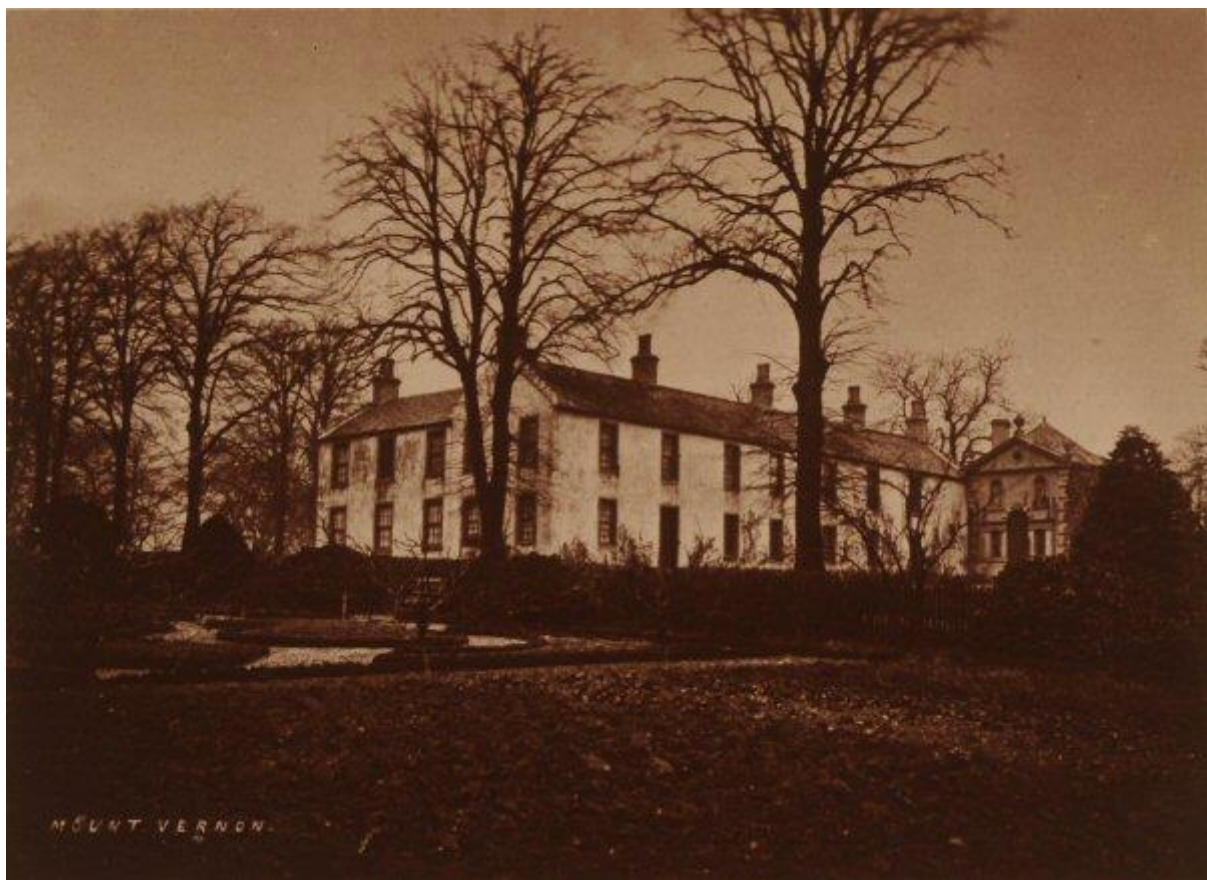
“Yet I would have wished to have passed the two months with Robin at Daldowie. If the three little weeks I spent there gave me so much pleasure, what must I have enjoyed with the addition of his company! But, alas! Our destinies have wove for us a different web. We are scattered over the face of the earth, and united only by hope and a tender remembrance. While you are passing your cheerful evenings at Daldowie; while Robin with his *negroes* (and happy are they that are under him) is planting the sugar cane; while I am climbing these rugged mountains, there is a secret virtue, like the magnet, which attracts us together, and cheers and solaces us” (Markham, 1874, p.139)

In this we can see a view to the diaspora of the children of Daldowie at this stage in their lives, something that would have been typical across the mercantile families of Glasgow. It also gives an insight into the attitudes of their day and class with regards to the colonial ventures of the British in India and the plantations of enslaved people in the Americas. Markham (1874, p.137) notes that in his letters the young George Bogle wrote “of the projected improvements at Daldowie, dwelling fondly on all the details and on all the well remembered places round his home on the Clyde.” Through both flows of finance and people, the estate at Daldowie is tied into a far larger scale of landscape, stretching from West Indies plantations to Himalayan palaces.

George Bogle the Younger died in 1781 in Calcutta, likely of cholera, recalled there by his friend the Governor-General to take up the post of member of the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta. Little is known after the death of George Bogle the Younger or what became of Mary and Martha Bogle, it is recorded in family lore that the girls were much loved by their father’s sisters, had their own carriage and maid, and that both married into Glasgow manufacturing families (Singh, 2020, p.18).

George Bogle Senior died a year after his son, George, in 1782 and the estate passed to Robert who owned the estate until he died, childless, in 1808 (Small, 2008, p.107; Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1896, p.74). At this point the estate passed to George Brown of Langside, the son of Robert Bogle's Sister (ibid). The interests of the Bogle family in British colonial efforts in India did not end with George Bogle the Younger. Archibald Bogle, the last of the Bogles of Gilmourhill had two sons serve in the 78th Regiment of Foot both in Afghanistan and in various actions in the Indian subcontinent during the Sepoy Mutinies (Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.35).

Around the time of the Bogles at Daldowie the adjoining estate of Windyedge was purchased by Andrew Buchannan - another prominent Glasgow Merchant – for whom Buchannan Street is named, and was promptly renamed Mount Vernon to commemorate the actions of Admiral Vernon (Small, 2008, p.107; Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.33). The Virginia Tobacco Plantation of the Buchannan's bordered the plantation of Lawrence Washington, who similarly renamed that estate, formerly 'Hunting-creek', to 'Mount Vernon' in honour of the Admiral (Smith and Mitchell, 1878, p.76). That Mount Vernon gained greater fame than its namesake as the home of George Washington, first President of the United States of America (MacEwing, 1906, p.6).



(Figure 22 – Photograph of the Estate house at Mount Vernon in 1878 as recorded by Smith and Mitchell. Photograph from Smith and Mitchell, *'The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry'*)



(Figure 23 – 1852 Meikleham’s Map of Glasgow and suburbs. Included in this edition there is a further small estate, Greenock Hall, which appears in the centre of the study area, on the site later occupied by the Greenoakhill operations. To the North West the estate of Mount Vernon is marked.

Map accessed from collections of Paul Burns, used with permission)



(Figure 24 – Photograph of Daldowie Mansion published in 1878. This shows the estate and house as it was under the ownership of James M’Call, the two annexes to the North and South of the House were added under the ownership of M’Call. Photo from RCAHMS General Collection, used with permission)

After almost a century of Bogles at Daldowie George Brown sold the estate in 1825 to John Dixon. The estate at Daldowie entered a new chapter, and with it the city of Glasgow’s fortunes. John

Dixon, owner of the Calder Iron Works and a scion of the Dixon family of Industrialists, was brother to William Dixon Junior of Dixon's Blazes foundry North of Govanhill and son of William Dixon Senior of Govan Colliery, mining magnate of West-Central Scotland (Small, 2008, p.107). In 1830 the Estate was purchased by James M'Call, a partner in the Anderston Brewery, who later extended the house and modernised the estate, likely with money he received in 1834 as a claimant of compensation following the emancipation of enslaved people in the West Indies (ibid; Mullen and Newman, 2018, p.69; Sweeney, 2013, p.143). It is recorded at this time that James M'Call was awarded £12,765 13 s 8d in compensation for the 485 enslaved people he had held at the Adelphi estate on St Vincent (Mullen and Newman, 2018, p.69). James M'Call was the seventh son of Samuel M'Call, one of the 'Virginia Lords' and a Magistrate of the City in 1723 (ibid). It is noted that Samuel M'Call had previously lost many family estates in the American war of Independence for supporting the Royalists (Burke, 1871, p.837-838; Cooke, 2012, pp.127). James M'Call invested the remaining family fortunes in the rapidly expanding railway network and was for a while the third largest railway speculator in Scotland. Hugh Macdonald, the esteemed Glasgow journalist and Rambler, noted in his popular book of Glasgow Rambles;

"Ascending the brow of the bank, a prospect of great beauty meets our gaze. Far below, the Clyde is seen between the ivied trunks, which bristle the steep, quivering in a sunny ripple, or stretching in wandering loveliness among around the green tree-studded haughs of Daldowie on the one hand and towards the wood-fringed banks of Carmyle on the other hand." (Macdonald, 1854, p.42)

Macdonald passing at this time the mansion of Daldowie described it as;

"The spacious mansion to the left, crouching upon its own verdant lawn, is the abode of Mr. McCall of Daldowie, and certainly a more desirable place of abode it would be difficult to imagine" (Macdonald, 1910, p.42)

At this time the estate was managed by a steward appointed by the M'Call family, the land steward is recorded as William Allan, and the estate gardener as William Bryden (O.S, 1861, p.105).

Upon the death of James McCall the estate passed to his children, Henry M'Call of Daldowie then George M'Call, then Anna M'Call, on whose death the estate passes to a niece Francis M'Call who presided over the gradual sell off the estates (McCall, 1890, p.141; Small, 2008, p.107; Sweeney, 2013, p.143). It was around this time, upon the death of Anne M'Call in 1913, that the estate house was left unoccupied and was briefly considered as site for a "Home for delicate children" (Sweeney, 2013, p.143).

This landscape, once a fine example of an enlightenment estate with manicured lawns, curated vegetation, exotic and strategically planted pines, glasshouses and conservatories, Estate offices and

processual designed routes of access has now irrevocably changed in character, yet what of those elements of this once grand testimony to enlightenment ideals which remain? Farley and Roberts (2011, p.101) state,

“Well maintained public spaces, parks and playing fields and promenades are not edgelands; but with a little neglect and abandonment they can become edgelands.”

Outside of the curated gardens of Daldowie Crematorium which dominates the site of the estates ornamental gardens and conservatories, the former grounds are largely in the process of re-wilding, in some places the decorative planting of the old estate can be seen in the processual avenues of towering trees, vistas and groves, these are slowly strangled by ivy and obscured by the colonisation of primary and secondary colonising species, weeds, birch and hazel consuming once curated places. Interestingly the toponymic root of Daldowie is ‘*dail dubhaidh*’ or ‘Meadow of Darkness’ and while wandering through these overgrown and abandoned gardens, in the shade of towering pines and ivy strangled beeches, this seems apt - especially when one considers the connections of misery and exploitation which built the mansion (Drummond, 2014, p.397)



(Figure 25 – Photograph of woodland of Daldowie Estate. This area of woodland, sitting between the Daldowie Crematorium and the WWTW is perhaps one of the few areas of this landscape where the architectural gardening of the enlightenment era estate can be read by the keen eye. In the back of the image a grove of ornamentally planted exotic American pines form a small arboretum. Photo by Author)



(Figure 26 – Photograph of route from Daldowie Mansion towards the Dovecot and farm. The large trees lining this entry route would have formed an avenue on approach to the mansion and would have curated the experience of visitors. Here we can see today these trees are slowly strangled by ivy and what once would have been a curated semi open woodland is now thickening with smaller beech, birch and hazel saplings. Photo by Author)

The biography of this estate, once hinterland now edgeland, largely echoes that of the city of Glasgow with similar powers shaping the landscape from bishopric lands and minor baronial estates to the country estate of mercantile elites and industrialists, finally revanchist municipal council and private industrial projects parcelling off patches of land. From these tales we can see the traditional narrative of this landscape, as it has been told for over a century, dwelling on the narratives of improving landowners and family fortunes, although I hope this account has thus shed some light on the networks of connections and finances which tie those families and the estate itself to some of the great evils of colonial history. Through this biography of Daldowie Estate, we can see a feature of many edgeland biographies, the decline of former country estates leading to parcelling off land gradually over the 20th C, which was snapped up either for infrastructural, industrial or residential developments. This estate once formed the heart of family empires which controlled slave

plantations and trading interests, coalfields and iron works. Through the development of these by the various proprietors this estate has been shaped and reshaped, steeped in connections which span from Tibetan palaces to Virginia tobacco plantations, from coal mines in Lanarkshire to London Merchant Houses, from the splendour of Daldowie's tree studded *haughs* to a cholera grave in Calcutta.



(Figure 27 – Sketch of the Greenman of Greenoakhill. This figure was designed to represent the duality of this landscape from Enlightenment estate to edgeland. The Greenman is a popular figure in British folk law considered by some to be a relic of pre-Christian religions. In this image the left side of the Greenman is adorned in the classical imagery one would associate with the decorative cornicing and iconography of an Enlightenment mansion house, while the right is littered with the detritus of the edgeland. While this figure represents the duality of the Daldowie edgelands, it can also be read as a metaphor for the duality of the city – on one side the idealised sanitised city rooted in enlightenment ideas of Classical Urbanism, on the other the grim realities of real urbanism.

Created by Author)



(Figure 28 – Photograph of an assemblage of ceramic fragments. These fragments of fine china ceramics represent an array of fragments of cup found along the bank of the Clyde to the South of Daldowie Estate. The assemblage of ceramics belongs to a variety of periods and represented are Victorian and Edwardian, 1920s and 30s, and Post-War vessels. Tea was popularised in Britain in the 18th C. as a result largely of the colonial activities of the British East India Company in India including the introduction of tea from China. The Boggles, M'Calls and Buchannans, among other Glasgow mercantile families, were enthusiastically involved in the British Imperial activities in India, with many second and third sons serving in the East India Company, Colonial Office or British Army in India. Many of these fragments represent teacups, although there is one egg cup and three coffee mugs represented. Amid these sherds are modern and contemporary ceramics which tell of the current dominance of this landscape by the municipal infrastructure of waste processing. Photo by Author)

Escape to the country

For as many centuries as the estate at Daldowie has existed there has also it seems existed a right of way path which led from the city outwards to this once accessible rural idyll. This long defended public path which ran along the Northern bank of the Clyde from Glasgow Green out past Carmyle and the lands of Daldowie was once popular as a route for ramblers, botanists, herbalists and the urban masses as an avenue to the countryside. This route it seems at times was staunchly defended by the city's population, made famous in the case of Harvey-Dyke where a landowner attempted to block this route with a wall topped with iron spikes (MacEwing, 1906, p.32).

“This wall the people demolished as an interference with their ancient and undoubted rights and liberties. Harvey rebuilt the wall, and the people again destroyed it... the destroyers were surprised about the time their work was finished by a detachment of dragoons. Some of the people were taken on the spot, some were arrested on the roads, forty-three in all, and a lad received a cut from a sabre in the arm” (MacEwing, 1906, p.32)

Such was the public outcry among the citizens of the city that the case was carried first to the Court of Sessions then the House of Lords where the ruling was in favour of the public (MacEwing, 1906, p.32). In this we can see both the popularity of this route as an avenue from the city to the countryside among the city's populace, and the enshrining of this route as an important place in the minds of the citizens of Glasgow. The lands of Kenmuir, Mount Vernon and Daldowie at this time provided one of a few accessible areas of countryside to the inhabitants of the heavily urbanised East End.

Hugh Macdonald (1910, p. 40) makes reference to the Marriage Well known to have existed in the ‘Woods of Kenmuir’ an area of land against the bank of the Clyde and the ‘Echoes of Kenmuir’ which sat between the estates of Daldowie and Mount Vernon and the growing weaving village of Carmyle. In these woods, once famed for their diversity and array of flora and fauna, sat the Marriage Well where;

“to this spot, in other days, came wedding parties on the day after marriage, to drink of the crystal water, and, in a cup of the mountain-dew, to pledge long life and happiness to the loving pair whom, on the previous day, old Hymen had made one in the bands which death alone can sever” (Macdonald, 1910, p.39).

Here Macdonald takes note of a pause on his journey onwards to take a “draught of the sacred fluid from the cup of Diogenes... and while we are listening to its faint trickling voice, let us recall a name or two ... friends with whom we have here held communion sweet” (Macdonald, 1910, p.39). This spring which once sat within the woods of Kenmuir, a favourite of Victorian ramblers and botanists seems to hold particular memories for Hugh Macdonald and he recounts after this in melancholic

tones some of the characters he has met in his passing of this place (Macdonald, 1910, p.39). He continues, "Numerous, indeed, are the forms and faces which haunt our fancy as we linger by the Marriage Well" (Macdonald, 1910, p.41). Today there exists some debate as to where exactly the Marriage Well might have sat though there is some consensus it probably lay within the lands now operated by Patersons of Greenoakhill who manage the landfill site to the South and East of Kenmuir Hill. After extensive fieldwalking in this area I suspect that the true site of the Marriage Well must have been consumed by the vast moving of earth that has utterly reshaped this landscape.

Macdonald (1910, p. 37) makes note of another spring in this area with very different connotations, the 'Bluidy Neuk', where iron rich sediments forced up by the rising water gave the pool that formed an eerie blood like appearance. The site Macdonald (1910) recounts is associated with a crime of passion which occurred between two close friends from the village of Carmyle who, enchanted by a visiting stranger of some beauty, became sworn enemies in their pursuit of her attention.

Macdonald (1910, p.87) continues the tale;

"The unfortunate suitor, from an affectionate friend became all at once—"such power has slighted love"—transformed into the most bitter enemy. Meeting by accident one day at the spot alluded to, angry words passed between the two who lately would have died for each other. Swords were ultimately drawn, and one fell mortally wounded. Filled with remorse at what, in his blind passion, he had done, the other, in a fit of anguish, laid violent hands upon himself, and both were found lying dead among the summer flowers, which were stained with their life-blood."

Thereafter according to Macdonald (1910, p.87), "A ferruginous spring in the neighbourhood was long looked upon with horror by the good folks of the village, who saw in the red oxydised earth around it a mysterious connection with the blood that had been shed." This may be the spring recorded as 'John Well' in the 1861 Ordnance Survey name book for this area of Lanarkshire, which lay within the Lands of Kenmuir Farm (OS, 1861, p.103). Charles MacEwing writing about the character and history of the lands of Tollcross and parish records this tale though adds that "According to an old lady of Carmyle, the place is "*no canny*"" (MacEwing, 1906, p.30) That these two springs lie within less than a half hours walk from each other, according to Macdonald (1910), has interesting connotations for our how this landscape might have been understood through folk tradition in the recent past, the dual and contrasting associations with these springs as places of Life and Death tie into historical and antiquarian ideas of the importance of springs in the deeper past – as places of votive offering and dark sacrifices - it being a common trend in antiquarian literature of the 19th and early 20th C. to attempt to draw parallels between modern folk traditions and ancient religions (Dexter, 1931; Dexter, 1932)



(Figure 29 – Photograph of the river Clyde as viewed from the Kenmuir mineral railway bridge. Photo by Author)

This landscape then for many was a landscape of leisure, popular as an escape from the dense urban-industrial districts of Glasgow's East End, where the woods of Kenmuir were regarded as a site of natural beauty and a long tradition protected the rights of the cities inhabitants to visit. MacEwing (1906) records that the river in this stretch also provided a bountiful sport for the miners of Daldowie, Kenmuir and as far away as Rutherglen and Tollcross and that leisure by the riverside in the form of rambling, fishing and bathing was common.

"The old Scottish miner was, in general, a hardworking and virtuous individual. He loved respectability as he loved his family, his dram, and his fishing rod. The off-day found him by the banks of the river searching for, and maybe finding a fine salmon, or in lieu of that dainty dish, the beautiful small par or fry of the salmon, thus rivalling the Rutherglen weavers, who scourged the Dalmarnock Ford at a great rate" (MacEwing, 1906, p.35)

This is a tradition which has continued to this day, where the 'Mid Clyde Angling Association' manages the permitting and leasing of fishing rights to salmon, sea trout, brown trout and grayling in this stretch. Salmon fishing on the Clyde has only recently become possible after hundreds of years of pollution prevented the return of migratory fish up the Clyde's lower reaches. The club manage the conservation of fish stocks and deter poaching with a team of Crown Bailiffs. The

watercraft of the angler being passed down between friends, family and mentors creates a great wealth of local knowledge and oral tradition.



(Figure 30 – Photograph of the River Clyde at Daldowie as it loops to the South of the Crematorium. In this stretch the river is treacherously deep with fast undercurrents rendering attempts at fording or wading to fish dangerous. Photo by Author)

The Clyde in this stretch though is a treacherous and challenging water. The channel is deep and wide with few easy banks to climb, under the water submerged trees trunks, roots and, today, trolleys make this water particularly dangerous. George Parsonage (2016, p.40) records that the Glasgow Humane Society was called in 1917 to recover the body of a miner, Marcelina Erzickauskas from the Kenmuirhill Colliery, who drowned while bathing in the river.



(Figure 31 – Photograph of ‘The Mailcoach’ in Broomhouse. The central section of the structure appears to have originated as a cottage and bares similarities to some of the surviving miner’s dwellings nearby. Photo by Author)

The town, now suburb, of Broomhouse fringes the North of the study area. The name Broomhouse is recorded from 1700 and refers likely to the local coverage of broom or ‘*cytiscus scorpurius*’ a plant which was commonly used as roofing thatch (Drummond, 2014, p.387). The Ordnance Survey place name records (1861, p.106) record “There are two small public houses, a smithy and wright shop.” The two pubs serviced the thirsty mining and weaving communities of this area, as well as the passing trade drawn along the A74 Hamilton Road, then the principal thoroughfare from England to Glasgow (Gorevan, 2002; McPhun, 1836, p.2). On the Southern side of the Road sits the ‘Mailcoach’, first appearing as a public house in the 1898 edition of the Ordnance Survey Maps, this pub has served the passing community and with its large yard and turning area likely traditionally served as a coach stop (Gorevan, 2002). Directly across the road the ‘Smugglers Inn’ previously sat. This rather more vernacular structure, seen in figure 32 below, was demolished to make way for flats in the 1990s (ibid).



(Figure 32 – Photograph of the Smugglers Inn, Broomhouse in 1974. Photo from Canmore Collections, used with permission)



(Figure 33 – Charcoal drawing of the inside of the Smugglers inn as imagined. Created by Author)

In the 1930s the then disused site of Daldowie Colliery was developed into a greyhound racing track which survived until 1998 and was known as 'Mount Vernon Stadium' (Greyhound Times, 2019). This changed hands regularly between the 'Mount Vernon Sports Stadium Ltd' and 'Bobby Jack Enterprises' and is known to have hosted gala nights with tea bars and an enclosure, electric lure and track lighting (ibid). As late as 2001 the ruinous and overgrown track, terraces and enclosures remained in in ruinous form (ibid).



