Historic

LINLITHGOW

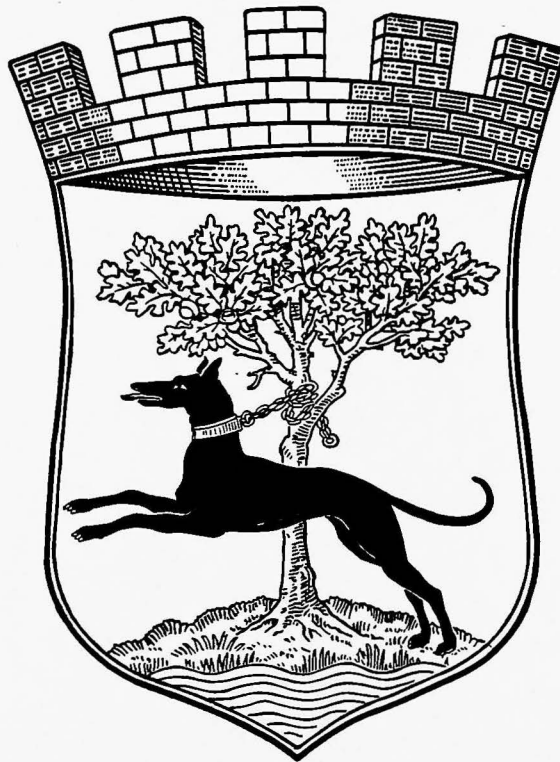## the archaeological implications of development

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Scottish Burgh Survey
1981

Historic
LINLITHGOW
the archaeological implications
of development

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PREFACE

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

Each report contains an historical report compiled by Anne Turner
Simpson with an archaeological report and a series of illustrative
plans compiled by Sylvia Stevenson and drawn by Derek Shaw. The re-
ports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were
developed at various periods of their history up to approximately
1800, and to locate within those areas sites which are of particular
historical importance. Areas of 19th century growth and modern sub-
urbs have not been examined.

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vised the project at Glasgow University.

Note:-   The views expressed herein are those of the survey team,
freely given, and do not necessarily represent official policy.

Cover:-   The Coat of Arms of the burgh of Linlithgow as depicted in
           Bute, MacPhail and Lonsdale, 1897,260.

History

'Linlithgow, the appearance of rude, decayed, idle grandeur, char-
mingly rural, retired situation. The old rough palace a tolerably
fine but melancholy ruin - sweetly situated on a small elevation on
the brink of a loch...'   (Robert Burns, 1787).

INTRODUCTION

Site: Linlithgow, formerly the county town of West Lothian, lies on
the south side of a loch bearing the same name. The town lies between
Linlithgow Loch and a gravel mound on which stand the palace and church
on one side and a steep rising bank on the other. To the south lie the
Bathgate Hills and to the north the Firth of Forth. East of the town
were two lochs, the Burgh Loch and Leech Loch, long since vanished due
to the process of land reclamation. The River Avon flows about one
quarter of a mile (0·4km) distant from the town and formerly a burn,
the Dick Burn (which is now a piped culvert) cut through Linlithgow near
the New Well Wynd. A second burn, Bell's Burn, ran to the north of High
Street.

Place Name: Linlithgow means 'lake in the damp hollow'. Linlitcu 1124-
1147, Linlidcu 1138, Lythcu 1299, Lithgw c.1200 and Lynlythgw 1366 are
five of over 280 spellings. The spellings mainly fall into two categor-
ies, those with and those without the Lin. Nicolaisen assumed that Lith-
gow and allied forms was the name of the place, while Linlithgow was the
name of the lake. The whole name is a compound of 'llyn' lake, 'laith'
damp and 'cau' a hollow, as in Glasgow (Nicolaisen et al.,1970, 124).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burgh Status: In 1138 David I granted to the church of St.Andrews the
church of Linlithgow with land infra burgum et extra burgum (Lawrie,1905,
91). A 1150 grant to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth (the Abbey of Stirling)
of a toft in Linlidcu, however, makes no mention of a burgh (Lawrie, 1905,
189). Linlithgow was taken into the court of the Four Burghs along with
Lanark in 1368, replacing Berwick and Roxburgh. Linlithgow had been rep-
resented in the General Council of 1357 and in Parliament from 1367
(Pryde, 1965, 7). It received feu-ferme status in 1388.