(Figure 34 – Photograph of the remains of the track of Mount Vernon Stadium, the lighting, track barriers and furnishings which had survived well after the abandonment of the site have since been removed for scrapping. Today the site is largely used for dog walking. Photo by Author)



(Figure 35 – Photograph of the site of the enclosure and tea bar at the Mount Vernon Stadium. Today the site appears to be used for fly tipping and illicit drinking by local youths. Photo by Author)



(Figure 36 – Photograph of Coarse Pottery Sherd collected from River Beach of Clyde to the South of Daldowie Crematorium. This sherd has imprinted script reading '*LONDON STOUT, R. W. CAIRNS, GLASGOW*'. This ties this bottle to 'R.W Cairns Bar', now Cairns bar, on Miller Street in the City Centre (Gorevan, 2002). This bar was founded in 1871 by Thomas Cansh & Co. and managed by Robert W Cairns, who upon the death of Mr Cansh became sole proprietor (ibid). Mr Cairns is credited with the popularising of English beers in Glasgow, including this London Stout (ibid). Today and for over half a century this landscape has been a foci for waste disposal activities – whether this bottle was carried by a Victorian rambler as a '*carry oot*' or was dumped later as part of one of the bars renovations remains a mystery. Photo by Author)

The Bucolic on the City Limits

This was not only a landscape of leisure for the enlightened elite and the cities proletariat, there also lies a network of now lost farms which once managed these lands forming a network of taskscapes which run parallel to the 'leisurescapes' along the Clyde. To the North of the Clyde, just West of the Greenoakhill Landfill site and South of the M74, the ruins of farm of Kenmuir can be found overgrown by ever encroaching brambles, birches and hidden coils of barbed wire. This cluster of farm buildings, dating from at least the 1800s lies now in ruins, a jumble of architectural styles and features slowly consumed by moss and the ever-rising heaps of fly tipped material. This site allows us a opportunity to consider the role of abandonment and reuse in the formation of less planned forms of edgeland.

The farm of Kenmuir has, like the estate of Daldowie, a long history tied closely to the city of Glasgow. Kenmuir historically sat within '*Badermonoc*' through Royal Decree these lands fell within the Barony of Glasgow, a network of estates which fed the flourishing ecclesiastical Medieval centre of the city (Cunnison and Gilfillan, 1958, p.82). The subjects of the Bishop-Barons were primarily farmers or 'rentallors' who paid tythes and rent to the Bailie of the Barony, and for that right gained protection from the encroachment of levies and fees on trade from the neighbouring Royal Burgh of Rutherglen to the South (Cunnison and Gilfillan, 1958, p.83).



(Figure 37 – 1852 Meikleham’s Map of Glasgow and Suburbs. In this map edition the farms of Kenmuir, Daldowie and Newton are marked. Interestingly in this edition the farm of Kenmuir is recorded as East and West Kenmuir, drawn separately, suggesting this was composed during a period of dual ownership. Map accessed from collections of Paul Burns, used with permission)



(Figure 38 – 1900s OS Map of the Lands of Wester Daldowie and Kenmuir. The Farm of Kenmuir is visible in the centre of the map, between the mineral railway tracks to the East and West servicing coal mines. Map accessed from Past Maps)



(Figure 39 – Photograph of the lands of Kenmuir farm, now an area of open parkland used by local dog walkers and dirt-bike enthusiasts. Photo by Author)



(Figure 40 – Photograph of the Ruins of Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 41 – Photograph of the Farm of Kenmuir which sits on the land above Kenmuir Hill. The farm contains a wide variety of architectural styles and construction methods, including some impressive sandstone blockwork which suggests the farm may have origins as a Home farm to one of the nearby estates, or as the home of a wealthy enlightenment era farmer. This particularly impressive blockwork structure has been interpreted as an early dovecot by some. Photo by Author)



(Figure 42 – Photograph of the remains of a corrugated iron and timber barn structure to the North East of the Farm at Kenmuir. Photo by Author)



(Figure 43 – Photograph of interior wall of the larger building at Kenmuir farm. This wall, with obvious later additions, is considerably older than much of the rest of this structure and appears to have at some point been an impressive structure. Photo by Author)



(Figure 44 – Photograph of the ruins of one of the more substantial stone structures at Kenmuir Farm. This structure is largely built of nicely dressed stonework and a number of decorative features such as the line of curved stonework in the South facing wall to the right of the image, and the elaborate carved stone corner piece on the South Western corner of the Structure in the centre of the image. Photo by Author)

The earliest recording of Kenmuir is in a list of 'rentallers' from 1242, and the words toponymic root suggests an association with the woods below (Drummond, 2014, p.413). In the 15th c. the farm of Kenmuir was partitioned several times in as part of the practice of inheritance. In 1607 the farm was split between Alexander Scott and John Scott, around 1623 the farm was split between John Scott and James Corbie, husband of Isobel Scott, later in 1641 it appears to have been united again under John Scott the younger then Alexander Scott in 1764 (Grant, 1898, p.65). In 1861 the Ordinance Survey name book recorded that the farm of Kenmuir which included two farmhouses, an office and a series of ancillary structures was the residence of two tenants, Mr Muirhead and Mr Rankin, and was the property of a R. Findlay Esq of Easterhill near Tollcross (OS, 1861, p.102). Within the grounds of this property is listed Kenmuir Hill and the woods of Kenmuir, a forest of timber situated on the left bank of the Clyde (OS, 1861, p.103).



(Figure 45 – 1829 Richardson’s Map of the study area. The map illustrates the Estates and Halls of Daldowie, Newton, Carmyle, Hamilton Farm and Mount Vernon, and the farms of Wester Daldowie, Kenmuir and Cowgang, although the farm of Cowgang is unlabelled. Included in the map are also the names of the proprietors of the various properties, the owners at Kenmuir are recorded as Scot and Corbet and Daldowie as Bogle, however the Bogles had sold the estate four years prior, and Scott and Corbet had not been proprietors of the farm at Kenmuir since 1623. Interestingly in this Greenock Hall has not yet appeared north of Wester Daldowie. Accessed from National Library of Scotland, used with permission)



(Figure 46 – Photograph of a large structure at the North Western Corner of the Farm of Kenmuir, as seen from the North East. This structure has significant decorative stonework including the mixed red and blonde sandstone used in the window arches. The Western End of the structure faces the two grand entrance ways to the farm. Photo by Author)

The last owner of the farm at Kenmuir is recorded as a Mr Jimmy Wilson, who in 1995 led protests against the M74 extension which eventually forced the demolition and abandonment of his farm (Herald, 1995). By some accounts the larger farm structure, in figure 46, above was either repaired or reconstructed by Mr Wilson during this time to support his claim to compensation for the purchase of the lands adjacent to his property for the construction of the motorway (ibid). There is certainly evidence that this structure has undergone recent work, there is obvious mortaring of the stonework, and some architectural features within do not match the fabric of the building or its style. It is recorded Mr Wilson was a scrap merchant for a time and was involved in the demolition of many Glasgow tenements, thus it is possible that much of the material incorporated into this later build may be material retrieved from older structures complicating any attempts at dating the structures in this yard (ibid). Maurice Lindsay's 1973 poem '*seen out*' gives an account of the demolition of the tenements during the housing improvement works of that period;

"Machines bring all stone down to its own level.

On a half-cleared site where soon

rows of red and yellow curtains
would be switched-on stacks of lights,
I found a pan handle,
a mattress spring, a chair leg,
the bric-a-brac of done with caring;
while from one grey isolated
tenement story, with cushions,
blandishments and blankets
they prised loose and old woman
from a sense of place that hadn't
quite seen out her time" (Lindsay, 1973, p.110).

This poem tells of the traumatic scenes associated with the social sanitising of the city that have occurred regularly since the 50s as the former slum tenements of the Gorbals and industrial inner city zones were demolished and their residents sometimes forcefully evicted to new housing estates and high rise blocks on the city limits, a banishment to austere and poorly furnished estates where by design or accident there were few provisions for public transport, entertainment or community activities.

As part of the protests against the M74 extension Jimmy Wilson was briefly famous in 1995 for leading his two Clydesdale horses into the courtroom during one of the hearings where they defecated on the floor of the court (Herald, 1995). During which he argued that the construction would result in the demolition of his newly extended house at Kenmuir and he accused the developers of stealing rubble and materials from his Kenmuir Scrap yard site to construct the road (ibid). These hastily constructed extensions may account for some of the strange jumble of rubble, brick and concrete constructions at the main building on Kenmuir Farm which it was argued by journalists at the time were likely built for the purpose of increasing the value of the property in the months before its compulsory purchase (ibid).

Although during much of its life the farm of Kenmuir was very much a bucolic landscape in this final phase as the yard was used as a scrapyards this landscape became an edgeland. At this time the city had already consumed the surrounding villages of Carmyle, Mount Vernon and Broomhouse and for a long time this area of countryside had existed almost as an island amid the industrial-urban landscapes surrounding and encroaching it. The area was bounded by relict and live railway lines and access was limited to a single lane leading to Carmyle under a viaduct. With its reuse as a scrapyards, becoming a collection ground for waste materials from the demolition industry the character of the

farm changed drastically and when it was finally abandoned in a semi-ruinous form in the 1990s it would be hard not to define this landscape as a classic edgeland under both the definitions of Shoard (2002) and the archaeological edgeland I set out earlier.



(Figure 47 – Photograph of the gate post of the entrance to Kenmuir Farm along Kenmuir road from the South West approaching from Carmyle. Two of these large and decorative posts flank this entrance. Photo by Author)



(Figure 48 – Photograph of the large western gate to the Kenmuir farm. This gate has a similar alternating red and blonde sandstone arch as seen in the windows of the large Western Buildings of the farm. The Gate has no practical approaches to the west of from within the farm complex itself, lying where the farmstead boundaries cross a steep sided hill, thus this gate likely represents a folly designed as part of a home farm stage. Photo by Author)



(Figure 49 – Photograph of the arched gateway at Kenmuir Farm. Unfortunately, between my winter and summer visits the arched feature, shown whole in the previous figure, was destroyed, whether by weather or vandalism it is unclear. Photo by Author)



(Figure 50 – Photograph of Kenmuir Farm in summer. The structures are severely overgrown and, in some places, structurally unsound, over the course of my visits the collapse of several features was observed. Photo by Author)

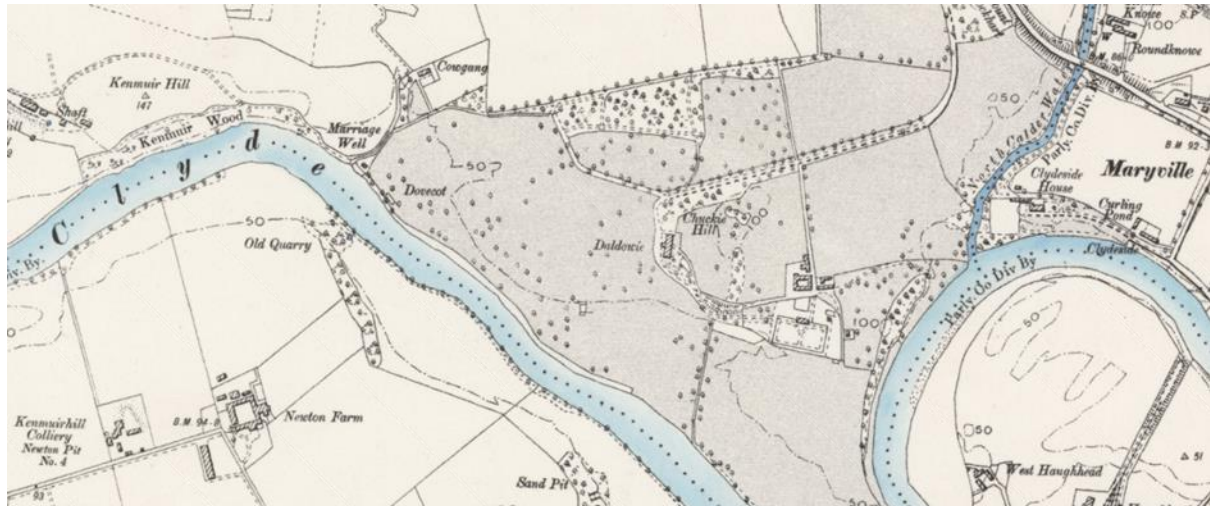
There was once another farm in this part of the Landscape, contemporary to the Kenmuir Farm until its demolition as part of the expansion of the Greenoakhill Sand and Gravel Quarries. The Farm of Wester Daldowie lay to the South West of Greenoakhill, at that time an affluent mansion house just off the Hamilton Road at Boghall. The farm of Wester Daldowie seems to have been comprised of two farm units and a cottage separately leased to tenant farmers, they are recorded as William Turnbull and William Murray in 1861 (OS, 1861, 104). The survival of this farm, as part of the network of estates which once dominated this landscape, provided the opportunity for edgeland to form here as the land left undeveloped during earlier bouts of urban expansion was consumed first by quarrying then landfilling operations. This common trajectory exists across a number of the classic edgeland landscapes and is similar to that of Daldowie, Newhailes and Hamilton Palace.



(Figure 51 – Photograph of the farm of Wester Daldowie in 1991 before the demolition of the remaining structures as part of landfill operations. Photo from RCAHMS Aerial Photography, used with permission)

A third farm, Cowgang, existed at the Western edge of the Daldowie Estate, worked by labours under the direct employ of the estate owners the M'Calls (OS, 1861, p.105). This was the home farm of the Daldowie Estate, a common feature of enlightenment era estates, the cattle from this farm would have been grazed in the pastures surrounding Daldowie Mansion and ownership of a working farm would have impressed upon visitors receiving a tour the improvement ideals of the estate's owners. It is recorded by the ordinance Survey (1861) that the farm manager then was John Gilchrist, who worked under the estate steward William Allan. In figure 52, below, it can be seen that the farm of Cowgang is principally connected to the roads to Hamilton and Glasgow via a path

through Daldowie Estate, and the principal associated pastures to the farm appear to be the large open tree studded parks which form the extensive vista to the front of Daldowie Mansions facing to the West. This farm, like the other two was likely demolished and forgotten during the transition of this landscape from estates and farmland to edgeland and municipal waste facilities from the 1950s onwards.



(Figure 52 – 1900 OS Map of Daldowie Estate and Cowgang Farm. In this image the lands of Daldowie estate are shaded in a light grey to denote parkland, in the centre the mansion, to the West of the House the farm of Cowgang and the Dovecot are marked. Accessed from Pastmaps)

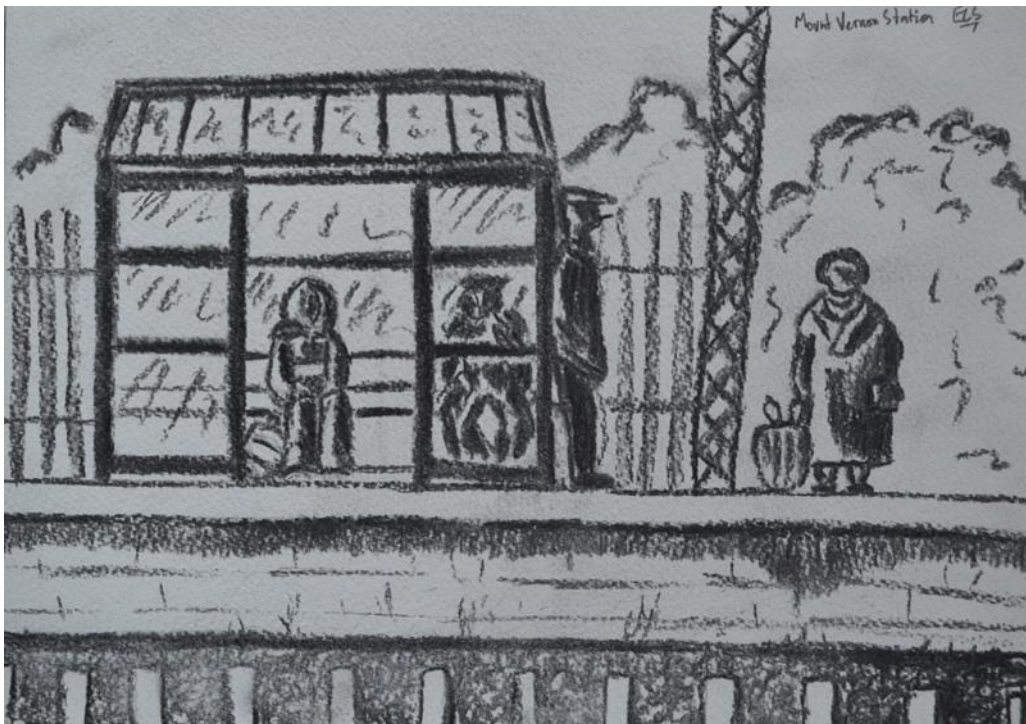


(Figure 53 – Photograph of a small metal fly tin, found amid flotsam on the rivers bank on one of my wanders. The box contains a variety of artificial flies crafted for angling. These flies are of the local ‘Clyde’ Style, with a narrow body of silk thread dubbed with either moles hair or hares lug some ribbed with copper wire, on a size 12-14 hook. The cape or neck of these flies is formed from a wrapping of feather. Among those in this tin there are partridge, snipe, and a variety of dyed and natural hen and cock feathers. These flies, with names like *‘The Black Spider’*, *‘Partridge and Gold’*, *‘Snipe and Purple’* and the infamous *‘Black Beastie’* are part of a lengthy folk tradition of crafting and sourcing materials taught over weeks and months even years by friends and relatives. This artefact, or assemblage, tells the continuing tale of this landscape as one of leisure, a place of escapism from the surrounding urban sprawl which can perhaps be seen as a key social function of the edgeland in cases. Photograph by Author)

Exploring the depths of the Earth

Over the course of the 1800s and 1900s this landscape transitioned from bucolic estates and farms to a landscape dotted and scarred by explorations to extract its geological and mineral bounties. From small pits to vast open quarries the landscape of Greenoakhill and Mount Vernon was consumed by the extensive demand for sand and gravel in the growing city. Across this landscape the infrastructure of the collieries spread out to strangle the bucolic. Tentacle-like mineral railways linked the proliferating collieries and associated pits, spoil heaps and company offices creating a landscape of extraction, energy deep within the earth was torn asunder to power the fires of industry in the city Westwards. The glow from the nearby Clydebridge Iron Works could be seen well into the night like a beacon of environmental despair. Railways snaked across this landscape serving the mineral extraction sites and their labour forces. Each day hundreds of men and boys from across the East end would arrive to labour in the blackening pits and this landscape became a focus of new connections and relations to the city.

(Some of the information included in the following sections was gained through discussions with the individuals who facilitated my tours of the sites)



(Figure 54 – Photograph of a charcoal drawing of Mount Vernon Train Station. This drawing is based off a photograph and sketch taken while waiting on a train back to Glasgow. Created by Author)

Toil and Grafters

Between the 1880s and the 1920s several pits and Collieries developed around the lands of Daldowie, initially under the ownership of John Dixon. These included the Kenmuir Colliery, Broomhouse Colliery, Daldowie Colliery and Clydeside Colliery all of which were managed by the Glasgow Colliery Company for a spell (Glasgow Story, 2004). Included in this network of mineral extraction sites was the Broomhouse Brickworks which while only in operation for a short spell in the late 1800s seems to have principally served the materials needs of the colliery sites. In 1918 it is recorded that one hundred and forty four miners worked below ground at the Daldowie Colliery and fifty four above ground, in the early 20th C it was estimated that ten percent of adults in the nearby districts of Tollcross and Shettleston worked in the mines (Glasgow Story, 2004). These mines were horrifically dangerous places to work and across Old Monkland Parish there were regular severe injuries and fatalities as a result of explosions, collapses, falls, electrocution and flooding. Excluding the risk of industrial accidents, the constant inhalation of coal and rock dust caused the disease known as 'Black Spit' or 'Black lung' which considerably shortened the lifespan of many. Below are excerpts from newspaper reports of mining fatalities and injuries in this area;

"On Tuesday morning, about 8 o'clock, a fatal accident occurred in No 9 pit, Mount Vernon Colliery, belonging to Mr John Young, Easterhouse near Baillieston, which resulted in the death of a miner named Robert Park, seventeen years of age... While Park was working at a coal facing, a large piece of coal fell upon him, and his head was so dreadfully crushed that death was instantaneous. His father was working in the pit at the time of the occurrence, which is said to have been purely accidental" (Airdrie & Coatbridge, 1871).

"Late on Thursday night, two men, named Archibald M'Beth and James Moodie, descended No. 2 pit, Kenmure, belonging to James Dunlop & Son... They had only been about an hour down when the engineman heard the signal given to draw up the cage... Peering down the shaft he heard the sound of rushing water, and the truth flashed upon him that the men in the working had struck into old workings in the vicinity, where a quantity of water was known to have accumulated. It is supposed that it will be three weeks before the water can be pumped out of the pit, and in the meanwhile there is little doubt but that both of the men have perished... Several ponies in the pit have also been lost" (Falkirk Herald, 1873).

"Yesterday morning, a lad about 16 named Archibald Burns, met his death in a pit between Broomhouse and Baillieston. While at work he had occasion to cross what is called a "blind shaft," which was covered with sleepers; but his foot slipped, and he fell a distance of fifteen fathoms. When rescued he was so terribly injured that he expired before he could be got to the pit bank" (Scotsman, 1888).

"A number of miners who were travelling up a 'dook' in Broomhouse colliery on Saturday had a narrow escape in consequence of the haulage rope breaking. The loaded hutchies ran down the incline with great velocity. Edward Cameron, a lad of seventeen, was knocked down by the first hutch... He was found to be suffering from a crushed chest, broken ribs, and several wounds on the head. He died a few minutes after he was brought to the pit-bank" (Scotsman, 1897).

“A boy named Thomas Jaap, 15 years and one month old, a pithead worker, residing at 39 River Road, Carmyle, met with an accident about 12.15 on Wednesday by his left arm being run over by an empty railway waggon while he was employed in shunting operations at the railway siding at South Kenmuir Colliery, Carmyle, owned by J Dunn Stephen Ltd. The arm was severed at the elbow” (Airdrie & Coatbridge Advertiser, 1915).