Medieval: Although the sheriffdom of Linlithgow cannot be proved older
than 1159 X 1163 (Barrow, 1960, 235), a 'castle' (or manor house) at Lin-
lithgow dates from the reign of David I (Lawrie, 1905, 119). Edward I

camped near Linlithgow the night before the battle of Falkirk in 1298, but did not lay siege to the 'castle' until 1301 and spent the winter there in the same year. The 'castle' was later seized by patriots and dismantled, but was rebuilt on the orders of David II in 1350. In that same reign there is a reference to the burgh being 'uninhabited and totally waste' (Ferguson, 1911, 20).

However, by 1378, Linlithgow's overseas trade was on an equal footing with Aberdeen and exporting about a third of what Edinburgh did (Nicholson, 1974, 265). Her export trade was mostly in the staple products: wool, hides and woolfells (fleece). In the charter of feu-ferme tenure issued by Robert II in 1388 Linlithgow was given the harbour of Blackness and it was through this port that her goods were shipped overseas. In 1446 she had a superior account to Haddington, exporting £300 15s 2½d worth of goods, to Haddington's £209 2s 3d, but both burghs were well behind Edinburgh's £2294 17s 6½d (ER, v, 223, 233, 216). In 1451 Linlithgow was again ahead of Haddington with a customs receipt of £183 1s 6½d to Haddington's £109 10s 4d (ER, v, 423, 427). By the end of the century, however, fortunes had reversed somewhat with Haddington constantly issuing larger customs receipts.

Fifteenth-century Linlithgow was also a favourite residence for the Stewart Monarchs. James I began constructing what ultimately became a 'pleasure palace' which replaced the royal castle or manor house. That king's attempts to raise the parish church of St.Michael's to collegiate status reflects his personal interest in the burgh. As a young monarch, James III had been carried off by the Boyd family from the palace in 1465, while James IV's victorious army was said to have returned to Linlithgow after the battle of Sauchieburn (MacAlpine, 1890, 17).

Early Modern: Linlithgow's prosperity continued into the sixteenth century; however, on the stent rolls she remained behind Haddington. Participating in the first national stent ordained by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1535, Linlithgow paid a tax of £12 7s to Haddington's £101 5s (RCRB, i, 514). A 1550 embassy sent to the Emperor resulted in Linlithgow's contribution of thirty-six crowns to Edinburgh's six hundred and Haddington's seventy-two crowns (RCRB, i, 519). At the end of the century, in 1597, Linlithgow was stented at a rate of eighteen shillings in comparison to Haddington's thirty-eight shillings and £28 15s for Edinburgh (RCRB, ii, 10).

Linlithgow boasted a total of seven incorporated trades: bakers, smiths, shoemakers, weavers, wrights, fleshers and tailors. The bakers doubled

as sellers of ale and their bread prices were fixed by statute
(Beveridge, 1912, 42). The shoemakers until 1620 had done their own
tanning but due to poor quality the Privy Council temporarily employ-
ed some Englishmen to demonstrate a better method. Thereafter tanning
flourished as a separate industry in the burgh (Beveridge, 1912, 42).
The town also boasted a large number of metal smiths who made weapons,
while coopers, who were not incorporated, formed wooden dishes and
other vessels. The waulkers (fullers) who had been incorporated died
out in 1639. By 1628 the waulkers incorporation numbered only one
and that one refused to admit more workers to his corporation, thus
ensuring its demise (Beveridge, 1912, 42).

The reporter in the Statistical Account remarked that 'Linlithgow was
a place of considerable trade, opulence and splendour; but from the
Union of the Crowns, especially after the junction of the kingdoms,
it has declined in all these aspects' (Withrington, 1975, 764). This
moderately prosperous burgh could not afford the outlay to enable it
to maintain the position of its port of Blackness and its trade was
hurt by the raising of Grangemouth in 1615 into a free port and a burgh
of barony (Waldie, 1894, 91). The imposition of a Cromwellian governor
in the palace resulted in many Linlithgow merchants fleeing to Culross
(Beveridge, 1912, 62). Those residents who stayed behind were at one
time forced to ransom the burgh records for £30 and they were removed
for safekeeping to Dundee from which they were ultimately ransomed again
(Waldie, 1894, 80). After the Cromwellian occupation those merchants
who had fled to Culross returned to find that the Town House, jail,
grammar school, the manse and private houses in Kirkgate had been razed
to the ground (Beveridge, 1912, 62). A 1662 charter of Charles II
allowed the town the privilege of a three-day fair free 'considering
the great loss sustained by the burgh and the destruction of all their
public works by the attack of the usurper...' (MacDonald, 1932, 19).

Linlithgow continued to decline slowly. The Dutch Wars of 1664 and
1672 hit the burgh hard (Beveridge, 1912, 64). The erection of Bo'ness
into a burgh of regality in 1668 robbed Linlithgow of her trading mono-
poly and ruined her port of Blackness (MacDonald, 1932, 17). In 1692
'a certain number of the lords of council and sessioune, with several
skilful and intelligent skippers' visited the port of Blackness and
they found 'the same alltogether unsufficient and unsecure' (RCRB, iv,
578). In the same year Linlithgow reported that her foreign trade was
inconsiderable but she did have an inland trade principally in tallow

and sheepskins. Linlithgow maintained six annual fairs and a weekly
market and numbered among the burghs in the neighbourhood Borrow-
stounes (Bo'ness) and Grangepans which were 'highly prejudiciall' to
her trade 'both outland and inland' and whose 'houses are in better
conditione and sett at a higher rate than many of ther burgh' (Lin-
lithgow) (RCRB, iv, 579).

Eighteenth Century: Struggles to maintain the position of the port
of Blackness continued in the eighteenth century. In 1700 the Duke
of Hamilton sought power to levy an impost for building a harbour at
Bo'ness and the magistrates of Linlithgow protested that such a harbour
would prejudice Blackness. Linlithgow's officials had previously tried
to induce settlement in Blackness and got a customs house which had
been established at Bo'ness transferred to Blackness. This was short-
lived for in 1713 it was decreed that the customs house should remain
at Bo'ness and thereafter Blackness slumped into obscurity (Waldie,
1894, 92).

Linlithgow's prosperity however, was maintained through the century.
Defoe passing through the town noted that 'there is a very great Linnen
Manufacture as there is at Glasgow...The people look here as if they
were busy and had something to do whereas in most towns we pass's through
they seems as if they look'd disconsolate for want of employment...'
(Rogers, 1971, 616-617). And at the end of the century the reporter in
the Statistical Account noted 'though Linlithgow has not that appearance,
a good deal of business is transacted in it - the people in general are
sober and industrious plying their occupation chiefly within doors or on
the side of the loch' (Withrington, 1975, 759). Among the manufactures
noted, leather was the most extensive with seventeen tanneries eight-
een curriers and thirteen tawers (Withrington, 1975, 759). Shoemaking
itself employed 100 people and 24,000 pairs were made annually. Wool
was a common commodity, carpet weaving a popular manufacture, while
the town had three ale and beer breweries and a number of bakers whose
bread was widely known for its 'fine colour' and 'delicate taste' (With-
rington, 1975, 759).

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: Until fairly recently the town retained its single
market street which boasted a back lane known as the South Vennel
(Beveridge, 1912, 10). Settlement in the town grew from a small cluster
of dwellings round the neighbourhood of the church and castle to a
straggling street running roughly east and west and following the line

of the loch (MacDonald, 1932, 15). Some frontages were developed in
the market area by the end of the thirteenth century, while much of
High Street proper had been developed by the mid to late fifteenth
century (GD 215/1831-1835, passim). James Beveridge observed that
the line of High Street was wider in days past and that modern buil-
dings have 'encroached on the line of the old street' (1912, 11).

M.N. Powell has suggested that the well wynds developed when it became
less important to limit the number of entries into the town (1974, 6).
Among the wynds which run south off High Street are New Well Wynd,
Dog Well Wynd, Lion Well Wynd and St.Michael's Wynd. The burgh ac-
quired the property to form Dog Well Wynd in 1690 while Lion Well Wynd
was formed on a steep slope in the middle of the eighteenth century.
New Well Wynd was not created until 1795 (Beveridge, 1912, 6). Oli-
phant Wynd ran down the opposite side of the High Street to the loch.
Kirkgate provided access to the parish church and palace while Water-
gate led off Kirkgate to the only bit of hard beach on the promontory
on which the church and palace sit (Beveridge, 1912, 22).

Market Area: The market day for Linlithgow anciently was Saturday but
because the 'attendant riot and drunkenness' was bad preparation for
the Sabbath it was moved to Friday in 1645 (Beveridge, 1912, 46). Meat
had been sold in stalls at the cross 'but was now conveniently disposed
in a place surrounded by high walls' (Withrington, 1975, 767). The
reporter in the Statistical Account also noted that poultry was scarce
and the price of mutton and beef was often higher in Linlithgow than
it was in Edinburgh (Withrington, 1975, 767). An early reference to
the Market Cross occurs in 1441 (Nicholson, 1974, 11). The Market Cross
stood a few feet in front of the entrance to the Tolbooth and its base
contained two small shops (Beveridge, 1912, 27).