These are but five of many reports of accidents at the pits of Kenmuir, Mount Vernon, Broomhouse and Daldowie. Yet they give a sense of the range of dangerous tasks which rendered this landscape for many a series of deadly taskscapes where the reminder of impending death, either from violent industrial action or longer-term lung diseases, was surely never far from the mind.



(Figure 55 – 1900s OS Map of the Lands of Wester Daldowie and Kenmuir. The Farm of Kenmuir is visible in the centre of the map, between the mineral railway tracks to the East and West servicing coal mines. Map accessed from Past Maps)

The lands of the farm Wester Daldowie and Greenoakhill House became the Sand and Gravel Quarry of Greenoakhill. The site is described by the British Geological Survey in 2014 as “Gravel, sand and silt, Quaternary, Glaciofluvial Deltaic Deposits” (Cameron, 2014, p.125). The sands and gravels quarried in this landscape were deposited tens of thousands of years earlier when the last great glacial expansion ended depositing enormous volumes of sand, gravel and boulder clay across the lower Clyde valley, forming the drumlins which give the city its hilly topography (ibid). This quarry at Greenoakhill provided virgin sands and gravels for the construction industry in Glasgow and continued to do so until around the 1950s when the site was taken over by the Glasgow Corporation for municipal waste dumping. This is a common trajectory for many estate landscapes of a similar nature, when the large country house fell out of fashion and gradually become too expensive to maintain, estates such as Newhailes in Musselburgh were gradually parcelled off into landfill, quarries and industrial estates (Lorimer et al, 2018; Rhodes, 2013). In the years of the Second World

War there was a barrage balloon fixed to the West of this site as part of a network of Anti-Aircraft defences along the Clyde aimed at hampering the efforts of the Luftwaffe's bombers to disrupt industry.



(Figure 56 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of old warning sign at Greenoakhill Landfill.

Created by Author)



(Figure 57 – Photograph of the now abandoned railway bridge at Kenmuir. This bridge connected the Colliery at South Kenmuir, across the Clyde from the main pits and the connection to the main railway branch at Carmyle. Photo by Author)



(Figure 58 – Photograph of Greenoakhill Sand and Gravel Quarry Circa 1928. Photograph shows quarry during the excavation of the cist cemetery. The house in the background, by the entrance to Boghall Road remains today, allowing identification of the Cist Cemetery site. Photo from RCAHMS General Collection Lantern Slides, used with permission)



(Figure 59 – Photograph of Stoneware jar sherd collected to the South of the Greenoakhill site. This sherd of stoneware pottery belongs to a large stoneware vessel, produced in the late 1800s at the Caledonia Pottery Works in Rutherglen (Will, 2017, p.12). The transfer image, of which a fragment is seen on this sherd, would have originally featured an illustration of a milkmaid below the description 'PURE FRESH CREAM' of which only 'REAM' survives on this piece (ibid). These stoneware cream jars were produced in Rutherglen for the Wigtonshire Creamery at Stranraer, producers of cream, butter and margarine (ibid). Large stoneware jars such as this were produced by the large pottery works of Glasgow, Caledonian, Bells, Port-Dundas and Vereville-Britannia, for both domestic markets and for export, and were used by a variety of clients from Barr's Soft drinks and tonics to Tennents breweries (Cruickshank, 2020). This sherd is fairly rounded at the edges and has likely tumbled about in the waters of the Clyde for some time and thus while it tells us of industrial production and consumption there is little to tie this to the landscape of Daldowie. Photo by Author)

Deep Pasts

It was on this site that Ludovic Mann excavated the Bronze Age Cist Cemetery at Greenoakhill in 1928. The first of these was uncovered accidentally during the workings of the quarry, afterwards Ludovic Mann (1928) oversaw the excavation of a total of seven Bronze Age Cist burials and associated grave goods including food vessels and a flint knife. The excavation was carried out by Mann, and a team of labourers from the site and was published in the Glasgow Herald on 27th July 1928 (Mann, 1928).



(Figure 60 – Photograph of the excavation of a cist at Greenoakhill. The figure on the left squatting is L. Mann. Photo from RCAHMS General Collection Lantern Slides, used with permission)

Among the burials are an elderly man buried in a crouched position, a young woman, buried with a food vessel, flint knife, and white pebble and an adolescent buried with a food vessel and a 'hair-moss garment' covering the body (Mann, 1928). From the seven cists excavated six food vessels were uncovered associated with the burials (Mann, 1928). These are commonly associated with the Early Bronze Age in Scotland, the finding of a number of flint tools among the burials suggests that perhaps this was a community in transition from Neolithic to Bronze Age and that those remaining flint tools, mainly knives and arrowheads, both of which have Bronze equivalents, may have held

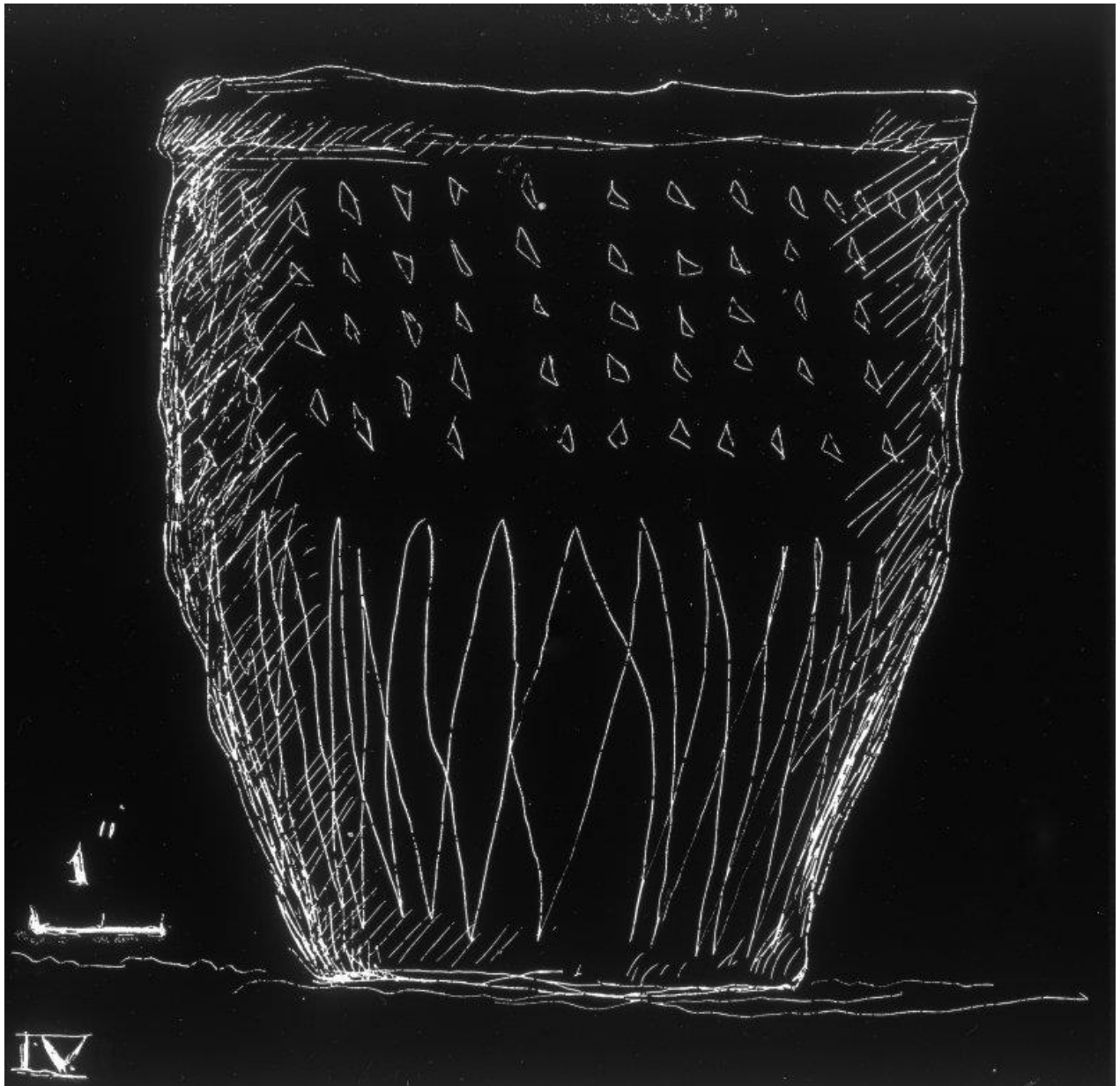
emotional significance as hereditary objects associated with ties to an identity and tradition now fading (Childe, 1942, p.11; Mann, 1928).



(Figure 61 – Photograph of the excavation of a cist at Greenoakhill. This photograph records the interior of one of the cists during excavation. Photo from RCAHMS General Collection Lantern Slides, used with permission)

The food vessel sketched in figure 62, below, is one of those recovered by Mann's excavation. The food vessels which survived to be archived in Glasgow Museums at Kelvingrove are recorded in

Childe's (1946) synthesis of the Prehistory of Scotland '*Scotland Before the Scots*'. Childe (1946, p.113) argues that these food vessels are of types B1 and C, which he associates with a cultural change occurring in the Early Bronze Age transition. Childe in this book attempts to make a case for a Soviet-Marxist reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence and suggests that the changes occurring in this period occurred through revolution as opposed to the dominant theory of invasions from the continent and Ireland (Childe, 1946, p.1 ; Ibid, p.113)



(Figure 62 – Sketch by Mann of a food vessel excavated from a cist at Greenoakhill. Photo from RCAHMS General Collection Lantern Slides, used with permission)

Interestingly the finding of the white pebble associated with the burial of the young woman may represent part of an Early Bronze Age burial tradition that spanned this landscape. The Reverend

Ure, recording the antiquities, and character of Rutherglen and East Kilbride in 1793, noted that during the excavation of the large Early Bronze Age cairns at Cathkin Braes twenty five cordoned cinerary urns were uncovered from the largest cairn, each containing a white quartz pebble (Ure, 1981, p.215). These secondary burials within the Queen Mary Cairn have been interpreted as belonging to ancestors of the original buried individual who was placed within the huge central cist, and perhaps belonged to a later generations of Early Bronze Age people. Similarly, the excavations at Forteviot Cist Cemetery in Perthshire uncovered a ring of quartzite pebbles arrayed around where the head of the buried person would have been (Brophy and Noble, 2020). Thus, clearly there is a considerable tradition of such activities and an apparent significance to the deposition of these small white stones in Bronze Age funerary Traditions.

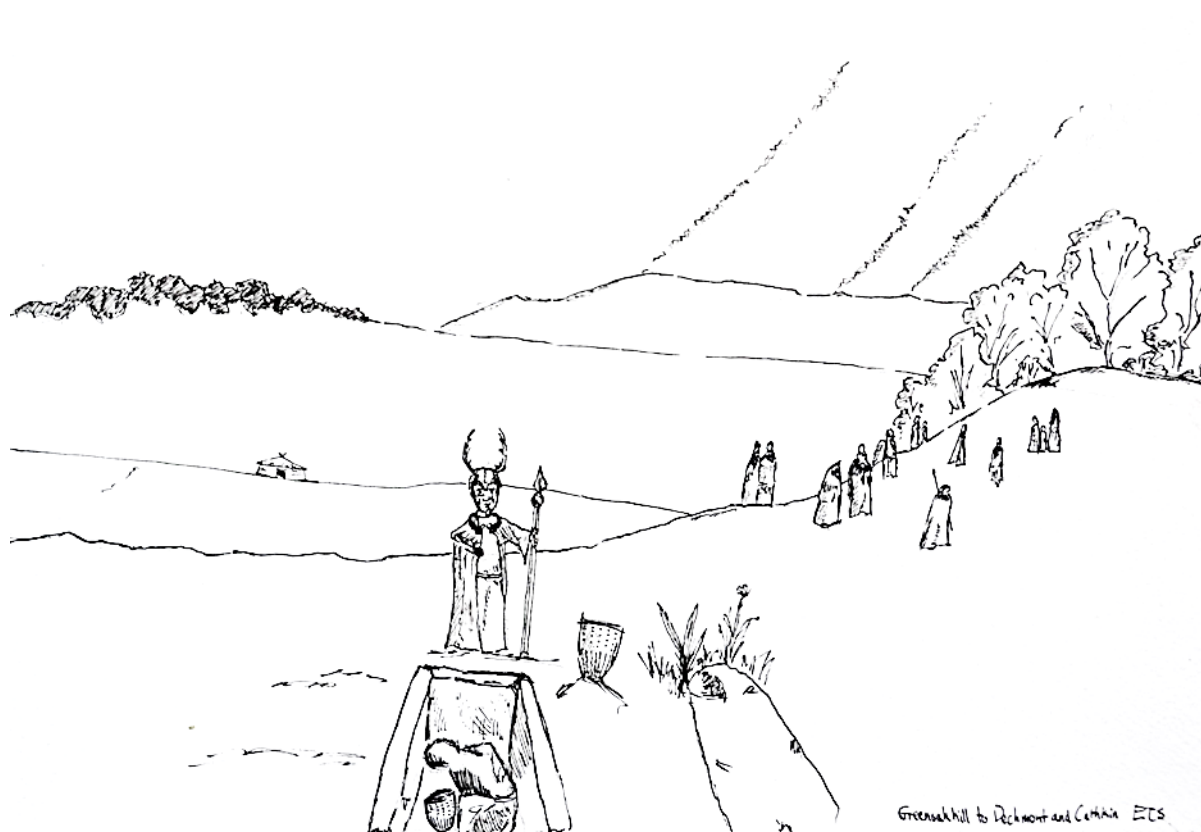
Hugh Macdonald (1910, p. 42) in his account of this landscape stops nearby Greenoakhill and notes the views afforded from this position at the brow of the slopes down to the Clyde, recording that the site offers views up the Clyde to Tinto to the East, and across the Clyde to Dychmont and Cathkin Braes, all known sites of large Bronze Age burial cairns even in the times of Macdonald. Macdonald poetically describes these sites;

“Among such tombs there was indeed abundant scope for the most serious reflection. For many a long and dreary century they had kept their trust in defiance of the wind and the rain; and the tale they told was of an age before Christianity had dawned on our isle—of a dark and distant era, when our sires were a band of painted savages, and when the altar fires of Baal, from the brow of Dychmont, still threw a lurid lustre over the valley of the Clyde” (Macdonald, 1910, p.100).



(Figure 63 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of a Bronze Age Funerary Procession approaching Greenoakhill. In the background the distinctive outline of the hills to the North of Glasgow can be seen. Created by Author)

Interestingly in Childe's (1946) listing of known food vessels in the Clyde region, the locations listed follow a similar pattern of places of visual prominence and intervisibility in the landscape following the course of the Clyde and tributary valleys. Childe (1946, p.112) notes Old Kilpatrick, Knappers Quarry, Mount Vernon, Dechmont, Newton, Cathkin, Drumpellier, Dalserf, Stonehouse, Lesmahagow and Tinto as locations of food vessel associated burials, all of which are sited on hills on either bank of the Clyde. Thus perhaps there may be an interesting connection between this site and the other large concentrations of Bronze Age burial places, around the Clyde Valley which seem to focus around the ridge of hills which surround the modern city, and on the many small hills and drumlins which litter the valley floor – tying together the ancient landscape of Glasgow and the Clyde with a network of intervisible places of significance.



(Figure 64 – Scan of pen and ink drawing of the aftermath of a Bronze Age Funeral at Greenoakhill. In the Cist lies the wrapped body of the young woman buried in Cist six, buried with a food vessel of the style recorded by L. Mann. The hills represented are the Cathkin Braes and Deichmont, sites of significant Bronze Age activity. Created by Author)

In the 1980s Harry Bell, an amateur archaeologist in Glasgow centred his theories of a Secret Alignment of Glasgow sites known to him as Networks of Aligned Sites (Bell, 1984). Bell argued this system of linear alignments formed the networks of movement in prehistoric Glasgow. Bell (1984) was heavily inspired by Alfred Watkins (1925) fringe theory of Ley Lines and was dismissed by the Professional Archaeologists of his day as an eccentric amateur. Bell identified the Greenoakhill Cist Cemetery as one such aligned site in his network, on an alignment with the Cochno Stone, Glasgow Necropolis, Duncolm and Hamilton. Although unorthodox and eccentric, his method of Archaeo-Orienteering, was a forerunner to the post-processual and post-structuralist landscape studies of today (Bell, 1998; Stewart, 2020).



(Figure 65 – Photograph of the site of Mann’s Greenoakhill Excavations today. The site of the cist cemetery is now covered by a site office and giant scales for weighing unloaded vehicles as part of the calculation of landfill fees. Photo by Author)

Brophy (2015) as part of his work on urban prehistoric monuments has visited the site of Greenoakhill, and in a series of creative literary explorations has considered the relationship between the ancient and modern activities on this site;

“Because the quarry and the cemetery are both polluted places. They have depth, they have power, and they are repositories of value and potential energy, derived from underground. Social capital. They are connected places, entangled across and beyond the societies from within which they emerged: Pastoralism / Capitalism. Entangled in networks of meaning that expand beyond this geographical location and its enforced boundaries, beyond the knowledge of any one individual visiting a grave, laying the dead to rest, driving a truck, reading the Daily Record in a cab. Exploded places, shrunk down to just this one place, a dot on a map, a high point, a special place, a pit. The quarry and the cemetery.”



(Figure 66 – Scan of Collage produced from scraps of newspaper and magazine from a Newsagent in Carmyle. The collage attempts to represent the Stratigraphy of Greenoakhill. Created by Author)

Interestingly the connections between the contemporary and deep past in this landscape continue, within sight of the Greenoakhill Cists the modern crematorium of Daldowie sits with its megalithic Garden of Remembrance, reminiscent of the Carnac stones of Brittany. There is a tradition of cremation in this landscape, from the associated urn burials at Greenoakhill to the municipal crematorium at Daldowie. In the interceding 4,000 years the rituals of this process have likely changed, from the highly involved, labour intensive and visually spectacular cremations in pyres of

the Bronze Age, to the muted, hidden and dowdy rituals of modern cremation, where gas jet fires char the flesh from bones then cremulators fragment the remains to more aesthetic ash in a sealed off and sterilised space beyond the eyes of the community (Stutz, 2019; Williams, 2019). In the Bronze Age the pyre would have to be extensively fed for hours in order to properly cremate the body and would have been open to all the senses for those who watched and toiled, afterwards the fragments of charred bone were collected and placed inside a vessel for associated burial (Pearson, 1999, p.8; Stutz, 2019; Williams, 2019).



(Figure 67 – Photograph of an oil pastel drawing of a Bronze Age funeral ceremony at Greenoakhill.

In this imagining the setting is a grove of the type commonly associated with the pagan past by antiquarians. Created by Author)



(Figure 68 – Photograph of glass vessel fragments collected during fieldwalking at Daldowie. Among this assemblage are blue and clear glass ink bottles, a modern candleholder, an imported wine bottle base, beer bottle fragments, a sauce bottle sherd, and a variety of medicine and chemical bottles in clear and light blue glass. Photo by Author)

Modernity Beckons

From the 1950s we can see a significant change in the landscape of Daldowie, and the development of the edgeland as we know it. Daldowie changed drastically as a landscape in character, just as W.G. Hoskins (1955) was bemoaning the loss of his beloved English landscape. As Hoskins (1955) was describing the ruination of England's rural idylls, the very same processes were irrevocably reshaping the lands of Daldowie, carving motorways through hills, building hulking mounds of landfill, replacing estate gardens and farms with all the trappings of the edgeland. Although to say this was a landscape untouched by urbanisation and industry before the developments of the Post-War period would be to whitewash the existence of many hundreds of coal miners, quarry labourers and farmers who had for generations before toiled the earth in this landscape. The transformations of the Post-War period however, largely reshaped this landscape, the spectre of the Glasgow Corporation and their designs upon the city can be seen in monuments to their vision; vast sewage lagoons, a temple to efficiently rendering flesh to ash, great looping leviathans of automobile infrastructure carrying the weight of industry and commerce and landfill mounds which challenge geological processes in scale. This period saw great change in the makeup and form of the bombed and economically shocked cities of Post-War Britain, with at the helm of this change municipal city planners filled with revanchist ideals of modernisation (Appendix A). During this period centuries old slums were finally cleared; new towns and suburbs sprang up across Scotland to deal with these newly created surplus populations. In this redefining of the city conscious decisions were made about what did and did not belong within the idealised urban form. Many of these ideals, relating to the placement of infrastructure from sewage works to crematoriums, cemeteries to landfills, were borrowed from the pervading idealised imaginings of classical urban forms which have dominated the urban planning of Western Cities since the Enlightenment (Smith, 2017; Shoard, 2002). These ideals, formed often from readings of classical accounts, projected new ideals on the evolving cities of Europe and America sanitising the city through the removal of 'unclean' processes, and the strict zoning of landuses and classes, as well as providing architectural inspirations for the design of public and private monuments, the layout of streets and the setting of public spaces (ibid).

Ashes to Ashes

Daldowie Crematorium sits within the former gardens of Daldowie Mansion, in the sweeping southward loop of the Clyde, constructed in the 1950s for Glasgow Corporation to serve the demand for cremations. The Crematorium, designed by William Watt - Lanark County Architect, featured a symmetrical butterfly layout with towering glass domed centre (Small, 2007, p.107). The site was purchased in 1938 by Lanark County Council for the purposes of constructing the crematorium but those early plans were delayed by the war (Sweeney, 2013, p.143). The Crematorium was opened in 1955 and has served the city of Glasgow and surrounding counties since then (ibid). It is common for there to be around ten funerals a day here, and over its lifetime there have been over 100,000 cremations (BBC, 2013) . Inside the crematorium the twin chapels act as foci for rituals of commemoration, the beloved deceased are laid to rest, soon to be returned in urns and jars to their remaining kin rendered into ash. It is an expression locally to remark upon a burnt dinner, “Did you cook that at Daldowie?”.

Behind the chapels with their “unnatural quietness, the unspoken sorrow, the grotesque pomp of watching the coffin disappear behind an electric curtain in the knowledge that it will only later be committed to the regulated gas jets of a crematorium furnace” there lies a series of rooms soundproofed from the mourners, here the furnaces, cremulators and urn stores can be found (Pearson, 2009, pp.40-41; Williams, 2016; Stutz, 2019). The crematorium chamber takes the coffin and contained remains, rendering them to charred bone and ash, from this the coffin and body furnishings which have not perished are removed, and the bone and ash fragments are run through a cremulator, this grinds the remaining and identifiable bone fragments to ash, for easy scattering by the relatives (Williams and Williams, 2019; Williams, 2016). This process of cremulating the cremated bone is a final act of sanitising in this process, rendering those remaining fragments of the body unrecognisable, and largely indistinguishable from cat litter (ibid). This sanitised, hidden and almost entirely automated process of disposing of bodily remains marks a rather stark contrast to the visceral involving and intensive activity of the prehistoric cremation as recorded by Williams (2004).