Defences: The town was not surrounded by a wall but residents were ex-
pected to keep their back property walls ('yardheids') of a sufficient
strength and height to keep out stragglers and other undesirables. A
ditch existed reputedly outside the yardheids at the West Port (Beveridge,
1912, 11).

Ports: Three of Linlithgow's ports blocked the two ends of the High
Street. The East Port with the Low Port formed the western boundary
of a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary (Beveridge, 1912, 9).
Routes from Bathgate and Falkirk met just outside the West Port (Beve-
ridge, 1912, 6). The West Port had a chequered career. An early refer-
ence to it occurs in 1564 when it, along with the Low Port, was ordered

to be guarded during a troublous period (GD 215/1727). In 1713 it
fell while being rebuilt in its 'old style' (GD 21/1727). The West
Port, along with the Low and East Ports, was removed in the second
half of the eighteenth century. A fourth port at the head of St.
Michael's Wynd was taken down in 1771.

Bridge: A bridge was rebuilt across the Avon in the last half of
the seventeenth century. This structure was refurbished in the 1890s
and was replaced by a modern bridge in 1960 (Powell, 1974, 31).

BUILDINGS

Palace: A 'castle' at Linlithgow, dates to the reign of David I and
is noticed in a charter of 1128 X 1136 which granted to Holyrood Abbey
the skins of all rams, sheep and lambs which belonged to the king's
'castle' of Linlithgow (Lawrie, 1905, 118). Geoffrey Stell (in litt.)
observed that the character of the earliest royal residence at Lin-
lithgow is something of an unknown quantity and that it may have been
of a more domestic manorial kind. Edward I in 1302 had this royal resi-
dence surrounded by stockading with wooden towers at fixed distances
from each other. He also strengthened the stockading with stone and
dug a ditch in front of it (Paton, 1957, lxiii). The 'castle' (and
presumably the Edwardian peel) was dismantled in 1313 after a patriotic
husbandman, William Bunnock, seized it. The structure was later rebuilt
on the orders of David I.

James I was the promoter of the palace built on the site of the 'castle'.
King James III made certain alterations and repairs, but James IV la-
vishly added galleries, stairs and passages (Richardson and Beveridge,
1976, 2). The palace was completed in the reign of James V when it de-
veloped its quadrangular form. James V and his daughter Mary were both
born at the palace and James VI often visited it. Charles I spent the
night of 1 July, 1633, in the palace and was the last monarch to stay
in it. On the morning of February 1, 1746, it caught fire and the magi-
strates did nothing about it, saying they 'had no responsibility' (Richard-
son, 1976, 1). Some of the burgesses reputedly looted the ruined palace
and the structure was allowed to decay until it came into government pos-
session in 1832.

The ground floor and basement of the older sides of the palace contain
cellarage, kitchens, guardrooms and a prison, while that of the north
quarter contained store rooms and dwelling quarters (Richardson, 1976,
5). The north quarter before its reconstruction in 1618 also had the

queen's chambers while the king's rooms were in the west quarter. The 'Lyon Chamber' or great hall, was on the east side, along with the main kitchen (Richardson, 1976, 7).

Church: The church of Linlithgow, dedicated to St.Michael, was first mentioned in an 1138 charter granting it to the bishop of St.Andrews (Lawrie, 1905, 90). The nave of the church was burned in 1424 and repair and enlargement of the fabric continued through the fifteenth century. The church was completed about 1540, just in time to be 'cleansed' by the Lords of the Congregation in June 1559 (Powell, 1974, 13). The church underwent repair in 1831 and was extensively overhauled in 1894-96. At this time a valiant attempt was made to repair as much as possible the damage that had been done in 1831 when the choir arch was removed and a screen wall erected one bay to the east. The galleries which had disfigured the east end of the church were taken down and the choir arch was restored (MacDonald, 1932, 74). On plan the church consists of an aisled nave and choir, the latter being apsidal ended with north and south transeptal aisles. A late fifteenth-century western tower originally with a crown steeple guards the entrance to the church,

Chapels: A chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary was located in the Middleraw near the East and Low Ports (Ferguson, 1911, 329). On the other side of the town was a chapel dedicated to St.Ninian, projecting southwards into the street just outside the West Port (Beveridge, 1912, 6). There was a second chapel dedicated to St.Ninian at Blackness (GD 215/1869). An almshouse dating to at least the sixteenth century was located in the Kirkgate and was destroyed during the Cromwellian occupation (Cowan and Easson, 1976, 185).

Friary: An order of Carmelite Friars had established themselves in Linlithgow at least by 1401. The friary is said to have been pulled down on the orders of the Reformers in 1559 (Cowan, 1976, 137). It has been sited at NT 0030 7650 (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference NT 07 NW 7).

Tolbooth: It is impossible to say when the first Tolbooth was built in the burgh. The Pretorium Antiquum Burgi was one of the patrimonies of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church and the earliest extant document relating to the altar is dated 1374 (GD 215/ 1822). The Tolbooth served as part of Cromwell's defences in the 1650s and after the Restoration compensation was granted to the burgh to build a new one. It was rebuilt in 1668-70 and was a three-storeyed structure

with a stair tower and spire added later. A pitched slate roof re-
placed a flat one in 1790 and the Tolbooth suffered fire damage in
1845. The staircase that adorns the front of the building was not
added until 1907 (MacDonald, 1932, 58). Sibbald, writing in 1710,
observed that the Tolbooth was a 'stately fabric' with the sheriffs
and magistrates both keeping their courts in this building (1710, 15).
The structure on the ground floor had accommodation for prisoners and
a weighhouse while the top storey served 'for public feasts and enter-
tainments' (Sibbald, 1710, 15).

Mills: The common mills of Linlithgow first occur on record in 1214
X 1226 when they were granted to the nearby Manuel Priory by Alexander
II (GD 215/1825). The common mills included two on the River Avon and
a third at Ninian's Mill on the Making Burn. In 1718 Ninian's Mill
was leased to a London gentleman by the burgh for the purpose of stam-
ping, dressing and refining metals and minerals (GD/215/1823).

Wells: The fountain which stands in the quadrangle of the palace is
probably the finest pre-Reformation fountain extant in Scotland. Be-
fore the introduction of a modern public water supply at the end of
the nineteenth century Linlithgow relied on its numerous wells to give
a constant supply of excellent water (GD 215/1851). Dog Well was the
oldest of the public wells west of the cross and dates from the fifth
decade of the seventeenth century (GD 215/1851). Lyon Well was erected
by public subscription in the 1760s and Paul's Well and the well at
West Port also date from the eighteenth century (GD 215/1851; 1727).
The Cross Well was built in 1535 and suffered damage during the Crom-
wellian occupation. It was repaired in 1659 but in 1807 a copy of the
original was installed (Powell, 1974, 9). The Cross Well was badly
damaged by a runaway lorry in 1972 and was removed for repairs. Parts
of it are wholly modern. St.Michael's Well, sited at NT 0041 7711,
was built by the town in 1720 (Ordnance Survey Record Cards, Reference
NT 07 NW 38).

Archaeology

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The town centre of modern Linlithgow has developed basically within
the framework of the medieval single street plan with its associated
wynds and back lane. The High Street experienced considerable redevel-
opment in the latter years of the nineteenth century, and more recently
some gap sites on the south side of High Street, have been developed
(see map 2). The major redevelopment in the historic centre, has, how-
ever, taken place on the north side of the High Street west of the
Cross. The Vennel was replanned and rebuilt between 1967 and 1969,
and during the last twelve years, the street frontage and backlands be-
tween NS 998 770 and NS 996 770 have also been completely redeveloped
(see map 2).

Backland properties on both sides of the High Street have undergone
minimal development, mostly through difficulty of access with the Loch
to the north, and the railway on the south. To the north, a new ser-
vice road has been proposed for an at present undefined date through
the backlands between the Old Academy and St.Michael's Church. The
major areas of housing development both proposed and ongoing, lie to
the south of the town and outwith the present area of interest. These
developments, and those examined in slightly greater detail below, con-
stitute the only immediate development affecting the historic centre of
Linlithgow.

Sites under threat

There is no immediate threat to the archaeology of Linlithgow. In the
long term, most development projects are outwith the archaeologically
sensitive areas.

The Regent works (NT 005 771) is scheduled for demolition in the autumn
of 1981 and will be redeveloped subsequently. This area is for the most
part outside the town, although the extreme west of the site (NT 0051
7715) which is at present clear of building, could usefully be observed
as the putative site of the chapel, almshouse and burial ground of the
Blessed Virgin Mary (see page 23). Opportunities may arise to recover
the plan and extent of this small complex.