(Figure 69 – Daldowie Crematorium Main entrance and Domed Atrium. In early January the site was under renovation with the rear of the structure closed off as the trilitic garden, though throughout my site visit a steady stream of funeral processions entered and departed and the quiet hum of the incinerators was almost constant. Photograph by Author)

Outside this structure, where the dead are rendered ashes, a garden of remembrance radiates from the rear of the Crematorium guarded by columns like towering trilithon. From here radial lines of memorial stones stand sentinel over the scattered ashes of the cities recent past. This crematorium has seen the last bodily moments of a full spectrum of the city's citizens. Footballers, Swimmer and Boxers, War Veterans, Doctors and Lawyers; Daldowie has seen the services of heroes and villains alike, from murdered Policemen to Crime lords. The grounds of this cathedral of modern remembrance have seen their share of dramas, including skirmishes between gang rivals, slashings and hit and run attacks. At the funeral of Glasgow gang 'Godfather' Tam McGraw;

"Hundreds of mourners, including a number of Glasgow criminals, packed Daldowie Crematorium to say their private farewells... McGraw's coffin had none of the trappings of previous gangster funerals - it was decked simply in white flowers." (Daily Record, 2007)

There are materialities in this landscape as with many similar landscapes of remembrance "variously, of memory, emotion, intimacy, responsibility and creativity" (Lorimer, 2018b, p.87). Yet there is a marginalising of the dead in this landscape too, a relegating of the place for remembering them to the very edge of the city, Mike Parker Pearson (2009, p.41) notes;

“ In Britain the remains of the dead, whether cremated or inhumed, are marginalized and made to disappear, buried in suburban centres or scattered in gardens of remembrance... there is a tension in the need for ritual and, at the same time, a deep distrust of it.”

Pearson (2009, p.41) considers the role of the crematorium, as opposed to the more traditional chapel, is significantly more limited and they often they are situated in marginal landscapes.



(Figure 70 – Photograph of Daldowie Crematorium from the garden of remembrance. Photography by Author)



(Figure 71 – Photograph of Garden of Remembrance at Daldowie Crematorium. Photo by Author)



(Figure 72 – Photograph of Garden of Remembrance at Daldowie Crematorium. Photo by Author)



(Figure 73 – Photograph of Garden of Remembrance at Daldowie Crematorium, in the upper area of the garden these memorial stones stand sentinel to small plots maintained and decorated in commemoration. Photo by Author)



(Figure 74 – Photograph of Garden of Remembrance at Daldowie Crematorium, in the lower area of the garden radial lines of trees are adorned with memorialisation's of the deceased. Photo by Author)

In the Garden of Remembrance, the upper levels are dominated by a field of uniform grey granite blocks with black and gold plaques. These standardised permanent markers of remembrance and splashed with a variety of colourful, personal and ephemeral dedications such as flowers, wreaths, scarfs, lanterns, fencing, statues, ornaments and badges of affiliation. Below this terrace in the lower gardens radiating lines of decorative trees, interspersed with benches, are similarly decorated. At the bottom of this sweeping slope, some of these memorials show signs of neglect, of the loss of memory, or perhaps having outlived their memory. These sorry monuments are slowly being consumed by the earth, vegetation and elements, and it is in this process of neglect that the edgeland creeps into this otherwise highly cared for landscape. Walking along such rows of impermanent memorials has been described by Lorimer (2018b, p.88) “unearthing the rhythms of memory and consciousness amid relict forms and communal life.” Here the very impermanence of human life and memory is laid bare, monuments are erected, briefly cherished, then neglected – forgotten as the rhythms of life render this landscape one of only temporary visitation and remembrance. Amid this lower garden a myriad of wind chimes tied to errant branches tinkled and chimed across the slopes, an unnerving chorus when the breeze picked up. Below sodden paper windmills whirl in the wind with a plodding gait, like stomping feet in clawing mud. In the distance a lone bagpipe whined and groaned over the low growl of the incinerators and the chimes chorus, between all these disarticulated sounds I was thoroughly unnerved and promptly fled the scene.



(Figure 75 – Photograph of memorial trees and benches in lower garden of the Garden of Remembrance. Photo by Author)



(Figure 76 – Photograph of memorials in lower garden, these memorials lie disregarded, perhaps forgotten as they are reclaimed by the earth and surrender to the elements. Photo by Author)

The Crematoriums Garden of Remembrance is different in many ways from the graveyards which often form the focus of archaeologies of death and burial (Pearson, 2009; Williams, 2019). While the ashes of the deceased may in some cases be buried or scattered or planted alongside their memorials, many will not be, and thus these memorial stones, benches and trees stand sentinel over plots for the commemoration of deceased loved ones who may not be there. This is not so much a place of death so much as the site where death and the final bodily rituals of the cremation are remembered. This is part of the shift from burial to cremation, a trend which occurred between the late 1800s-1900s, a shift not only away from the preservation of the body to its destruction, but also a “rapid breakdown of the individual identity of the dead (Pearson, 2009, p.42). Pearson (2009, p.42) suggests that;

“The uniformity of urns, niches and plaques, the scattering of ashes into the anonymous garden of remembrance, and commemoration by a collective monument and a line in the Book of Remembrance all contributed to the dislocation and anonymity of the dead”

While a stone may mark the death of a beloved father, uncle, brother and son in Daldowie, their ashes may now have long been scattered Westward from the end of Troon pier, or over the bonny banks of Loch Lomond. And yet, as Stutz (2019) notes, that as death and experiencing death can be

seen as a 'crisis' those rituals of memorial associated with it can act to 'augment or affect' our sensory experience.



(Figure 77 – Photograph of the Garden of Remembrance at Daldowie Crematorium. In the image the radial lines of trees which run from the Crematorium's rear southwards towards the Clyde can be seen, each tree, and space between, acts as the foci for a variety of votive deposits commemorating a loved one. Photo by Author)

Daldowie has also been the place of less marked disposals of the bodily ashes. The remains of infants cremated at the crematorium for a while were scattered by staff in the crematorium grounds, unknown to the families, the location unrecorded (BBC, 2013). Daldowie Crematorium and Linn Crematorium, under Glasgow City Council were both implicated in the National Infant Ashes Scandal of the 2013 which led to a national commission into the practice at Glasgow and Edinburgh Crematoriums (ibid). It is believed between these of 2,385 infant cremations carried out 1,886 returned no remains to the grieving families over a fifteen-year period (ibid).



(Figure 78 – Photograph of Daldowie Crematorium Garden of Remembrance as viewed from rear of the crematorium. Photo by Author)

As I wandered from the crematorium towards Mount Vernon I passed the Mailcoach. The pub today, it seems largely exists to serve the constant processions of funerals that pass through, nearby a convenient layby allows for the embarking and disembarking of funeral carriages and horses when that level of pomp is required, otherwise a large carpark allows for a turnover of taxis to deliver mourners to awaiting receptions – steak pies and the obligatory round or two. With no sizable community to the pub, apart from a few houses lining the busy thoroughfare, this resting place services the grieving funeral goers drawn like the crows to this landscape.



(Figure 79 – Photograph of the Mailcoach Pub. Photo by Author)



(Figure 80 – Photograph of a sign in the window of ‘The Mailcoach’ advertising a psychic night to be held on the 29th May 2020. Sadly, the performer, ‘Second Sight’, failed to foresee the pandemic which would result in the closure of the pub and cancellation of this event – who knows what communions with departed spirits were missed in this landscape which has been a foci for rituals of death for over 4000 years. Photo by Author)

A few months after my first visits, amid the Coronavirus epidemic, this landscape had changed rapidly. To prevent the spread of the virus funerals were limited to only direct family, there would be no memorial stones raised, no mass of black clothed mourners processing in, nor any migration to the traditional reception in a pub or house nearby.



(Figure 81 – Photograph of china teacup sherd collected to the East of Daldowie Crematorium. This delicate china pottery sherd is part of a teacup produced in 1936 by 'New Chelsea' at their porcelain works in Staffordshire (Perry, 2010). This company began production of fine bone china in 1900 and traded initially as 'Plant Bros' before taking up the name 'New Chelsea' in 1912 (ibid). This piece, a teacup of the 'Primrose Dale' design was produced c. 1936 and featured floral motifs in green, yellow and orange (ibid). The company also produced commemorative plates including an 'Egyptomania' plate for the 1922 discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb (ibid). This ceramic sherd has penned on the bottom some sort of code number – likely a relic of having passed through a charity shop at some point in its biography, before it founds its way to being dumped along the Clyde. Photo by Author)

Motorway 74

The M74 was devised from the 1950s as a solution to the increasing problems posed by the flow of traffic from the South into Central Scotland with the proliferation of the car and lorry, and the congestion this resulted in across the many towns of Lanarkshire which sit astride the A74. These issues of congestion were suggested to be halting the economic development of Glasgow and West Central Scotland in the Post-War period and so by the late 1950s ambitious plans had been devised for a network of motorways to intersect and bypass the city of Glasgow, allowing for the smooth flow of traffic, goods and thus capital across Scotland. Of these ambitious infrastructural works only the M74, M73, M77 and M8 were initially realised, with later additions including the M74 completion project, and extensions to the M77 these later projects being completed between 1994-2011. The first interchange between these mighty new thoroughfares bringing unprecedented speeds to the Scottish Road network like twining concrete tentacles of an infrastructural leviathan was the Maryville Interchange. The Maryville Interchange, or Junction 4 of the M74, is only one of two three level interchanges in Scotland and is unique in its design, unobtrusively settled between two natural rises and with minimal supports to its arching bridges to reduce the visual impact. As can be seen in Figure 82 this enormous feat of engineering is almost obscured entirely by the topography and vegetation from the West. The Maryville interchange was completed at all three levels in 1968 for the completion of the M74 and was later connected to the M73 in 1971 to reduce disruption. It was originally proposed to have a third connection, to the proposed Southern 'Ring Road C' which was never realised.



(Figure 82 – Photograph of M74 Motorway under construction. This Stretch of the motorway was completed by 1968. Photo from the Glasgow Motorway Archive, used with permission)

The legacies of this programme of roadbuilding, beyond reshaping the infrastructural and transport of the city to cement the dominance of the car, remains a contentious issue and the heritage of this continues to fire emotions across the city. The construction of the early motorway system, particularly the M8, M77 and M80, carved vast impermeable barriers across much of the city, blocking pedestrian access and resulting in the demolition of vast areas of inner-city Glasgow. The recent consultation for the designation of the Kingston Bridge– the point where the M8 motorway crosses the Clyde– as a listed structure has resulted in a wave of frustrations for those who see the intervention of the motorways within the city as the death toll of the traditional public transport network and the isolation of the city centre from the industrial and post-industrial suburbs of Port Dundas, Saracen Street, Possil Park and Royston. The route of this curving inner-city ring road is suspicious in it separates the traditional heart of the city from the impoverished suburbs to the North.



(Figure 83 – Photograph of M74 Motorway after construction. This stretch of the motorway was completed by 1968. Photo from the Glasgow Motorway Archive, used with permission)



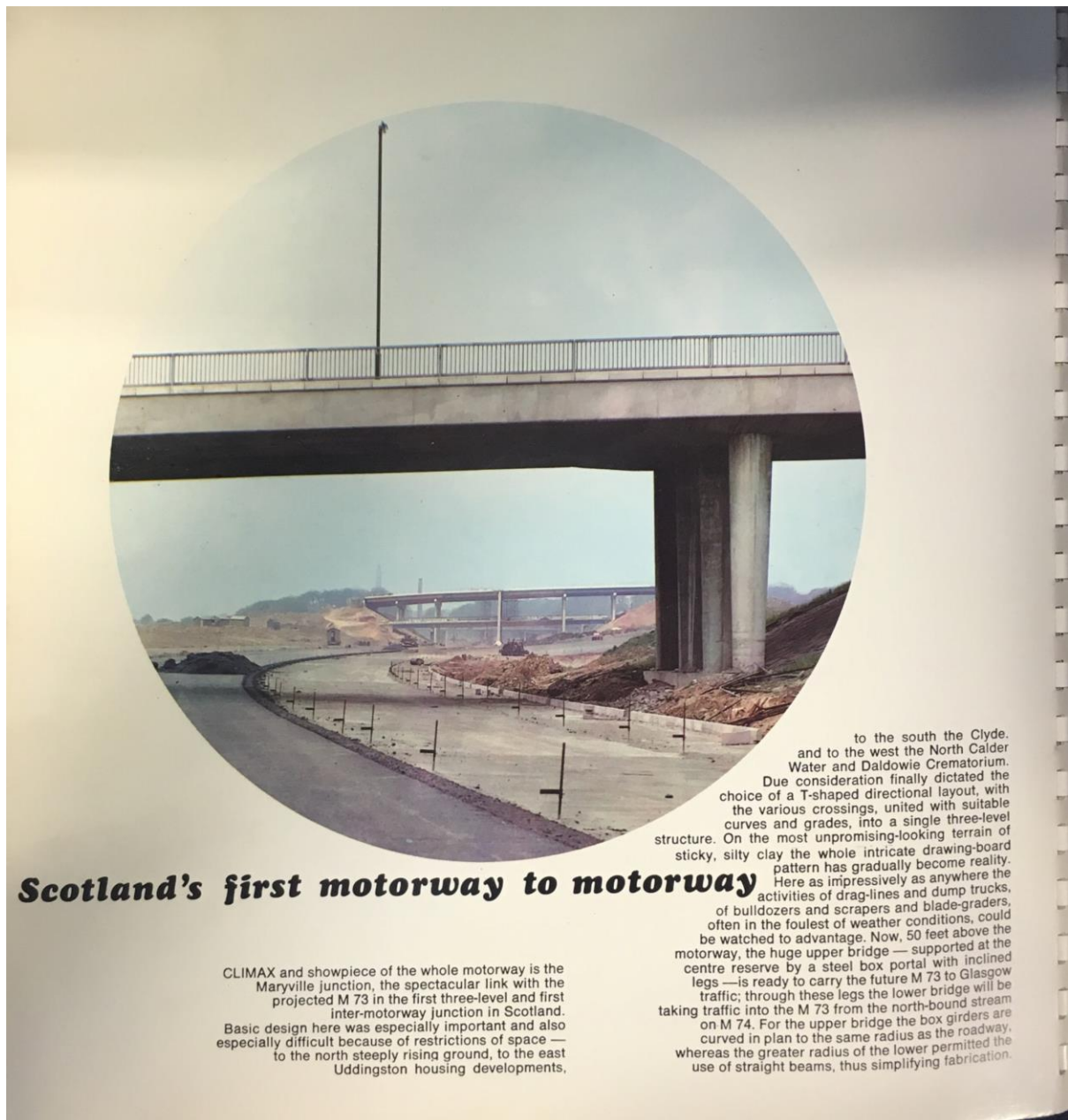
(Figure 84 – Photograph of M74 and M73 at Maryville Interchange. This junction of the motorway was completed by 1971. Photo from the Glasgow Motorway Archive, used with permission)



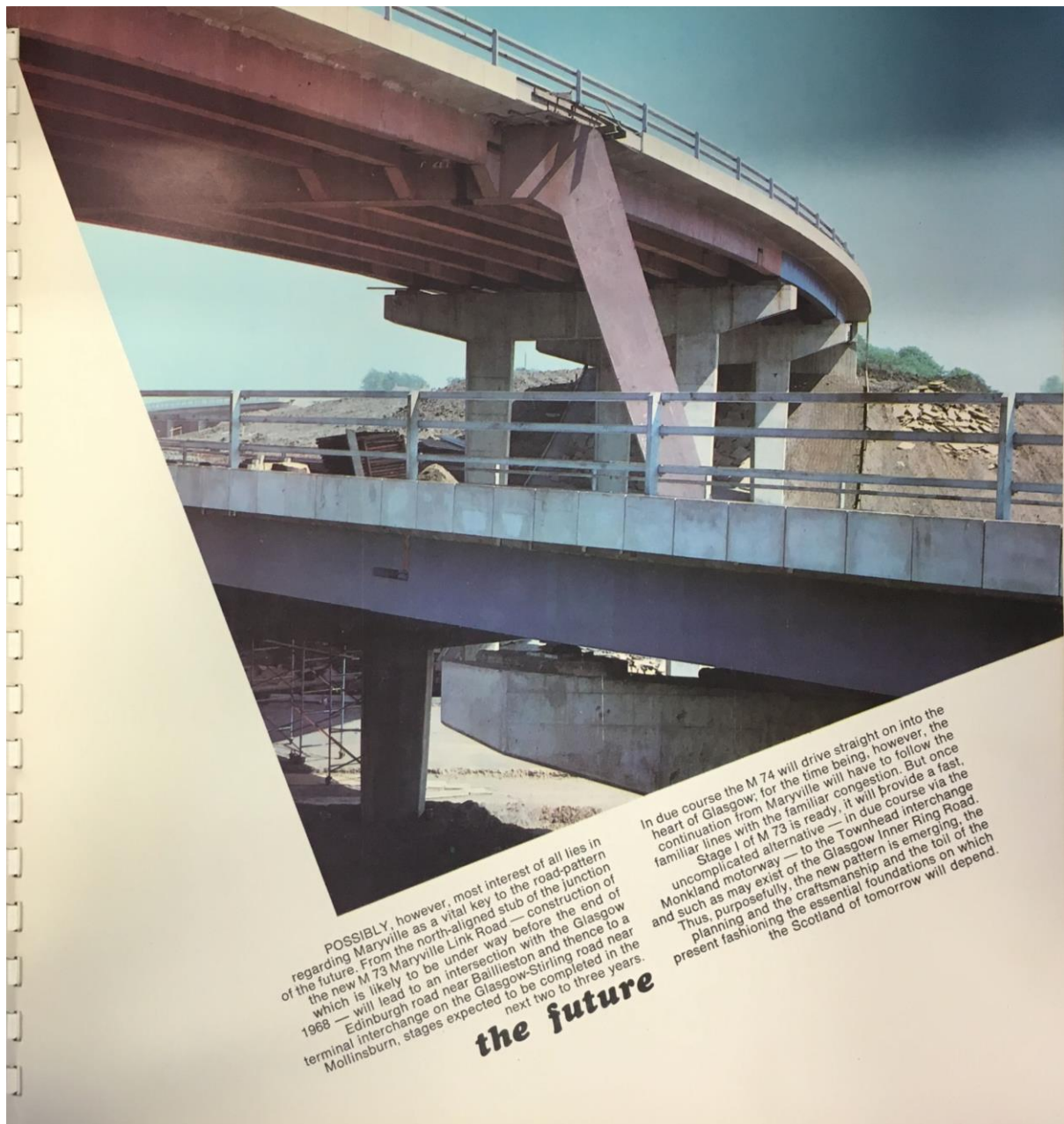
(Figure 85 – Screenshot Image of the construction of the M74 bridges near Maryville. The construction of the M74, while carried out to the standards of the time would be considered cavalier in health and safety. Captured from archival video, used with permission of the Glasgow Motorway Archive)



(Figure 86 – Screenshot image of the construction of one of the M74 bridges near Maryville. Captured from archival video, used with permission of the Glasgow Motorway Archive)



(Figure 87 – Scanned page from the Motorway M74 early use report. On the page is a description of the constraints in the landscape form and existing landscape which informed the design of Scotland's first motorway to motorway interchange. The image used is the Baillieston Interchange under construction. Image used with permission of Glasgow Motorway Archive)



(Figure 88 – Scanned page from the Motorway M74 early use report. On the page is a description of the soon to be completed works, particularly the M73 links, and the proposed Glasgow Inner Ring Road is alluded to. The image used is the Baillieston Interchange under construction. Image used with permission of Glasgow Motorway Archive)



(Figure 89 – Screenshot of 360 degree photo from Google Maps Street view from Maryville Interchange. This photo taken from the highest of the tree levels highlights how the landscape topography and vegetation work with the sympathetic design of the interchange to reduce the visual impact and wider visibility of the motorway infrastructure. Photo by Google Maps)

The stretch of the motorway which carries the M74 into the centre of Glasgow, cutting through Daldowie and Mount Vernon was completed in 2011 as part of the M74 completion project. Originally it had been planned to be completed promptly after the earlier stage of Motorway building however the proposed route, following closely the route of the A74 into central Glasgow and to the North of the Daldowie area before terminating near Glasgow Green provoked considerable public opposition and was scrapped under political and economic concerns (Appendix A). In the 1990s the need for the extension to the M74 to carry a smooth flow of traffic to the South of the Kingston Bridge and connecting to the M8 and M77 rose again. Prior to this traffic was forced around the City Centre to loop back to the South Side, or to wind through the streets of the inner city. Completed in 2011 the M74 extension carries over 60,000 vehicles a day through the Daldowie and Mount Vernon (Transport Scotland, 2012).



(Figure 90 – Aerial Photograph of the initial preparatory earthmoving and levelling of the route of the M74 extension through Daldowie and Greenoakhill in 1991. The image looks south from a position above the A74 at Boghall Road. In the bottom of the image the busy A74 can be seen with HGV travelling the widened road, above this the extensive Greenoakhill Landfill site can be seen and beyond the motorway route the sewage works and crematorium sites are visible through the haze.

Photo from RCAHMS Aerial Photography, used with permission)



(Figure 91 – Photograph of the M74 Extension viewed from Motorway Bridge at Daldowie. This image shows the weaving lanes of the various filter lanes and slip roads which approach the Maryville Interchange from the West. Photo by Author)



(Figure 92 – Photograph of the M74 extension viewed from the Greenoakhill site looking East)



(Figure 93 – Photograph of the M74 extension viewed from the Greenoakhill site looking west)



(Figure 94 – Photograph of the M74 extension viewed from the Greenoakhill site looking North East)

This limb of the national motorway network has greatly shaped this landscape since its planning, carves the landscape in two, running east to west separating the lands to the south from those in the North. This great impermeable barrier to pedestrian and local vehicular access has shifted the directions and possible route of movement through this landscape, carving the lands of Kenmuir in two. The motorway also provides a platform for the primary experiencing of this landscape, seen and smelled by those commuting into Glasgow by car, lorry, van and bus. Thousands of people each day experience this landscape, if only as a passing glance at the partially obscured concrete breastworks of the sewage works and an upward glance to the towering face of Greenoakhill Landfill obscured from sight by an earthen berm but not from scent. Through this landscape daily flows thousands of tonnes of goods to and from Glasgow, and waste from across West-Central Scotland to Greenoakhill and Daldowie.



(Figure 95 – Photograph of sections of precast motorway bridge supports found dumped on the bank of the Clyde South of Maryville Interchange and East of Daldowie Crematorium. Photo by Author)

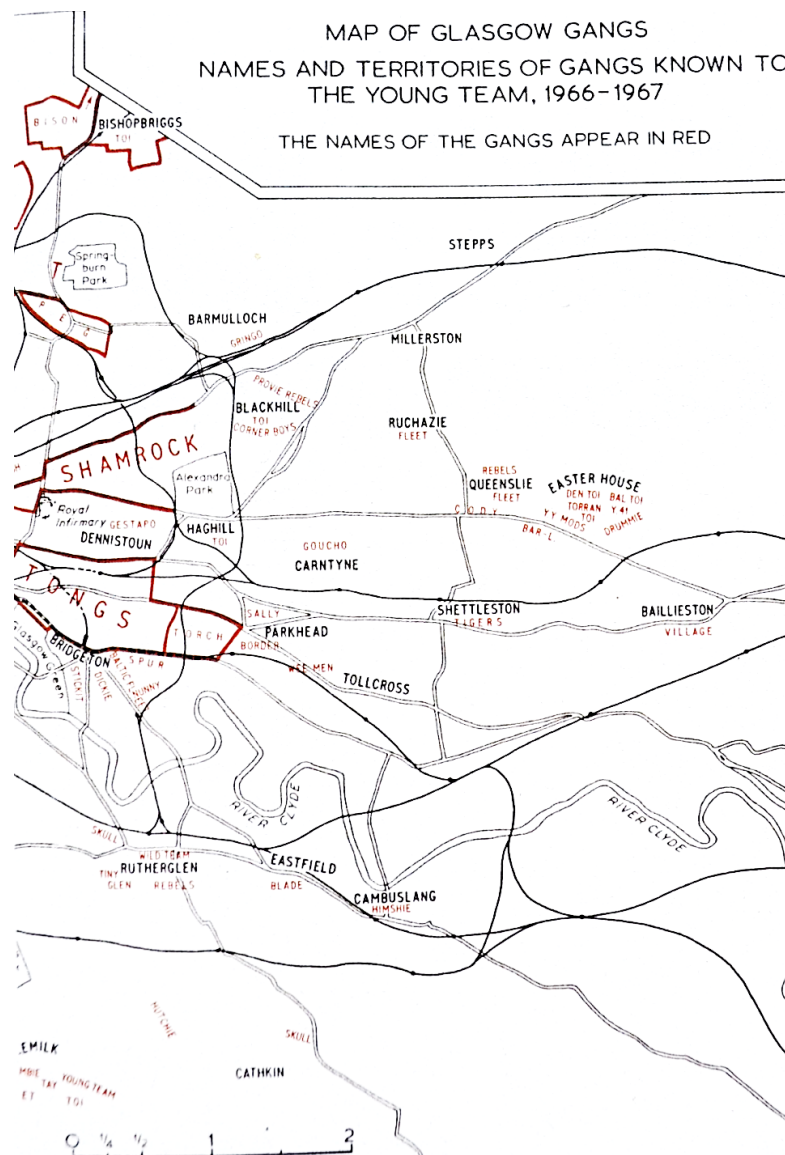


(Figure 96 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the M74 extension over Greenoakhill. Created by Author)

Through this landscape flows of goods and finance are carried along the logistical arteries of modern Britain, fulfilling the ideals of the original engineers and designers of the motorway system which was to come to dominate transport in the UK. HGV's carrying goods to and from Glasgow supply the supermarkets, factories and industrial estates of the city, carrying all the trappings of modern consumerism into homes, then collecting the waste and returning it to the earth at Daldowie. In Auge's (1992) conception of such landscapes the M74 through Greenoakhill represents a non-place, another soulless space of hyper-modernity – and yet when we look, and smell, more closely the experience even of driving across this tarmac routeway is one of a variety of experiences compounded and altered by changing weather, seasons, traffic and purposes. To pass through at 70mph on a crisp winters day and watch steam rising from the sewage works is a very different experience from being trapped in crawling traffic on a hot summers day beside the mounds of the landfill. The proposed uniformity of the non-place, where the world city consumes landscapes of connection and communication in apparent homogeneity, fails to account for the variety of experiences produced within such landscapes. Through passing connections this landscape is tied into the extended flows of materials which form the lifeblood of the contemporary capitalist consumer economy.

Tribes and Territories

Later still the landscape of Mount Vernon and Daldowie sat at the boundary of several the territorial parcels claimed by the Glasgow Gangs of the 1960s-70s, 80s and 90s. To the West the 'Wee Men' of Tollcross, in the North-West the 'Tigers' of Shettleston, to the North the 'Bar-L' from Barlanark and 'Bar-G' from Bargeddie, to the North-East the 'Village' from Baillieston (Patrick, 1973). The names of these gangs each from their own neighbourhood could draw from any number of inspirations from local place-names to historical events and popular culture, such as the Denniston 'Gestapo', Bridgeton 'Baltic Fleet', Gorbals 'Cumbie' and the Govan 'Wine Alley' (ibid). Some became synonymous with their areas such as the Carlton being known as 'Tongland' after the notorious 'Tongs' whose slogan 'Tong ya bass' survives beyond the demise of that gang as a challenge (ibid).



(Figure 97 – Map of Glasgow Gang territories from Patrick's 1973 account. Image taken from cited source)

The suburb of Mount Vernon sits between a number of these territories yet according to the work of James Patrick (1973) belonged to none of these groups. It should be noted that it was in a house in Mount Vernon that Tam McGraw a founder of the Bar-L and otherwise known as 'The Licensee' died in 2007 after over thirty years as a dominant protection racketeer in the Glasgow underworld. Patrick (1973, p.100-101), in his observations of Youth Gang culture in 1960s Glasgow notes the importance of such spaces, 'no man's lands' between Gang Territories, as the sites of performances of territorial marking, ritualised actions of aggression and challenge. This could take the form of both physical interactions between rival groups, or as commonly, the daubing of slogans on walls as markers of territory of provocations and challenges to it. Patrick (1973, p.103) recounts;

"The names of nearly every gang member appeared in various colours on the buildings, lampposts, bridges, bus shelters, telephone boxes, Post Office pillars and hoardings of the district".

The intervening sixty years have largely removed traces of this once common and endemic practice – and the sweeping gentrification, regeneration and clearing of entire neighbourhoods across the city has shattered much of the network of territories and rivalries which once dominated Glasgow youth culture. In more recent times the proliferation of '*Young Teams*' across every small patch and neighbourhood of the city in the 1990s had similar ties to neighbourhoods, streets or suburbs though these too have largely been crushed in many areas. Alexander Scott (1983, p.102) in his poem 'Glasgow Gangs' explores the territoriality of the gang culture, as well as interpreting some of its motivations drawing on the suggestion that youth gang culture at this time may perhaps have been an exercise in placemaking for those involved;

"Something to do with territory makes them stab,
The adolescent apaches, with nothing to lose but their lives,
As they ride the great Savannahs of exiled slums,
The Castlemilk Prairies,
The Easterhouse Great Plains,
Their hatchets drawn to hack those drab horizons,
To sizes and shapes of self,
Themselves to assert,
Against against against,
All other tribes"

This suggests that the actions of the gang – marking out and defending a territory – was an act of placemaking, making the spaces of their new landscapes theirs for the recently displaced and disrupted communities of Glasgow's inner city and clearance suburbs.



(Figure 98 – Scan of a pen and ink field sketch of a character passed while conducting a field visit at Kenmuir farm. The sketched figure was passed on my return by the disused railway viaduct. Created by Author)

Amid what is now a labyrinth of partially crumbled roofless shells that forms the once grand farm of Kenmuir can be found some evidence of the gang culture that dominated the reputation of Glasgow for many years. Scribbled on the walls in various colours of spray paint and marker are the slogans and tags one of the local gangs the 'CYT' variously known as the '*Carmyle Young Team*' or the '*Young Carmyle Tahiti*', as well as the graffiti of older gang rivalries and newer gangs too (O'Hare, 2012).

Interestingly the name 'CYT' belonged earlier to a Gang in Maryhill the '*Catholic Young Team*' who regularly battled their Protestant opponents the '*Kai*' (Patrick, 1973, p.102).



(Figure 99 – Photo of Graffiti on Eastern face of the North Western Structure at Kenmuir Farm. The Graffiti reads 'Fuck the *Village*'. Photo by Author)

The message in figure 99, above, relates to '*Baillieston Village Boys*', a gang prominent in the area of Baillieston in the 1960s to 1990s. Baillieston is the closest territory to the North the site and the

‘empty’ landscape of Greenoakhill, Daldowie and Kenmuir would have formed part of the boundary of the rival gangs of this area. It is very likely this graffiti was written there by a rival Gang perhaps the ‘CYT’ as part of the displaying of territory and the defence of it as identified in Patrick’s (1973) accounts of this practice.



(Figure 100 – Photograph of the CYT logo as drawn within the North Western Structure of Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 101 – Photograph of 'CYT' logos and members initials drawn in interior of the North Western Structure of Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 102 – Photograph of ‘CYT’ graffiti at Kenmuir farm. This image was taken several months after the previous image, and the graffiti shown was not present at that time. Interestingly the same initials appear in both, suggesting that the ‘CYT’ or perhaps those who wish to affiliate with their legacy, are still active in this landscape today. Photo by Author)



(Figure 103 – Photograph of a fire in Kenmuir Farm. This bonfire is relatively new, occurring during the period of the UK Covid-19 Lockdown and was surrounded by Strongbow Dark Fruits cans and MD bottles. Photo by Author)



(Figure 104 – Photograph of CYT tag scrawled on an anti-dumping sign at the end of Kenmuir Road at Carmyle. Photo by Author)

The 'CYT' graffiti around the Kenmuir Farm and Kenmuir Road at the Carmyle end appears to be part of the recorded tradition of identifying and demarking territory by gang members and the re-affirming. It appears that at one point the farm at Kenmuir may have taken on the role of a meeting place for the 'Carmyle Young Team', the structure within which they added the graffiti tags with their initials also contains a large chimney and hearth structure in a central position, around this is

scattered evidence of recent fires and furtive libations, in the form of several empty crates of Strongbow Dark Fruits and associated crushed, melted and thrown cans, and sherds of bottles of Buckfast and WKD.



(Figure 105 – Scan of pen and ink drawing of a gang conflict, inspired by the story of the skirmish described below. Created by Author)

In 2012 the ‘CYT’ were cracked down upon by the police in a series of raids following a territorial gang melee at the disused railway bridge to the West of this landscape where the Kenmuir Road crosses under the disused mineral railway line (O’Hare, 2012). As reported in the Daily Record by O’Hare (2012);

“The fight was between 30 members of the *Carmyle Tahiti* and the *Westburn Toi*. When it was over, dozens retreated with cuts and bruises while three boys – aged 15, 16 and 17 – had to be taken to hospital with stab wounds.”

Actions such as this were once common in Glasgow, regularly occurring on weekends when rival gangs could summon larger followings to ‘invade’ rival territories, and among some communities is understood as an urban ritual, a regularly performed testing of the physical boundaries of territory (McLean and Hooligan, 2018). Both the Carmyle and Westburn gangs are not mentioned in Patrick’s (1973) accounts and territory map, where it is recorded these districts fall within the territory of the Cambuslang ‘*Himshie*’, Eastfield ‘*Blade*’, Parkhead ‘*Border*’ and Tollcross ‘*Wee Men*’ as of 1967, this shows somewhat the fluctuating nature of gang identity and territoriality in these places. In the

2000s there was a significant push by the police and local government in Glasgow to end the hold of gangs through a programme of raids on active gangs and coupled with providing youth services to prevent youths joining (O'Hare, 2012). This seems to have been largely successful in much of Glasgow, stamping out the once prevalent Young Teams and greatly reducing crime within the city (ibid).



(Figure 106 – Photograph of the bridge and railway embankment where the gang skirmish is reported to have occurred. Photo by Author)



(Figure 107 – Photograph of the new fence which blocks access to the railway embankment and bridges. The railings are painted with anti-climbing paint and topped with spikes and barbed wire, below this, coils of razor wire provide an unpleasant landing to the successful climber. Photo by Author)



(Figure 108 – Photograph of sherds of broken Buckfast 35cl bottle and label as found at Kenmuir Farm. Buckfast is largely popular in Glasgow and Central Lanarkshire and is strongly associated with

anti-social behaviour and ‘Ned’ culture. Often colloquially known as ‘Wreck the *hoose* juice’ it is perhaps ironic to find plenty of these bottles lying smashed and scattered in the ruin of Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 109 – Photo of the interior of building at Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 110 – Photograph of Chimney structure within North Western structure in Kenmuir Farm, burnt and shattered glass and melted cans can be seen amid the charred material of a modern fire. In the centre of the hearth a yet unbroken bottle of WKD Blue lies. Photo by Author)



(Figure 111 – Digital print of a graffiti tag within Kenmuir Farm. Created by Author)

Other graffiti within the structures of Kenmuir Farm falls within the general classification of tags, usually denoting graffiti artists, individuals or groups. This tagging is by far the most creative and vibrant of the graffiti on the site. Among this the two most common tags identified were '*Morte*' – the Italian for Death and French for the act of dying – and '*Legion*' or '*10th Legion*'. The tag '*10th Legion*' appeared most and in a variety of quite visually prominent places, often covering over earlier graffiti including in a number of places over '*CYT*' marks. This suggests that since the incarceration of the '*CYT*' their dominance in the area has been broken. The use of '*10th Legion*' as a tag is an interesting development considering the somewhat obscure classical references it implies. Today the name '*10th Legion*' is also associated with a motorcycle gang in America under that name, the open former farmland to the south of this ruin is used as an illicit dirt-bike route today so this may relate to those activities.



(Figure 112 – Photograph of tagging graffiti at Kenmuir Farm. Photo by Author)



(Figure 113 – Photograph of tagging graffiti at Kenmuir farm. The rather playful font used from the word 'Morte' may reference death or perhaps along with the heart-like tag next to it be interpreted as a reference to 'La petite mort'. Photo by Author)



(Figure 114 – Photograph of Graffiti on a tower structure at Kenmuir farm. The graffiti, apparently written in a single action and by one hand, reads '*Morte Sula, 10th Legion*', this tying together of the slogans '*morte*' and '*10th Legion*' into a single phrase is interesting regarding understanding their apparently classical roots. Photo by Author)



(Figure 115 – Photograph of Graffiti at Kenmuir Farm. This graffiti was added at some point during the Covid-19 lockdown and represents just two of a number of similar messages in the same paint and apparently by the same hand, all include the tag '*BDN*' or '*ABDN*' with a halo above the D, and are signed off at with '*RAF*' or '*RAE*'. In several places these cover or deface earlier graffiti, including in some instances the coating of surfaces with earlier graffiti in white paint before the addition of the new graffiti. Photo by Author)



(Figure 116 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of Kenmuir Farm gates as accessed from the abandoned Kenmuir Road. Created by Author)

After a good while methodically nosing in each of the structures and ruins I could find at Kenmuir, I was becoming distinctly unnerved by the overwhelming abandonment of the place, standing as a testament to the impermanence of human habitation, of decay, destruction and the eventual death of the city. It was as feelings of despair began to take root, like the trees sprouting amid barns and workshops, the chilling notes of a far off ice cream van in Carmyle playing a very off-key Ritchie Valens '*LA BAMBA*' filtered through the leafless woods and structures in decay. Spooked I promptly fled the scene.



(Figure 117 – Photograph of Graffiti at the Mount Vernon Greyhound Track site. The graffiti in this image is of a different type than that at Kenmuir, instead of marks of affiliation or challenges, these scrawls form a hateful diatribe against an individual who has evidently provoked the ire or jealousy of their author. The extensive graffiti, interspersed with phallic iconography, reads ‘(Girls name) loves her hole, tell her Ma. (Girl) has no pals, (Girl) loves the dick, (Girl) has no Pals, wee cow’. Photo by Author)

At the site of the now abandoned Mount Vernon greyhound track a variety of small bonfires and episodes of graffiti mark a foci for similar activities as the ruins of Kenmuir Farm. Among the now overgrown parking areas and amid the ruinous foundations of the former bar and stands huddled hearths surrounded by a debitage of brown bottle glass and molten twisted aluminium mark the sites of rituals of urban youth. This large abandoned site likely forms a complimentary and competing focus for the youth of Broomhouse and Boghall as Kenmuir provides for those of Carmyle. The allure of the ruin is strong; a place hidden, secret, dangerous and toxic, exciting defiant and easily reshaped by pounding boots and wanton fires. The freedom provided by these ruinous spaces should not be underestimated in considerations of their experience, with no parental gaze in sight the once within the ruin there is a freedom to explore and reshape spaces (Gerodimos, 2018). Dougal Sheridan (2016, p.98) suggests these ‘indeterminate’ have been interpreted as “the absence

of limits, often resulting in a sense of liberty and freedom of opportunity". Sheridan (2016, p.99) states;

"Usually the ruin reminds us of some other past while the construction site might evoke the excitement of a new future. Ironically, observations... hinted at the inverse; the completion of the buildings under construction spelt the repetition of the same; while in the ruins and residual spaces, the possibility of other less defined alternatives were being pursued."

The role of play in this interaction is clear, destruction rent on a ruin is consequence free, this is a playful reshaping of place (Patrick, 2018). In a way these spaces exist as the privatisation of public space and the public-ness of private space evicts young people as with other unwanted demographics from the town square, public park and shopping centre – twitching curtains, security guards and suspicious gazes pushing their adolescent challenges outwards – to find a home in the ruinous edgelands (Patrick, 1973; Gerodimos, 2018).



(Figure 118 – Photograph of Video player dumped near site of Daldowie Mansion. This Funai DPVR-6630 DVD VHS Combination Device appears to have been a recent deposit. These video recorders, a now relict technology, were mass produced in the far east for the markets of the western world over the course of the 1990s and 2000s, this model with an inbuilt player likely survived in use longer than standard VCR players. In today's hyper-digital world even the DVD player is becoming obsolete.

Photo by Author)



(Figure 119 – Photograph of the gates of Patersons of Greenoakhill landfill and aggregates site at Daldowie. Photo by Author)

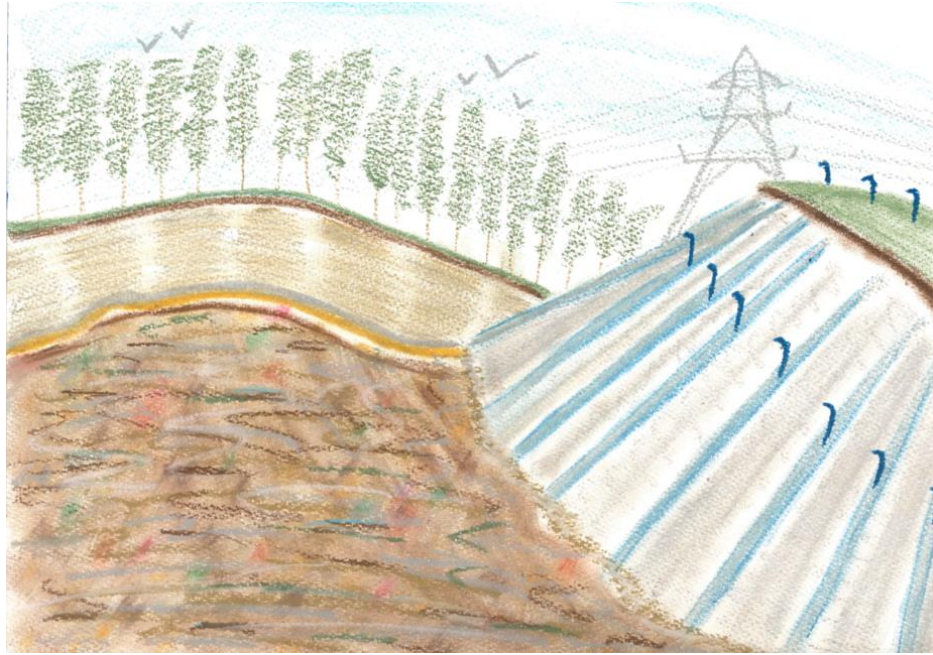
Mass Middening and the Anthropocene

Today the landscapes of Mount Vernon and Daldowie, formerly the grounds of Daldowie Mansion and Mount Vernon Estate are dominated by Greenoakhill Landfill. A site where the domestic waste of Glasgow is gathered for dumping, accumulating into towering mounds, filling the great quarry pits of the Greenoakhill Sand and Gravel Quarry. Largely plastics and other non-recyclable wastes these materials are transported from across the city and beyond to the site where they are then sorted and dumped. This site, formerly a municipal quarry has been a site of this active disruption of place since the 1920s (RCAHMS, 1991). Since the 1950s the site has been a landfill, initially run by Glasgow Corporation, latterly by Patersons (ibid). In the days of Glasgow Corporation the site was managed by the council – the historic mounds of landfill dominating the lands on either side of the M74 motorway belong to this phase. During this time unregulated dumping of waste from a variety of industrial, agricultural and domestic sources led to significant pollution of the earth, a legacy the current manager monitors to this day. According to the current managers during this time cow blood from abattoirs, oil and even whole steam engines were dumped within the quarry pits. I visited this site through a guided tour by the site manager through which I was given access to the live sills of

the landfill as well as the concrete and building waste processing areas, and the areas currently under transition to parkland.