The District Council has long term plans to acquire backland property

to the north of the High Street and west of the Vennel, with a view
to expanding car parking facilities and initiating other redevelopment.
Such a policy would destroy the remaining property boundaries on this
side of the High Street but may allow the identification of early back-
land usage.

On the south side of the High Street, development of single houses has
been promoted in certain of the long rigs for example, those to the
rear of 209 to 221 High Street (NS 998 769). The value of these sites
is dubious.

Future Investigation

The policies outlined below, are not listed in order of importance, but
are intended to provide guide lines for future research as opportunities
arise through renovation and redevelopment (see page 16 for full discus-
sion).

1. To attempt through excavation to establish the earliest possible
    date for the initial settlement of the burgh.

2. To determine the plan, and establish the physical nature of the
    East and Low Ports.

3. To determine any hitherto unknown variation in street alignment
    and width in the historic centre.

4. To establish the physical nature, plan and disposition of town
    buildings, together with the commercial and industrial usage of
    structures other than dwellings, prior to the sixteenth century.

5. To examine, should the opportunity arise, levels in the vicinity
    of the church with a view to identifying the structural remains
    and plan of any pre-fifteenth century structure.

6. To examine, should the opportunity arise, the localities of the
    minor-religious foundations discussed on page 23 ff with the object
    of confirming the site, plan and chronology of these houses.

7. The Carmelite Friary has been discussed under recommendations (see
    page 12).

8. To identify the course of the Cromwellian and earlier defences and
    any trace of pre-fifteenth century occupation of the Palace.

Areas of Archaeological Priority

The areas of greatest archaeological potential in Linlithgow almost

without exception lie within the conservation area. Intensive re-
development during the last twenty years west of the Cross and north
of the High Street has reduced the opportunities for archaeological in-
vestigation in the historic centre. While much redevelopment took place
along the High Street in the nineteenth century, extensive written and
photographic records remain of pre-existing buildings (see page 20).
Material and structural evidence of the pre-sixteenth century town is
however, relatively rare, as is information concerning the Edwardian
Peel. There are no imminent (June 1981) redevelopment plans for the
historic centre.

1. The proven most ancient part of the town is occupied by the Palace,
    Kirkgate and the Church. Although much disturbance has taken place here,
    through the centuries, the potential of this area remains high. The
    Palace is in guardianship and future development unlikely.

2. The area bounded on the south by the railway, Provost Road to the east,
    Bell's Burn to the north-west, and the property boundary of County Buil-
    dings to the west, has so far been relatively free of twentieth century
    disturbance. The backlands on both sides of the High Street remain un-
    developed and the frontages themselves are relatively free of cellarage.
    Although terracing into the north facing slope on the south side of the
    High Street to accommodate later buildings may have damaged some deposits,
    excavations elsewhere in the town have proved that it is possible to re-
    cover some information from frontage sites (see page 13). Proposals for
    a rear access road through backlands to the north of the High Street (NT
    003 772) and proposed redevelopment of the Regent Works site are in areas
    peripheral to immediate interest, and the implications are discussed on
    pages 9 and 23. However, this area remains one relatively free of modern
    disturbance, and of considerable potential archaeologically.

3. West of the Omnibus depot, with the railway line as its southern limit,
    West Port to the west, and the Loch to the north, is that part of the
    town which has undergone extensive rebuilding and infill development on
    the street frontage. On-going housing development is now occupying the
    foot of the High Street burgages off Union Street and there are proposals
    for further building (see map 2). On the north side of the street, the
    Vennel redevelopment has been built some distance back from the original
    frontage, which may mean that early structural traces survive for future
    investigation. Any further renovation or building replacement proposed
    for the remaining eighteenth and nineteenth century street frontages in
    this area should be closely monitored.

4. The site of the Carmelite Friary.

Recommendations

Much of the High Street frontage and backland west of the Cross has
now been either redeveloped or landscaped, and only limited develop-
ment proposals for the use of the remaining undisturbed backland prop-
erties at some future date remain. Opportunities to examine under-
lying deposits on the High Street frontage are therefore likely to be
limited. However, the need to repair and replace existing structures
and services, and renovate property may provide suitable opportunities
to solve some of the problems discussed on page 16 ff.

a. Proposed renovation of any building on the street frontages
    of anciently established thoroughfares (see page 18), especi-
    ally where structural alteration involves soil disturbance,
    could be usefully monitored. The possibility also exists that
    the structural remains of earlier buildings survive beneath a
    later facade.

b. Any proposed road improvements, repairs to, and extension of
    existing services such as gas, electricity and water involving
    trenching could be profitably monitored, to assess fluctuations
    in street width over the centuries (see page 18).

c. The policy of selective trial trenching already successfully
    employed in the burgh (see page 13) must be continued in the
    face of any future proposed redevelopment.

d. A thorough geophysical survey of the site of the Carmelite Friary
    may provide additional information regarding the extent of the
    Friary enclosure to be held against any future development of
    the site.

PREVIOUS WORK

A number of small excavations have taken place in Linlithgow during
the last twenty years, mostly stimulated by imminent redevelopment.
In 1966, a section of the Palace Peel (NT 001 772) west of the Kirkgate
was excavated in advance of municipal building. The object of the
excavation was to obtain information about the peel constructed for
Edward I, circa 1301-2. In this the excavation was unsuccessful.
However, continuing work did reveal a ditch 20' (6·1m) in width, back-
filled in the eighteenth century, and parallel to this ditch, two phases
of cobbles with adjacent alignments of stones. The latter were

interpreted by the excavators as house footings, and the cobbles probably represented a bridlepath running from the old Watergate at NT 0019 7723, to the Loch. Watergate Lane was closed in 1771 when the Palace keeper laid out gardens on the site. The excavation produced pottery ranging from thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, many seventeenth century tobacco pipe bowls, a late fifteenth century Crossraguel penny and a West Friesland Daaler dated 1611, all of which are in the Palace museum (Laing, 1966-67, 111-147).

A clearance site on the north side of the High Street (NS 998 771) was excavated in 1974. No building remains earlier than the nineteenth century were discovered on the street frontage, though re-used early masonry was found incorporated in a later floor. Beneath the walls of the last nineteenth century building on the site, and cut into the natural sand, were found several late medieval pits. To the rear of the tenement also, a series of intersecting pits were identified, some of which, in the opinion of the excavator, may have been connected with the tanning industry (Brooks, 1974, 67).

In 1977, a gap site now occupied by 223-243 High Street was excavated. A trench was dug at right angles to the street into the vacant plot, and another along the inner pavement edge. Structural remains uncovered in the course of the excavation were chiefly those of seventeenth and nineteenth-century houses and yards. Pottery sherds and pieces of metal work dating probably from the eighteenth century, if not earlier, were recovered from a disturbed pit. An unstratified sixteenth century jetton by Hans Krauwinckel of Nuremberg was the only other find of interest from the site (Caldwell and Stell, 1977, 38).

The site of the Carmelite Friary (NT 0034 7653) was first examined by the then owner in October 1905. At that time, the foundations of some of the buildings were uncovered and a plan made (Ferguson 1905, 332-4). Excavations in 1953 in the area of NT 0034 7653, involved the laying out of trenches across walls known from the previous excavation, to fix the church, and another building previously exposed,on the map. As a result of this exercise, one additional wall, the second cross wall between the choir and the nave, was found. The building has been very thoroughly demolished (see page 25), and stood above the foundations only at one point. Investigation was also undertaken to locate the west and south ranges of the conventual buildings. Traces of the south range were discovered, and two areas of cobbling which were probably the north and

south cloister walk. Within the church, an area at the east end of
the choir was cleared including a small tower at the external north-
east angle. Behind the altar, much debris from the demolition was in
evidence, including friable stained glass (Hunter, 1953, 18).

In addition to the material mentioned above, a number of chance finds
have been made in the town. Many of these finds are unstratified, and
some, particularly those recovered before the nineteenth century, are
also unprovenanced. The artifacts listed below are chiefly those for
which the provenance is known, and which reflect the wide chronological
range of occupation on the site of the present burgh.

1.   A dug-out canoe, probably of Prehistoric date, was found at NT
     0016 7710 during excavation of the foundations of the Sheriff
     Court house about 1863. This is now in the National Museum,
     Edinburgh, (O.S. Record Card NT 07 NW 31).

2.   A Late Bronze Age class IV socketed bronze spearhead was found
     in a modern pit near the south-east corner of the Friary Church
     in 1953 (O.S. Record Card NT 07 NW 71) (NT 0034 7653).

3.   Four sherds of Roman pottery have been found in the town. Two
     mortaria rims and an amphora rim were found immediately north of
     the Palace in 1925. The mortaria were dated by Curle to the
     first century AD, and Laing identifies the amphora as a second
     century type. These are now in the Linlithgow Palace Museum. In
     1862, the neck and mouth of an amphora was found in the course
     of digging a deep grave in the Kirkyard. This sherd is now in
     the National Museum, Edinburgh (Laing, 1861- 62, 398; Laing,
     1968-69, 137; Curle, 1931-32, 353).