(Figure 120 – Aerial Photograph of the landfill operations and sand and gravel quarry of Patersons of Greenoakhill in 1991. In the top of the Image, which looks southward, the early stages of levelling and earth moving for the M74 completion can be seen. In the centre of the image the farm buildings of Wester Daldowie still survive, these have since been demolished and that area forms one of the last active sills of dumping on the site. Photo from RCAHMS Aerial Photography, used with permission)



(Figure 121 – Scan of oil pastel drawing of Greenoakhill Landfill and power networks. Oil pastels were used to explore the tangible and haptic experience of the dumped landfill, dirty, greasy oily somewhere between solid stratigraphy and reservoir of rubbish. Created by Author)



(Figure 122 – Photograph of Patersons of Greenoakhill Landfill site at Daldowie, in the image domestic waste from the City of Glasgow is bulldozed into the face of an active sill within the landfill. The two hills in the background are legacy landfill heaps. Above the bulldozers and lorries flocks of gulls circle and dive eyeing the refuse of the city for a morsel. Photo by Author)

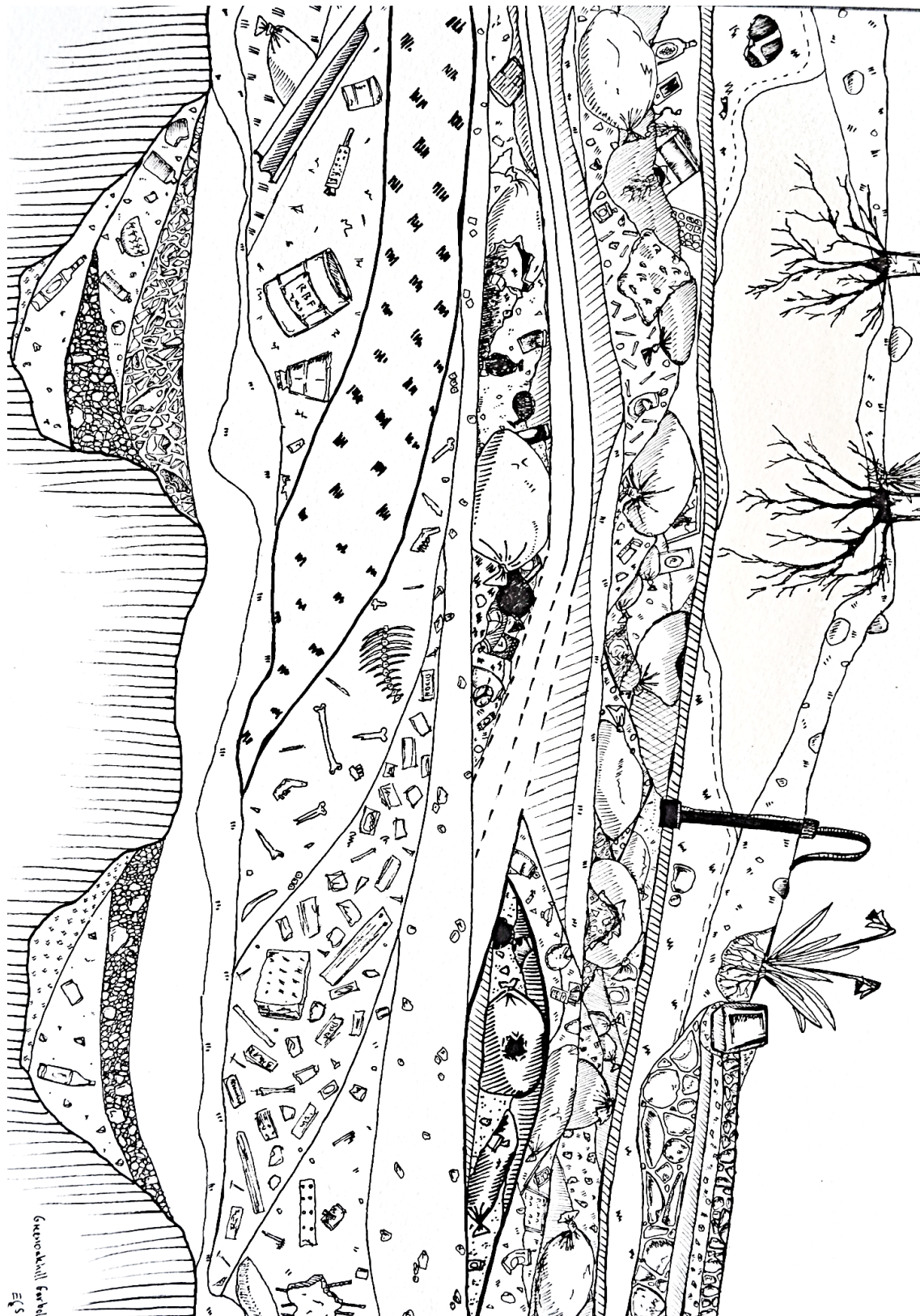
The around this stretch of the study area, north of the Clyde, the land rises in a series of drumlin like mounds, echoing the mounded glacial plain upon which Glasgow grew. These great sloping mounds are formed of over 50 years of landfill dumping, creating great geological features of up to 48 meters buried human detritus, in the Anthropocene the glacial flows which once shaped landscapes are replaced by the flows of consumption and the deposition of its wastes (Williams et al. 2016; Pétursdóttir, 2017). This is middening as never seen before, the midden of the Hobbesian Leviathan, intent on sanitising our cities (Shanks et al. 2004). The fresh sills of dumping, featured in the image above, are a hive of activity as lorries arrive carrying the unrecyclable waste of domestic Glasgow, and a variety of specialist bulldozers and excavators plough this material into the sill's slopes until the fresh refuse joins the stratigraphic jumble of the last sixty years. Above this sea gulls whirl and dive above these fresh depositions of organic and inorganic refuse.



(Figure 123 – Active and membraned sills at Greenoakhill. In the foreground, the face of an active sill sloped down to the access road, in the background the membraned surface of a closed sill towers above the active face. Photograph by Author)

Once a sill reaches the regulated height of 48 metres it is capped by sheets of dense impermeable membrane welded together to form an isolating barrier between the surface and the toxic moraine below. Into this a graveyard of pipes are fitted, rows of these connecting to tubes which cross the site, extracting the methane released by the chemical reactions occurring below to a collection

centre where the burning of this gas powers the national grid, connecting this landscape back to the homes across the country. This brings the connectivity of the edgeland back into our kitchens, boiling kettles and powering the fridges of the city. The older mounds like the post-glacial plains of the Palaeolithic are colonised now with weeds and dense woods of birch – though these have been assisted by the actions of the Forestry Commission Scotland, rather than the mechanisms of flora colonisation. The soil composition of this land, its stratigraphy, its matrix is a glutinous sludge of composting human waste, not-even-half-life plastics and barely recognisable scraps of modernity.



(Figure 124 – Photograph of pen and ink drawing of a section of the Greenoakhill Landfill. The Section illustrates, inspired by classic archaeological sections, the history of dumping in this landscape from the backfilling of the quarry pits, municipal and industrial dumping in the 1950s onwards and the more regulated domestic landfill of today. Created by Author)



(Figure 125 – The geological strata of the Anthropocene, photographed in the reclaimed ground to the East of the site, where burst balls, scraps of bodywork and fragmented plastics emerge from a primordial ooze. Photograph by Author)



(Figure 126 – Aerosols transport label from Chivas bottling plant at Dumbarton, found on entry road of Greenoakhill site. Photograph by Author)

This site is part of a network of rubbish collection, municipal and private spanning Greater Glasgow and beyond. As well as the private middenings of over 300,000 households, there is construction and demolition waste, production waste and spoil, the dangerous and the domestic carried to this place to become an unseen testament to unprecedented scales of waste (Shanks et al, 2004). The whisky bottled at the plant in Dumbarton referenced in figure 126, above, will be exported around the world and so through its significance as a site of deposition Daldowie is connected to the flows of materials and products that cross the globe daily. Here there is a shifting morphology to our waste, is it still litter, rubbish or garbage when it is formed into mountains with a permanence far beyond the lives of the individual (Pétursdóttir, 2017). Like Stonehenge or Durrington Walls in the Neolithic, this site is the focus for the deliberate deposition of material from across a vast extended landscape for a huge and disparate community (Shanks et al, 2004; Pétursdóttir, 2017). Here to there has been a long biography of people altering the earth, shaping it, digging into its depths then filling those excavations with depositional acts.



(Figure 127 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the Greenoakhill landfill site. Created by Author)



(Figure 128 – Photograph of the Birch woodland to the East of the site. This area of woodland is fated to return to parkland – after almost a century of edgeland existence. Photograph by Author)

In one corner of the Greenoakhill landfill site a towering array of conveyor belts, grinding teeth on roaring drums and concrete revetments. Here the last remnants of the sites quarry remain the aggregates produced - sand and gravel – produced from the demolition and construction waste of the city of Glasgow, reshaped today from post-industrial urban sprawl to revanchist cultural hub. Through this concrete, brick, tile and bathtub, are crushed, ground and sorted into a variety of sands and gravels, typologically mangled into assemblages of fractured brick, concrete and tile.



(Figure 129 – Photograph of gravel processing works. The monstrous Heath Robinson-esque configuration of machinery provides tax-free aggregates to the construction Industry of Scotland.

Photograph by Author)



(Figure 130 – Photograph of Gravel heaped at the bottom of a conveyor arm. Among the heaps of anthropogenic gravel, nodules of concrete, brick and tile tell tales of demolitions and speak to future recycling of this material in constructions. Photo by Author)



(Figure 131 – Photograph of the reed bed settling ponds at Greenoakhill Landfill. Photo by Author)

Below the gravel works, across the motorway there lies a series of large settling ponds. Here the runoff from the various washing operations on the site is channelled to a series of deep-water settling reed beds. In the shadow of the M74 motorway a scene from a rural idyll – herons stalking through reeds bathed in the golden light of the mid-afternoon winter sun. There are badger sets dug into the side or relict landfill mounds and deer wander the newly forested mounds. Here the riverbank meets the Greenoakhill site. Tidemarks of packing foam, the polystyrene river froth of the consumer age (Pétursdóttir, 2017). In the river a grey-ish streak of scum diffusely flows, a surface flow of sanitised sewage and pulverised paper like the icy chunder of an arctic river.



(Figure 132 – Photograph of aqua glass sherd collected on the bank of the Clyde South of Kenmuir Farm. The sherd of glass is part of a Victorian era sauce bottle. It is embossed with the faded and weathered text 'BACKHOUSE', this would originally have read 'Goodall, Backhouse & Co Yorkshire Relish'. This brand of sauce, produced by pharmaceutical and sauce manufacturers Goodall, Backhouse & Co was at one time the top selling brand of relish in the Victorian world with eight million bottles sold in 1885 and was one of the earliest products to receive a trademark.

Photo by Author)



(Figure 133 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the sluice gates and channel for raw sewage to the filter house at Daldowie WwTW. Created by Author)

Flushed away

Between the Greenoakhill Landfill site and the gardens of Daldowie Crematorium lies Daldowie Wastewater Treatment Works (WwTW) run by Scottish Water where the waste of half a city is purified, sanitised and returned to it via the Clyde. This non-descript feature of the Daldowie edgeland is central to an expansive network of extraction taking in the East End of Glasgow, Airdrie, Motherwell and Baillieston.



(Figure 134 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the River Clyde and Daldowie WwTW pipe bridge. Created by Author)

Through its series of channels, pumps, ponds and pools, through whirring aerators and sweeping armed ponds the waste of a city is made safe. Daldowie WwTW has a capacity of 310,000 Population Equivalent – this is a calculation of waste in units where 50 litre of waste is the equivalent of 10,000 people's waste. This allows for the discharging of trade wastes into the sewage treatment process – without risking overload. On a normal day, an equivalent of 292,000 peoples waste in being processed. Sewage entering this site flows through a network of branch and trunk sewers until it reaches the site, at its inflow an open channel allows for regular measurements of the flow.



(Figure 135 – Photograph of inlet from the sewer system to the Sewage Works. On rails at regular intervals hang flow counters. Photo by Author)

Within the WwTW compound the air is alive with gulls circling the breastworks, rotating arms and railing for a suitable perch, here they wait and watch for a morsel of undigested material to escape the filters or float to the surface of the raw sewage channels. Human waste is highly nutrient rich and our bodies digestive limitations make these sites the perfect hunting ground for the seagull no longer content with the dwindling pickings to be had fishing Britain's coastal waters (Mabey, 1973; Olden, 2016). Together with the ducks which circle the cleaner water of the final settling ponds and the occasional dipping of a pied wagtail to the towers the sewage works plays host to a remarkable diversity of birdlife drawn by the available foodstuff, others by the variety of habitats presented by the towers, tanks and pools. Mabey (1973, p.21) notes that;

“A crack in a pavement is all a plant need to put down roots. An old-fashioned lamp-standard makes as good a nesting box for a tit as any hollowed oak. Provided it is not actually contaminated there is scarcely a nook or cranny anywhere which does not provide the right living conditions for some plant or creature”

There are even those who can make do with a little contamination, among river invertebrate the blood worm can often be found uncomfortably close to the outlets of sewage works and can survive in oxygen starved waters long after the dreaded 'fish kill'.



(Figure 136 – Photo of seagulls disturbed by our passing at Daldowie Sewage Works. Photo by Author)



(Figure 137 – Photograph of a seagull ‘fishing’ for undigested material in the unfiltered sewage channel. Photo by Author)

The expectation of the landscape of a sewage works is of an olfactory assault, of stench best left below ground, round a U-bend from polite society, yet when wandering the walkways and peering over the breastworks at the primordial torrents heavy with sludge I was confronted by its lack. Almost disappointingly fresh a working sewage works should smell earthy, and the site at Daldowie did. Like freshly tilled fields, a de-turfed trench, the spoil heap or an allotment garden. My guide around the site informed me that often the smell makes the staff there feel hungry and I admit soon after leaving the site and removing my surgeon's gloves I hungrily wolfed into a bar of chocolate.



(Figure 138 – Photograph of the channel taking filtered waste water to the treatment ponds. Photo by Author)



(Figure 139 – Photograph of rotating arm of one of the treatment ponds at Daldowie WwTW.

Photograph by Author)

The study of Sewage works, as part of marginal urban hinterland landscapes, is an established tradition in the field of geography and considerations of the geographies of food and waste. Shoard (2002) describes the edgeland; “The edgelands are raw and rough, and rather than seeming people-friendly are often sombre and menacing, flaunting their participation in activities we do not wholly understand.” This well describes the sewage works, austere, utilitarian in design, with processes many of us not only cannot really comprehend, but do not wish to. Ruth Olden (2016, p.717) recounts an embodied experience of the geographies of sludge, at a similar WwTW to the West at Shieldhall in Glasgow;

“I’m looking over... and my stomach is churning. This is looking that is touching – a touching that makes our bodies sick”

At the site at Daldowie there is “mobile and morphing ensembles of topographies, bodies and precepts” (Wylie, 2006, p.533). The archaeologies of this relationship are formed through an architecture of bare concrete, corrugated iron sheds, and breastworks which apparently for safety also sanitise the view of this site from its surroundings, obscuring the churning channels of raw sewage tearing out of the outlet valves and the filters dredging rank rags and ragged remains from the sludge heavy sewage. From my position as visitor to this otherwise inaccessible landscape I was

privileged with the opportunity to come to a closer interaction with this site where society's waste is sanitised. This horrifying confrontation with our waste, which whisked away with the flush of a porcelain throne, is here exposed again scandalous in its familiarity yet monstrous in scale and force. Echoes of dangers past and present swirl in the mind. Just over a century ago this same raw matter was the cause of countless deaths in the developing cities of the industrial world from defeated leviathans dysentery and cholera. Today the apparatus of sanitisation creates a contemporary landscape of danger and risk. Drowning in sludge, obliterated by the force of a colossal pump or crushed at the end of one of the relentlessly grinding arms of the settling tanks. The language of our waste today is also sanitised, 'Brown-water' and 'Black-water' are separated on arrival at the 'Waste treatment works' often further obscured in maps and plans as 'WwTW', a far cry from the 'sewage farms' of the Victorian era (Fairley and Roberts, 2011, p.82).



(Figure 140 – Photograph of aerators at the Daldowie WwTW. These whisk round the bacteria activated sewage allowing good aerobic bacteria to breakdown the harmful bacteria. Photo by Author)



(Figure 141 – Rotating arm of one of the treatment settling ponds at Daldowie WwTW with rotating arms. Photo by Author)



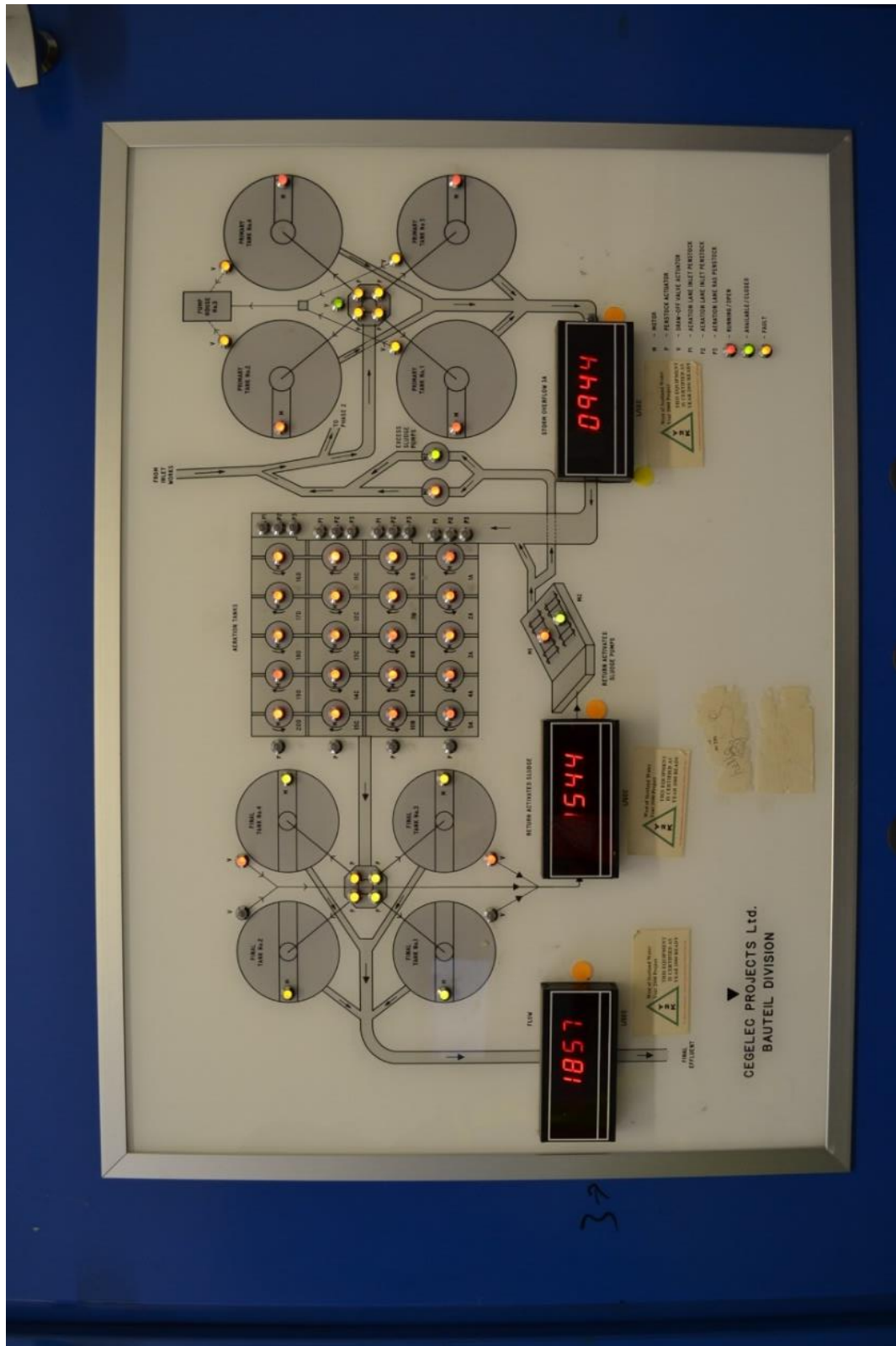
(Figure 142 – Photograph of treatment tanks at Daldowie. These tanks are part of the original 1950s plant and were undergoing repair at the time of my visit. Photo by Author)

From the first filters gravel, rags and a variety of oddities lost to the sewage inlet are first removed, at Daldowie these filters run powerless for most of the day until when finally they clog and begin to halt flow their powerful engines are ignited and the process of dredging this material from the flow begins. The filter panels are fitted with an array of hooks and shovels which wrench this material everything from bog roll and dentures to on one occasion a whole sheep carcass from the channel. Apparently on Saturday and Sunday mornings, new plastic five- and ten-pound notes wash through the sewage inlets to float into the filters where the staff on site fish them out, clean them off and pocket this bounty dropped by the city's nightlife in bar and club toilets across the city. From here they are passed onto a mechanical conveyor nicknamed the 'nodding donkey' though which they are unceremoniously dumped into a waiting skip to be emptied at intervals throughout the day. From here the water flows on to the fields of aerators which spray activated sludge through the sewage mix encouraging the breakdown of bad bacteria before passing this mix to the array of settling and percolating ponds, described by Fairley and Roberts (2011, p.83) as "Grim merry-go-rounds".

Entering the control room of the Daldowie plant was like entering the lair of a Bond villain with nuclear ambitions. Figures 144 and 145 show the original controls from the 1950s era plant which forms only half of the current array of treatments. Today the controls take the form of a comparatively dull digital screen display and a small sampling point for the outlet situated outside.



(Figure 143 – Photograph of Sampling point for the outlet of the Daldowie Sewage Works. Here almost clear water ready for discharge into the Clyde is sampled to ensure compliance with SEPA guidance on organics, bacteria and ammonia. Photo by Author)



(Figure 144 – Photograph of the original controls from the 1950s era plant. The plan maps out the workings of the 1950s plant now defunct once monitored the workings of the various ponds, pumps, filters and aerators of the site. Photo by Author)



(Figure 145 - Photograph of the original controls from the 1950s era plant. Photo by Author)

Like the Sewage Works, the edgeland can be understood on a landscape scale as the ultimate sanitising of the city, where undesirable, dirty and unsafe land-uses required by the modern city to maintain itself are banished, out of all but passing sight and mind. As we whirl past on the motorway, or trundle pass peering through the cloudy windows of a Scotrail service through central Lanarkshire

it is impossible to fully comprehend the turgid sludge, torrents of sewage, decomposing mountains and rendering of human flesh to dust existing just beyond sight.



(Figure 146 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of one of the treatment ponds at Daldowie WwTW with revolving arms stirring the sewage under treatment. Created by Author)

Sludge to Solids

Daldowie Fuel Plant operated by Drax Power on contract from Scottish Water is the centre of a network of waste disposal spanning West-Central Scotland. Commissioned in 2002 the site is one of Europe's largest sludge processing plants. Sludge derived from the treatment of sewage at the WwTWs of Glasgow is pumped through a network of pipes under the landscape of Daldowie to converge here. Through a sizable pipe the sludge is pumped in sprints between Paisley - Erskine - Shieldhall - Dalmarnock - Daldowie arriving at the Sludge Plant as a cumulative flow, connecting this site to every home in Greater Glasgow. From more rural sites convoys of sealed tankers arrive carrying the solids of town and village folk. Olden (2016, p.718) Explores some of the geographies of the network of waste transfer and disposal as well as their histories;

“Today, sludge is piped to Daldowie where it is moulded and dried into processed sludge pellets which are burned to produce electricity. From tourism to energy production, the histories and geographies of sewage on the Clyde demonstrate the myriad of ways we've capitalised on our own shit”

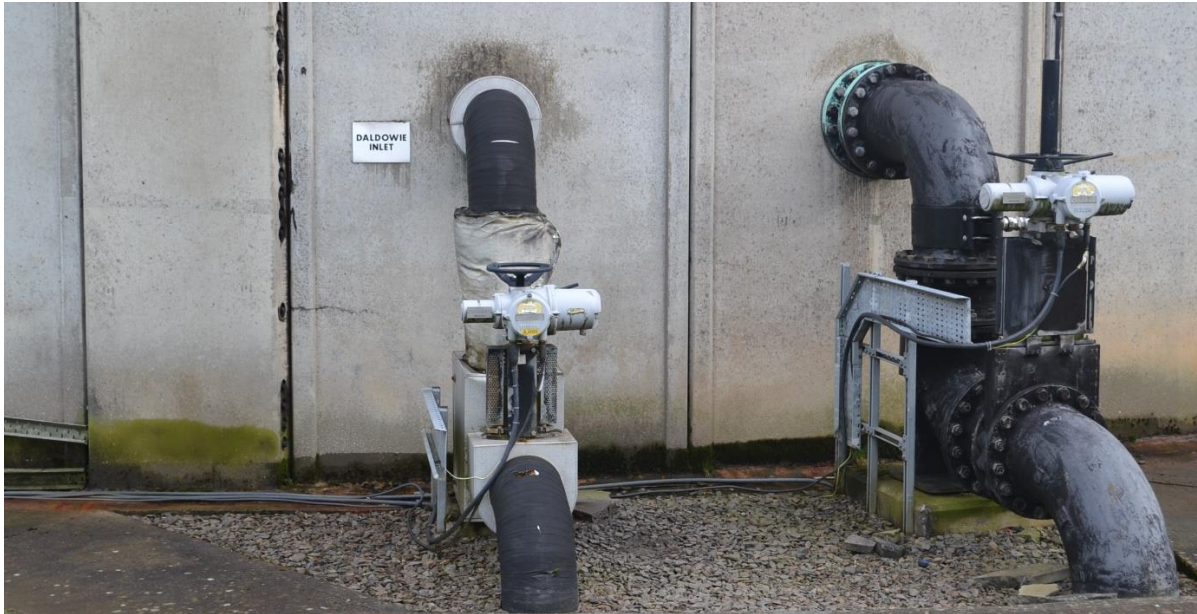
This factory of sludge dries, compresses and shapes liquid sludge into pellets at a ratio of about 23.5 tonnes of pellets for every 1000 tonnes of sludge. The pellets are formed as the sludge is subjected to exposure to extreme heat and burling in an enormous centrifuge, like a brown tumble dryer, to remove moisture. These pellets, rich in biological material and energy provide a fuel for the 'combustion sector' the sole recipient of these currently is the concrete industry. This re-use of our digested waste prevents the risk of pollution that spreading on fields or dumping at sea carries. The water removed from the sludge is purified and recycled into the process supply, saving over 100 cubic metres of water each day.



(Figure 147 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of sludge pellet silos at the Drax operated plant.
Created by Author)

Before this sludge was collected and dumped by the steamers the 'Garroch head' and 'Dalmarnock' in the Firth of Clyde (Olden, 2016, p.717). These steamers would carry tours of another type of steamer '*doon the water*' as parties of day-trippers departed Glasgow with a hidden cargo for leisure tours from Glasgow for the fair.

"Sludge boats were free and frequented by and large by pensioner groups who would hardly notice the 'billowing columns', and the 'fierce puffs, great Turner clouds of wayward brown matter'" (O'Hagan, 2008, p.156; Olden, 2016, p.717-718).



(Figure 148 – Photograph of the inlet pipes for the Daldowie Fuel Plant, the pipe on the left carries sludge from the nearby Daldowie WwTW, the larger inlet on the right carries sewage from the WwTW further down the Clyde. Photo by Author)



(Figure 149 – Photograph of the tankard offloading bay at Daldowie Sludge Fuel Plant. Photo by Author)



(Figure 150 – Photograph of the membrane tanks where the wastewater from the Sludge to Fuel processing is activated with aerobic bacteria in order to produce clean water. Photo by Author)

The water purified within the membrane tanks at Daldowie Fuel Plant is either recycled in the plants processes or released into the Clyde. During my site visit I was shown the testing sample point, where my guide described the water pouring from the tap as “almost drinkable” and in fairness it certainly looked cleaner than the Clyde less than 100m away which languidly churns past, a brownish oily streak through the edgeland.



(Figure 151 – Photograph of the front of the Sludge Fuel Factory, the chimney like towers to the right purify the air released from the plant, reducing air pollution and preventing complaints. Photo by Author)



(Figure 152 – Photograph of the interior of the Sludge Fuel Factory, a latticework of staircases and platforms overlooking enormous centrifuges and a network of pipes and flumes which ensure the purification of the air and gas released in the processes within. Photo by Author)



(Figure 153 – Photograph of the Sludge Pellet Silos at the Daldowie Sludge Fuel Plant. Pellets from these silos are then loaded into lorries and shipped to clients around the UK. Photo by Author)

Today the principal client of the Daldowie Sludge Works is the concrete industry, here the uptake of the sludge pellets as a carbon neutral and more importantly tariff free fuel source for the processing of lime has been great. The plant had also supplied the Coal-fired Power station at Longannet until its recent closure. This site sits at the confluence of multiple networks, Sludge is pumped and tanked to the site from across West Central Scotland and Sludge Pellets are shipped out in lorries and tonne totes to various clients across Scotland and beyond.



(Figure 154 – Photograph of the Daldowie Dovecot, the battered Steel pate door and shattered bottle fragments tell of the antisocial behaviour which forced the boarding up of this monument.

Photo by Author)

Monumentality

In the 2000s as part of a project to improve the environs of Greenoakhill and Mount Vernon Paterson's of Greenoakhill funded the removal and rebuilding of the Daldowie Dovecot from within the grounds of the WwTW to a new landscaped park site on London Road to the North of the Greenoakhill landfill. This was accessible to the public and beautifully renovated with a replica wooden rotating staircase internally, and a landscaped park area, providing a recreation area for the

local community. This dovecot is the last surviving architectural feature of the Daldowie estate, and a key feature of the re-orientated designed landscape of George Bogle Senior in the 1700s, today a monument to the area's past as a landscape of recreation and enlightenment.

After opening the small park and the dovecot rapidly became the recreational grounds of a rather different community than that envisaged when this environment 'improvement' was carried out. The park is now obscured from the road by a shadowy and overgrown lane, stretching coils of bramble bush, like natural barbed wire make entry seem inadvisable – an ecology of neglect forewarning the visitor to reduce expectations. On my first visit I was rather unnerved by the isolation of the place, removed from the busy road by a thick and grasping hedge line and from Mount Vernon by the wooded railway embankment. Within the park the landscaped setting of the dovecot the ground is littered with a mosaic of shattered glass, green and white sherds creating an assemblage, a story of furtive libations. In the bushes pill packets and syringes tell of rendezvous with oblivion. Behind the dovecot itself a small heap of human waste, un-sanitised by the passage of filters, screens and good bacteria, reminds of a passing. The dovecot door which once lay open to showcase the rotating stair is now permanently closed by a thick steel plate, bolted and secured against even the pounding feet and projectiles which have dented and bowed its surface. No obvious graffiti marred the grandeur of the dovecot's red sandstone walls yet its commemorative plaque, a carved block of pink granite like a gravestone in a derelict graveyard, seems to have received several harsh blows and lies fractured in its slab bound setting.



(Figure 155 – Photograph of the slab setting below the Daldowie Dovecot which commemorates its relocation and renovation. Photo by Author)



(Figure 156 – Photograph of broken glass around the base of the Daldowie Dovecot. The label of a MD ‘*Mad dug*’ bottle can be seen amid the fragments of green and white glass. Photo by Author)

The Daldowie Dovecot renovation and relocation was an act of improvement within this landscape, initially devised to form part of the continued redevelopment of the land North of Greenoakhill. The development of this monument was a deliberate evocation of this landscape’s enlightenment past, an attempt to fore herald its return to parkland and bucolic idyll. Intentionally or not the Daldowie Dovecot stands as a monument to both the legacies of the mercantile classes in whose honour streets and statues were raised, and to the revanchist aspirations of the municipal authorities to redevelop the edgeland and sanitise the city. That this monument rapidly returned to edgeland tells of the uncertain trajectory of the city and betrays the sanitising ideals of the elite as an inevitable improvement to be false. That it was the Daldowie Dovecot, not the parallel Kenmuir Farm Dovecot, which was selected for restoration and monumentalising presents very clearly the ideal vision of the city’s past that developers and the municipal planners wish to project in their monumentality and memorialisation (Mogetta, 2019). In this monument the community building element of public monumentality seem to have been limited to interactions between the main landscape stakeholders and planning authorities – the identity building through shared investment or labour limited – instead of placemaking this monuments stands as a memorial to ill-considered development, a fate of sanitised edgelands from Bathgate to Linwood, Methil to Irvine (Mogetta, 2019).

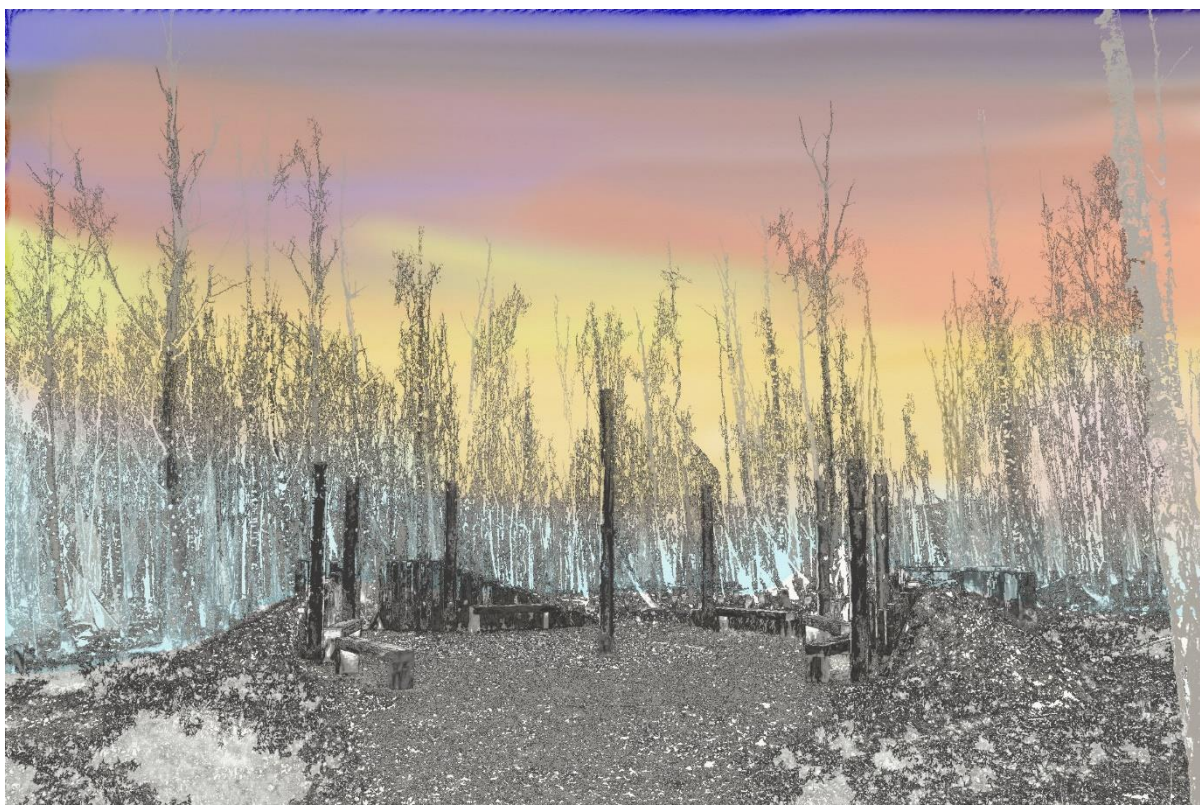
What is to become of this monument now? Removed from its original position it now stands as a testament to recent failed visions of improvement and can hardly be understood in passing to be the relic of a once grand estate landscape financed by human suffering. Can we expect this monument to be used again as part of landscape improvements, perhaps moved to a new safer location, another era of improvement beckoning?

Developing for the future

The edgeland as a landscape, and an aspect of unsanitised 'real' urbanism, is constantly changing and evolving, threatened by the interest of city planners and developers who seek to sanitise these frontier zones between their imagined city and the grimmer reality. The landscape at Daldowie and Mount Vernon is now reaching another pivotal moment in its trajectory as an edgeland, with the gradual filling and 'rewilding' of the Greenoakhill landfill site and its ownership being handed to Forestry and Land Scotland gradually this area is becoming prime for development.



(Figure 157 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the landscape of Greenoakhill as it may become, when the landfill is finally completely filled and the land is returned to a parkland state. The barren openness and solitary figures are inspired by my explorations of the now abandoned park at Kenmuir. Created by Author)



(Figure 158 – Digital print of Timber Circle ‘Learning Area’ within the newly forested parkland area of Greenoakhill. The Timber circles, with a surrounding earth and bark bank gives a rather prehistoric feel to this woodland gathering place. Created by Author)

This programme of rewilding and regeneration is part of Patersons of Greenoakhill’s commitment to responsibly terminate landfilling activities in this landscape upon reaching their regulated dumping limits. This has been a long foreshadowed development as the landfill operators face continuing complaints around odorous releases – fairly unnoticeable on an ordinary day but as climate change continues to bring increasingly hot summer spells the lingering odours of decomposing waste will become a greater issue, trapped by low air pressure in the hollows of the Clyde valley (Shanks et al. 2004). As part of this redevelopment, using money from the landfill tax fund, this landscape is in the process of being reforested in stages and a variety of paths and furnishings installed. In slowly removing the operational landfill from this landscape the character of a central portion of this edgeland is irrevocably changed and altered. The parkland opens this landscape again as a ‘leisurescape’ on the Clyde, an escape from the traditional city for the inhabitants of Glasgow into a vast suburban parkland. This development in the trajectory of this site has had considerable impacts on the surrounding land value and already numerous developments are in progress.

The site of the former Daldowie Colliery has already seen substantial development as a housing estate, similarly the lands of Newton Farm on the South bank of the Clyde are also undergoing

enormous scales of development. These developments, and the ensuing re-habitation of this landscape threaten the very character of the edgeland as petitions and protests against those edgeland processes of waste disposal and processing render the position of these landuses within this landscape difficult.

The Daldowie Sludge Processing Plant contract ends in 2026 and the lease of the site by Drax Power at Daldowie ends in 2060, after which there will either be a renegotiation of the lease or the site will fall back to Scottish Water. Recent complaints over smell have resulted in extensive work to render the plants gas-filtering mechanisms more efficient, however there is only so much that can be mediated in a landscape dedicated to such processes as bodily waste.



(Figure 159 – Photograph of new housing estate being constructed off Boghall to the North of Patersons of Greenoakhill Landfill. These houses built on a raised embankment overlook the landfill site. Photo by Author)



(Figure 160 – Photograph of the development of Newton farm on the Southern bank of the Clyde at Cambuslang, as seen from one of the Sludge tanks of Daldowie Fuel Plant. Photo by Author)

Those who manage the active industrial sites within these landscapes must toe a difficult line in the face of encroaching housing developments, as they fend off complaints from the new residents for the occasional release of odious gasses when the air pressure drops low. What happens when the edgeland with its banished land uses is encroached by the city? The managers at Greenoakhill Landfill and the WwTW and Fuel Plant all recognised that this was becoming an increasingly difficult issue for their management of these sites. There must be a realisation though that these land uses, banished to the edgeland, are incompatible with settled modern life. They provide too shocking a mirror to the sheer wastefulness of our societies, capable of creating mountains of rubbish in a matter of years on a scale before only realised by glaciers and plate tectonics (Póra Pétursdóttir, 2017; González-Ruibal, 2018, p.168). The realisation and confrontation with the waste produced by and from our bodies is startling enough at a fleeting visit or a passing glance, but to live in its shadow provokes questions that are too uncomfortable to answer.

For the past ten years a series of developers have been working to develop the large parcel of this landscape to the Western edge of the study area which belonged to the now ruinous Kenmuir Farm. This area includes and is bounded by two now abandoned trunk lines of the railway which served several collieries and mineral extraction shafts collectively known as Kenmuir Collieries. The land in

between remained for much of its history a tenant farm on the outskirts of the city, and it was only the compulsory purchase of much of its lands to the north, and the demolition of a large part of the farm itself for the M74 extension which ended this land use. Today the developers, in their bids to achieve planning permission submit a deluge of plans and reports of justification to the local council to win approval. The plan in figure 161, below, illustrates the earliest published plan for this development as proposed by the then developers Manor Investments. This proposal was for a residential mixed development of prime commuter housing with a scattering of affordable housing as per legislation. The developers had also provided ample green space within the development in including a mandated buffer zone with the Clyde to prevent flooding, open space along the main central road and to the East of the site, forming a walking route or park. By 2015 the development had been acquired by TNC UK who proposed a different vision for this landscape, as seen in figure 162. In this new vision much of the landscaped greenspace within the development was restricted to property garden plots and the buffer zone to the South was expended to fit two sustainable urban drainage points (SUDS). TNC also proposed a buffer zone of green space to the North of the site, providing a barrier between the new development and the ruinous farm at Kenmuir and the M74.



(Figure 161 – Image from website of developer and investment firm circa 2011 with proposed development of the Kenmuir Farm into a large housing estate. Image taken from Manor Investments Website)



(Figure 162 – Image from website of developer of Kenmuir Farm Site circa 2015. In this image we can see there have been significant changes to the proposed development including a reorienting of the provisioned open greenspace to provide a buffer to the Clyde in the South as a flood zone, and to the North to provide a barrier to the M74 and the unsightly and unsafe ruins of Kenmuir Farm.

Image taken from TCN UK website)

Interestingly in the report justifying the scale and scope of the proposed development we can observe some of the themes highlighted by Shoard (2002) when she described how the edgeland was threatened.

“Historically, Carmyle and its environs has been subject to a wide range of industrial development including coal mining, mineral extraction and associated railway routes with all the areas included in the application having experienced some form of previous industrial use.” (New City Vision, 2018, p.4)

Through justifying development today by the presence of past industrial development the developers in such cases as this use a weakness in planning policy to justify ever increasing expansions into the ‘green belt’ (Shoard, 2002). Arguably the land at Kenmuir, which forms the largest portion of this site was itself never developed for industry, only those lands to the Eastern and Western fringes saw large scale mineral extraction operations. Similarly, since the closure of that industry in the 1950s, and the abandonment of the farm in the 1990s this landscape has passed

as an area of community parkland however neglected it may appear. The developers, in making their case seek to justify their disregard for this function of the landscape now;

“Generally, the site is largely overgrown, and part of the southern area is being illegally used as an unofficial moto-cross and quad bike circuit by local enthusiasts, and little opportunity is provided for any pedestrian access to the northern bank of the River Clyde.” (New City Vision, 2018, p.5)

This is as Richard Mabey (2010, p.15) described in 1973, “Spontaneous greenspace has become demonised as worthless brownfield, and an anaemic tidiness creeps across all the last fragments of free land”. Thus, through the planning process the biography of the edgeland is manipulated and exploited to push narratives that render this landscape as unsafe, unsensitised, uncontrolled and in need of sanitising redevelopment (McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017). The communities of these spaces are deliberately disregarded, and the act of their displacement is justified as progress. This is part of a wider trend in the management of Western Cities by neoliberal and revanchist local, regional and national governments (Harvey, 2013). Perhaps as those remaining open green spaces in this landscape are parcelled up for development we may see again a return to citizen action of kind seen during the Harvey-Dyke actions, perhaps citizens of Carmyle and Greater Glasgow will demolish walls and fences which impede their “ancient and undoubted rights and liberties” like the levellers come again (McEwing, 1906, p.32).

Uncertain Prehistories

It is curious to wonder on the deeper future of such uncertain landscapes as the edgeland. What will this area look like in five years? Ten? One hundred? Will the Greenoakhill parkland remain green or within a generation will we see brazen development above the buried toxic mire?

Some, such as Brophy (2020) have suggested that the future of modern societies can be read in the edgelands as a return to a dystopian prehistory, a 'Second Iron Age', where citizens of the former urban landscapes must adapt to life in the shadow of the crumbling ruins and mountainous middens of modern life. There is some credence to this, when one gazes at the Himalayan heights of the landfill mounds and wonders at the unsustainable scale of modern consumption, something has got to change. The recent 'sighting' of a growling puma stalking the nearby parks in Carmyle, true or not, sparked a certain hysteria akin perhaps to that palaeolithic hunters felt upon hearing the roar of a sabre tooth tiger (Williams and McVey, 2021).



(Figure 163 – Photograph of a chalk pastel drawing of the landscape of Greenoakhill as imagined in a post-apocalyptic future. In the view the absence of humanity has prompted a recolonization by nature, the M74 has been consumed by soil creep and the last vestiges of the landscapes industrial past are consumed by vegetation. The two figures in the fore, hunter-gatherer's travers this new and dangerous landscape as the Mesolithic folk once did a post-Glacial world. Created by Author)

In 1934 George Orwell lamented the loss of a favoured green place to industry;

“So alien still? For I can neither
Dwell in that world, nor turn again
To scythe and spade, but only loiter
Among the trees the smoke has slain” (Orwell, 1934)

Orwell (1934) ponders the loss of the once familiar rural patterns of life which dominated much of the now suburban cityscape until a century ago and reflects upon the changes to life and its rhythms which make a return to such existences inconceivable. Yet with the unsustainable consumption and demand in the modern city perhaps what was inconceivable less than one hundred years ago will prove an imperative reality soon. Will the forested mounds of the former landfill become a suburban common, a Glasgow Green of the cul-de-sac culture? What will be the cultural groupings identified by the Archaeologists of the 2920s and 30s – Pylon People, Ford Focus Folk, Tupperware Cultures? These questions have been asked over and over since the birth of Contemporary Archaeology (Buchli and Lucas, 2001). This all seems a daydream-like wander; a futuristic “Dreaming too far” just as Tilley’s (1994) phenomenological dreaming of the deep past were thought to be (Fleming, 2002, p.1). When in future the heritage of this landscape is being packaged to ‘sell’ some new development which aspects should be celebrated – Orwell’s bucolic at Daldowie existed as a product of the wealth accumulated by the mercantile classes through slavery and speculation – should it instead be the very edgelands so vilified by the contemporary planner that should be celebrated? Edgelands offer us a perfect starting point to consider the alternative heritage of our urban landscapes – to access the gritty, real and difficult legacy of western urbanism. Perhaps this landscape could become a museum to the municipal sanitisation of the urban form – made most obvious by the banishing of our bodily and consumption wastes to the urban fringe. In an uncertain world is there a role for the archaeologist to explore and interpret the fragile contemporary and perhaps to act as a lantern bearer, carrying the lessons of present failings into the coming dark ages?

While wandering the newly planted drumlin-esque mounds, esker-like embankments and kettle hole settling ponds of the former landfill site I couldn’t help but feel an affinity with those first settlers in a post-glacial world voyaging through corpses of colonising birch and hazel, weeds and wildflowers in the shadow of perilously unstable moraines.

Conclusions

Cities are a constant in modern life and in the minds of people today (Vance, 1990, p.5). Their obvious palimpsest of relict structures showcasing past eras of greatness, street names telling tales of the elite histories of yesteryear (ibid). The city is associated with permanence, its scale and longevity far outstretching the lifetime of the individual. The city is enduring, reassuring, familiar and familial (ibid). The permanence of the city, in the post-industrial edgelands of the inner city and fringe, is challenged and with it our conceptions of time, temporality and the immortality of the city (Huxtable, 1970). The edgeland in contrast to the permanence of the city is a transitory, impermanent, mobile landscape, always threatened by those sanitising processes which resulted in its development (Shoard, 2002). The edgeland fluctuates, tied to the fate of the city, and betraying the mortality of what we thought immortal and eternal (Coward, 2006). When the city is expanding the edgeland is pushed ever outwards to accommodate the sanitising of the city or consumed and rendered an island along motorway corridors and in the shadow of post-industrial relics. However, when the city is in decline the edgeland is quick to tear through the weakened zonal fabric of the city, claiming parks, factories, shops and former housing estates (Huxtable, 1970; González-Ruibal, 2018, P.32; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2018). In cities such as Detroit the fragility of the city is laid bare as whole districts are claimed by the edgeland, forming miles of sprawling abandoned housing estates, overgrown parkland and unruly patchworks of land use including agricultural and industrial functions (Huxtable, 1970; González-Ruibal, 2018, P.32). In comparison to the certainty of the city the edgeland is an uncomfortable reminder of the fragility of modern life. It is dangerous, unnerving and uncertain. All the uncomfortable truths of modern life are sanitised from our experience of the city. In the edgeland;

“Nothing seems quite complete or rounded off. Buildings and greenery alike are liable at any moment to be levelled, trimmed, landscaped, incinerated, modernised, or just vaguely ‘redeveloped’ as if they were some under-used muscle” (Mabey, 2010, p.20-210)

For some it foretells the collapse of capitalism or the dystopian grimness of a post-apocalyptic world - a return to uncertain and precarious prehistories – foretold by the realities of edgeland urbanism, a confrontation with our waste which betrays the unsustainability of modern life in the face of environmental strains (Brophy, 2020; González-Ruibal, 2018). For others it is a reminder of the temporary nature of our ‘eternal cities’ (Huxtable, 1970; McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2018). In betraying this temporality to the otherwise perceived as immortal city the edgeland itself becomes a threat to the economic life of the city. Elite narratives of urbanism and selective monumentalism today work to portray the timelessness and eternal nature of urban spaces, projecting them as a limitless and safe resource for investment, justifying the land value speculation and development

spirals which maintain property prices and rental rates from which the bureaucratic, political and economic urban elites draw their wealth. The continual sanitising and re-development of the edgelands tells of a desperate bid by this elite to hide the vulnerability of the modern city and the unsustainability of life within it – tied as it is today to capitalist cycles of boom and bust – a state of unsustainability we are indoctrinated to view as natural (González-Ruibal, 2018, p.32; Harvey, 2013).

While the edgeland has been excluded in traditional urbanisms through a process of sanitisation which aims to remove those deemed ‘undesirable’ from the idealised city, the edgeland plays a vital role in the cycle of the city and belongs in any study of ‘real urbanism’. Recognised in the field of Contemporary Archaeology such liminal and marginalised landscapes and processes are only recently becoming the subject of serious study as essential parts of the modern city (McAtackney and Ryzewski, 2017; Rathje and Murphy, 1992). The Edgeland forms the set for mobility, fluctuation, energy exchange and nutrient cycles of the city, providing an outlet for the bodies of waste which previously lingered within the limits with violent consequence. In designing out these spaces of the city the edgeland is formed as a parallel city, hosting all that is undesired in those idealised visions of the city adopted in the Enlightenment from problematic readings of classical urbanism (Smith, 2017; Miéville, 2009; Shanks et al. 2004). Through this research I have produced and tested a definition of the archaeological edgeland in the context of the contemporary city, tying together the variety of processes which have become a recent focus of studies in Contemporary Archaeology into a definable feature of the urban landscape visible in the fabric of the modern city, and perhaps from this definition also in the archaeological remains of the ancient city also. In doing so I have argued that unlike in traditional literary conceptions, the archaeological edgeland occurs not only at the physical boundary of the city but at the ideological borders, at all interfaces of the real and sanitised city. This ‘real urbanism’ reflects a blotted zonal fabric where tears of edgeland rip through the neat districts beloved by city planners, a the cityscape marred like Mieville’s (2009) dual city with reminders of the existence of another urban realm beyond the sanitised façade.

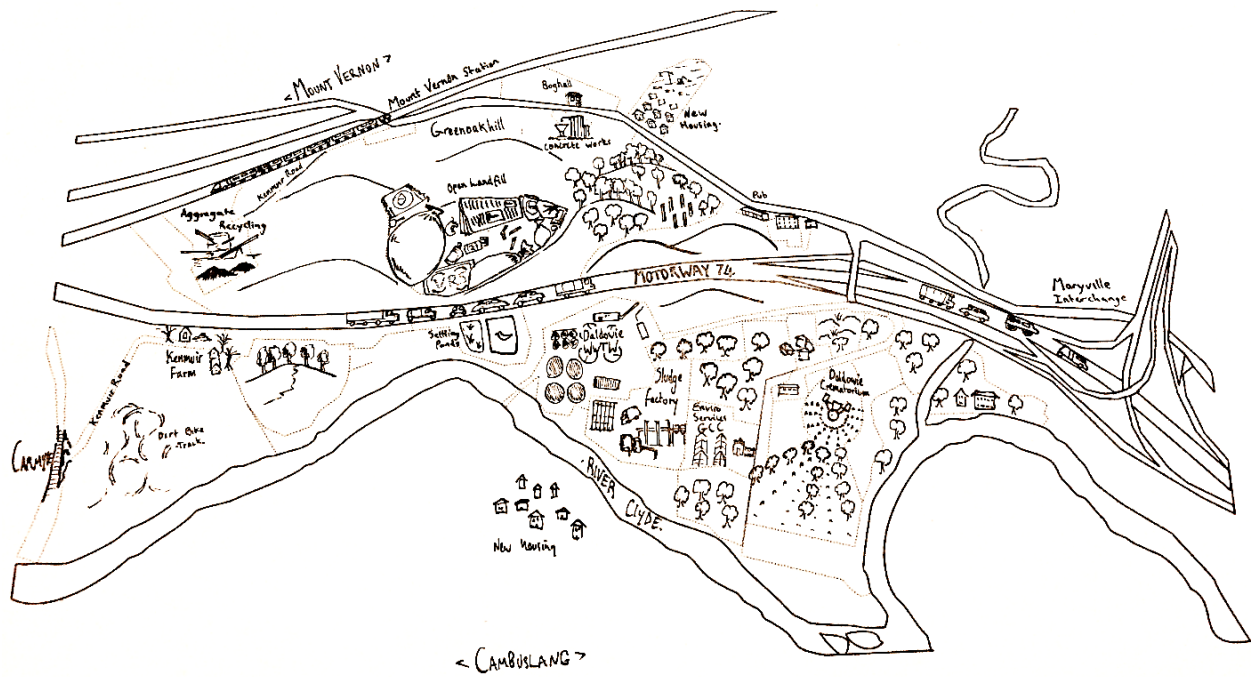


(Figure 164 – Pen and ink drawing of Glasgow Architecture. This drawing is based off the Glasgow European City of Culture Poster for 1990. This summing up of the culture of the city as an amalgamation of its past architectural glories exemplifies well the role of the timelessness of the city in the identity and worldview of its citizens. Created by Author)

In recognising the neglected character of the edgeland, both in the planning process and in traditional scholarly discussions of contemporary urbanism, an opportunity is presented to explore an archaeology of contemporary urbanism which actively seeks to protest the dominance of elite narratives which are propagated by traditional methodologies and frameworks for narrating urban morphology and development. Drawing from the growing body of work into the processes within the edgeland from Contemporary Archaeology I have set out to define, through the case study of Mount Vernon and Daldowie, the character of the edgeland as a distinct landscape within the urban

realm. This landscape has throughout its history shared a connection to the ebb and flow of the city of Glasgow - from Bishopric 'Rentallars' whose tythe paid for the ecclesiastical growth of the cathedral city, to the Merchant and Industrialists whose exploitative business reshaped the very fabric of the city and in whose dubious honour streets and districts are named. In creating this narrative account of the landscape I have chosen specifically to subvert these narratives of the city's development, exploring the stories of this landscape through a multi-disciplinary toolkit of methods drawn from the humanities and creative arts, aiming to produce an anti-elite archaeology of this important landscape of contemporary urbanism. In doing so this research explores the wider connections of this landscape as well as the folk traditions, characters and vernacular heritage. Through experiential, creative and collection based practices the narratives produced explore and enrich our understandings of this landscape in the contemporary and the past. In exploring those aspects of elite heritage in this landscape I have attempted to explore its connections with wider flows of finance, people and resources through which the house of Daldowie is connected to slavers plantations in the West Indies and British imperialism in India.

Today the landscape of Daldowie and Mount Vernon preforms a key function in the sanitising of the city, storing the unclean, unhealthy, dangerous and unsightly land uses concerned with waste from the eyes and noses of decent citizens, and acting as a physical representation of the revanchist aspirations of the city corporation akin to the privatisation of public spaces in the traditional heart of the city and the exclusion of surplus populations to the urban fringe. In producing this account of this landscape, through site visits, tours and informal interviews I have attempted to diversify the range of experiences recorded in order to access something of the experience of those whose daily taskscapes revolve with the sewage, landfill or sludge at Daldowie. Instead of relying upon planning documents and development proposals to tell the story, through exploring these working landscapes with those who labour there it has been possible to produce an account of these complex landscapes which goes beyond descriptions of biological processes, cycles of nutrient or legislative regulations, and instead produces an anecdotal narrative of this landscape as experienced today. Through experiments with creative methods, including explorations of poetry, the curation of fieldwalking artefacts and the production of illustrations inspired by this landscape's past and present, it has been possible to explore non-textual means of producing landscape narratives. Individually the artefactual, creative and experiential aspects of this research could be used to interpret and explore this landscape, escaping from the reliance on textual evidence which hampers most revisionist accounts of the recent past, instead bringing these sources together as this work does allows us to explore the biography of this landscape beyond those elite narratives passed down by history (see appendix 3).



(Figure 165 – Pen and Ink cartographic representation of the landscape of Mount Vernon and Daldowie inspired by Mitch Millers Dialectograms. I have attempted in this piece to fill in a blank plan of this landscape with representations of its various landuses and experiences. In doing so I hoped to produce a representation of ‘real urbanism’ – a parallel representation of the city to that shown in figure 164. Created by Author)

Through this research, utilising the edgeland as a case study, I have explored the production of an anti-elite archaeology of contemporary urbanism, attempting to redress the balance of narratives to consider a diverse and representative range of experiences of landscape in the construction of narratives of this landscapes past and present, in the hope of producing a ‘real urbanism’ reflective of those aspects of the urban realm sanitised from view and neglected in traditional scholarship as a result of pervading ideas of what and who belongs in the city.

Closing note

This research was limited in its scale and depth as a result of factors which arose over the course of the research period, the outbreak and rapid spread of Coronavirus, and the limitations to travel and archival access this caused. As a result of the coronavirus pandemic museums and archives including the Kelvingrove Museum and HES archives were closed. The Mitchell Library and its extensive archives were also closed which reduced access to their extensive social history collections to those materials available in a free and digitised form. Due to the furloughing scheme and the limitations to travel it proved difficult to access this landscape over the months of the spring and summer, which reduced the seasonal range of my experiences of this landscape to Autumn and Winter largely, though a few visits were possible as lockdown eased. Further development of this research could in future involve the development of a heritage trail through the new parklands of the landfill site. It would also be interesting to expand the area under study to include the industrial units which line the London Road to the West of this site, or to produce a comparative study of an inner city edgeland, such as that which exists along the M74-M77 corridor.

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Appendix A – Transcript of Communications

Transcript of communications with Archivist of Glasgow Motorway Archives, 23/01/2020

The following records communications between an archivist from GMA and the researcher on the subject of the Glasgow Motorways system and it's development. The following is used with the permission of the archivist.

Archivist – The M74 completion project, planned in the 1950s-60s originally planned to follow the A74 route into Glasgow, bypassing the estate of Daldowie. The M74 from Hamilton area to Maryville was completed in August 1968, and the M73 section linking to Maryville was completed in May 1971. The Maryville interchange is a three level interchange, one of only two in Scotland, the other being at Baillieston, also within the Glasgow Motorway network. Maryville also had been proposed to have a fourth motorway interchanging there – the proposed C Ring Road which would have connected from the South carrying traffic bypassing Glasgow's southern suburbs – thus the Maryville Interchange may have been even more complex though this was never built.

Researcher – The finalised version of the M74 Completion, can you give me any details on process of that addition to the network?

Archivist – The M74 completion project was planned since the 1960s, however in its earlier days it was heavily delayed due to economic concerns, and political issues due to the proposed routes which would have taken the motorway along the A74 route west to Glasgow Green. In the 1990s there was a return to the planning of this stretch of the motorway, and this time it was planned to loop the motorway south past Dixon's Blazes and Shields Road to join the Kingston Bridge, this carried on to 2011. The stretch of this motorway through Daldowie must be one of the most visually dull of the entire motorway. With the high embankments on either side view is obstructed to the south, blocking view of the Crematorium and parkland from the road as part of the sensitive design. Beyond this the embankment of the Landfill site blocks views to the north, and the relict landfill mounds forested to the south obstruct views of the sewage works and the Clyde.

Researcher – In the next century, do you expect there will be any changes to the infrastructural landscape of this site?

Archivist – In the next 20 years or so I think we will see a developing of specific public transport infrastructure, perhaps hard shoulders with bus priority... Maybe at some point, a long way off we

might see the expansion of a southern ring road, as was proposed all those years ago – although this depends on how successful current trends towards public transport/eco travel are, unless there is significant improvements in the quality, reliability and affordability of public transport I imagine the dominance of the car will continue. Certainly, there will be no new motorway infrastructure expansions in the next 20 years.

[End]

Appendix B – Finds Catalogue

Finds Catalogue: Fieldwalking finds recovered from beaches of Clyde between Maryville and Kenmuir

Artefact materials	Artefact type	Sub-type	Number
Glass	Architectural Glass		1
		<i>Security Glass</i>	1
	Bottle Glass		24
		<i>Wine Bottle (18th-19th C.)</i>	1
		<i>Beer Bottle (Modern)</i>	1
		<i>Beer Bottle (19th C.)</i>	2
		<i>Milk Bottle (Contemporary)</i>	1
		<i>Milk Bottle (Victorian-Modern)</i>	3
		<i>Medicine Bottle (Victorian)</i>	3
		<i>Ink Bottles (Victorian-Modern)</i>	6
		<i>Tonic/Soda bottle (Victorian)</i>	1
		<i>Ponds Cosmetics Bottle (Modern)</i>	2
		<i>Chemists bottles</i>	2
		<i>unidentified</i>	2
Metal	Can		6
		<i>Oil Can (Modern)</i>	1
		<i>Gas Can (Modern)</i>	1
		<i>Beer Can (Modern)</i>	1
		<i>Soft Drink Can (Contemporary)</i>	3
	Toy		1
		<i>Toyota Toy Car (Modern)</i>	1
	Architectural		1
		<i>Peg</i>	1
	Car Part		1
		<i>Battery Component</i>	1
	Box		1
		<i>Fly Box</i>	1
Ceramic	Tile		9

		<i>Leaf-Decorated Tile (Post-Medieval)</i>	1
		<i>Mellon of Spain Coloured Tile (Modern)</i>	1
		<i>Maryhill Tile - Red (Post-War)</i>	1
		<i>Tile Assorted (Modern)</i>	6
	Pottery - Course		39
		<i>Garden Ceramics red-brown (Modern)</i>	8
		<i>Stoneware (Victorian)</i>	17
		<i>Mieres of Europe Chemical Jar (Victorian)</i>	1
		<i>Whigton Creamery Stoneware Jar (Victorian)</i>	1
		<i>Cairns London Stout Stoneware Bottle (Victorian)</i>	1
		<i>Course Assorted (Post-Medieval)</i>	6
		<i>Pipe Bowls/Stems (17th-19th C.)</i>	4
		<i>Architectural (19th-20th C.)</i>	6
	Pottery Fine		110
		<i>Green-Glaze (Medieval)</i>	1
		<i>White Undecorated (Post Medieval)</i>	4
		<i>Blue and White Decorated Assorted (Post-Medieval)</i>	46
		<i>Colour Decorated Assorted (Post-Medieval)</i>	6
		<i>Primrose Dale 'New Chelsea' teacup (1936)</i>	1
		<i>Teacup Assorted (20th C.)</i>	13
		<i>Plate Colour Decorated (Modern)</i>	15
		<i>White Plate Assorted (Modern)</i>	19
		<i>Coloured Assorted (Modern)</i>	5
Plastics	Technology		1
		<i>DVD/VHS Recorder</i>	1
	Packaging		8
		<i>Crisp Packet</i>	3
		<i>Sweet Wrapper</i>	5
Slag	Slag		3
		<i>Assorted Slag</i>	3
Bone	Bone		1
		<i>Dog Chew Bone</i>	1

Appendix C – Digital Gallery

Digital Gallery: Accessible via the link and illustrated in the screenshotted images below, the creative, artefactual and photographic records collated during this project are presented in a digital gallery as an accessible outreach product of this research project.

Initially this was intended to be collated as a physical exhibition to be showcased to local heritage groups, however, the outbreak of Covid-19 rendered this impossible.

Permanent Link to full online gallery: <https://barrowmagazine.files.wordpress.com/2020/09/mount-vernon-and-daldowie-edgeland-landscape-gallery-1.pdf>

Green-Glaze Pottery Sherd

This Green-Glaze pottery sherd represents the only conclusive piece of Medieval pottery uncovered during the fieldwalking of this stretch of the Clyde. The fabric of the sherd is a greyish fired clay, upon which a shiny mottled green glaze is applied.

Green-Glaze pottery is commonly associated with fine vessels, often bowls, jugs and plates dating from the late 14th to 16th C.

Records for this time suggest the lands of Daldowie were held by the Stewarts of Minto a dynasty with holdings across Central Scotland. At this time Daldowie was likely held in exchange for payment of rent or tythe to the Bishopric of Glasgow, similarly the lands of Kenmuir are also recorded as being 'rentallars' to the Bishops.



*not to scale



Primrose Dale China Teacup sherd

This delicate china pottery sherd is part of a teacup produced in 1936 by 'New Chelsea' at their porcelain works in Staffordshire (Perry, 2010). This piece, a teacup of the 'Primrose Dale' design was produced c. 1936 and featured floral motifs in green, yellow and orange.

This company began production of fine bone china in 1900 and traded initially as 'Plant Bros' before taking up the name 'New Chelsea' in 1912. The company continued trading until 1951, although they remarketed for American markets to 'Royal Chelsea' as of 1943.

The company also produced commemorative plates including an 'Egyptomania' plate for the 1922 discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb.

This sherd was recovered from the bank of the Clyde just south of Greenoakhill, nearby the former location of the Daldowie Dovecot. Perhaps this was once the site of tea parties or picnics?



Fisherman's Artificial Flies Box

A small metal fly tin found amid flotsam on the rivers bank on one of my wanders.

The box contains a variety of artificial flies crafted for angling. These flies are of the local 'Clyde' Style, with a narrow body dubbed with either moles hair or hares lug some ribbed with copper wire, on a size 12-14 hook. The cape or neck of these flies is formed from a wrapping of feather. Among those in this tin there are partridge, snipe, and a variety of dyed and natural hen and cock feathers.

These flies, with names like 'The Black Spider', 'Partridge and Gold', 'Snipe and Purple' and the infamous 'Black Beastie' are part of a lengthy folk tradition of crafting and sourcing materials taught over weeks and months even years by friends and relatives. Their names and styles are highly localised even personal.

Fishing on this stretch of the Clyde has a long history records dating to the 1800s record the local miners from collieries at Kenmuir and Mount Vernon and weavers from Rutherglen fishing here. Today this stretch of the river falls within the permit area of the Mid-Clyde Angling Association.



Ceramic Toilet Roll Holder

A modern ceramic wall-mounted toilet roll holder, found in the river south of Daldowie Wastewater Treatment Works (WwTW). This is one of two such mounts which would hold a roll of toilet paper.

The WwTW at Daldowie services the populations of Greater Glasgow and North Lanarkshire, drawing on a brown water catchment from Shettleston and Parkhead to Airdrie and Motherwell, and an equivalent of 292,000 peoples waste is processed daily.

The filters on this site remove all those objects accidentally flushed away are recovered in the hooked screens and at intervals throughout the day and cleared, the collected deposits being ejected into skips along conveyors known as 'nodding donkeys'. Among this waste everything from false teeth to whole sheep carcasses are recovered.

The site staff have noticed a trend that on Saturday and Sunday mornings, after the festivities of the night before, it is common for plastic £5 and £10 notes to float through the inlets into the filters where they are gleefully recovered and cleaned by the site staff for return into circulation later. These notes, dropped by intoxicated hands in a variety of houses and bars across the city are just one of many acts of transfers that occur in this landscape.