4.   A Roman quadrangular bell with four small feet and a diamond shaped
     suspension loop. Found near the Palace. On the basis of comparanda
     from Usk and Fishbourne, the bell probably dates from the first cen-
     tury or earlier. The bell is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh
     (Clarke,1970-71,228).

5.   A hoard of approximately 500 gold and silver coins were found in
     June 1789 by workmen digging for sand in an old house in the High
     Street. It was said that the building belonged to a Mr. Kenmore.
     Wood's plan of Linlithgow marks a householder of that name at NT
     0021 7714 in 1820, and it is possible that this house was the find
     spot. The hoard consisted of 20 gold coins and upwards of 480
     silver coins of the various James's and Henry IV. They were

deposited at some time after 1437, at a depth of circa 4' (1·2m) in an earthenware vessel. The present whereabouts of the coins is uncertain (Metcalfe, 1977, 46; O.S.A. 1795, 571)

6. A hoard of 194 sixteenth century coins were found in 1910 in a garden at 354 High Street (NS 9969 7709) circa 4' (1·2m) below the surface. Two coins were of silver, the remainder of billon. The poor preservation of the latter made only a generalized classification possible, but the hoard, which had been contained in a leather bag or purse, consisted of two groats, 50 placks, 141 bawbees and 1 nonsunt of Henry VIII, James' IV and V, Mary and Francis, and Mary. The coins were concealed probably not long after 1559, the date of the latest piece contained. The present whereabouts of this collection is uncertain (McDonald, 1909-10, 352-353; Metcalf, 1977, 51).

7. A hoard of circa 400 coins was found in 1963 beneath 376 High Street (NS 9963 7705). The coins were mainly billon placks of James' IV and V with 30 base pennies and 11 silver coins varying from Edward III of England to James V. The date of deposition was probably circa 1530. The present whereabouts of the bulk of this hoard is not known, although some selected coins from it may be held in the National Museum, Edinburgh, (Stevenson, 1963, 51; Metcalf, 1977, 50; Anon, 1963-64, 256).

8. A number of incomplete late medieval altar retables were recovered from the floor of St.Michael's Church during renovation work early this century. All the stones belonged to 'passion' sets, representing the events leading to the crucifixion of Christ. Their damaged condition was probably due to the iconoclasm of the Reformation (Richardson, 1927-28, 203).

9. A large number of unstratified objects and a quantity of pottery sherds representing finds made during the last few centuries while landscaping the peel, particularly north of the Palace, are held in the Palace Museum and the National Museum, Edinburgh. For the most part these artifacts date from the time during which the Palace was in occupation, from 1425 to 1746. There are too many finds to be listed here, but the decorative nature and diversity of many of the objects coupled with the European origin of some, indicate the richness of the Palace, and the wealth of trade in the period indicated. For further information consult the following references, (Laing, 1861-62, 98; MacDonald, 1926-27, 15; Laing, 1968-69,

134-145).

10. Human bones were found in 1902 at NS 9960 7709. The find was not apparently published and no further information is available (O.S. Record Card NS 97 NE 11). (see page 24).

11. A number of substantial water pipes in lead and earthenware have been found at various times from the mid-nineteenth century to 1981 in the Kirkgate and south of the High Street. These are thought to have conducted water to the Palace. Some examples are held in the Palace Museum (Ferguson, 1910, 245; Waldie, 1894, 113; ex inf. Miss D. Haas).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Early Settlement

Although there are a small number of stray Prehistoric and Roman finds from the town, there is no structural evidence of even temporary settlement in these periods. The promontory into the loch provided an ideally defensible site, with some modification to the natural gravel mound, for the early defended manor which is known to have existed in 1143 (see page 26). It was most probably the development of this manor which provided the impetus to settlement which developed apace with the increasing importance of the later Edwardian castle and fifteenth century Palace.

Excavations carried out in the town to date, have provided no stratified material evidence earlier than the thirteenth century (Laing, 1966-67 129), and no identifyable structural evidence earlier than the seventeenth century (Caldwell and Stell, 1977, 38).

The Town Walls and Ports

As in the great majority of Scottish Medieval Burghs, the town walls of Linlithgow consisted basically of a strong dyke at the foot of burgage plots through which property holders had access to the back lane and tail rigs by way of a secure door. The object of enclosing town property in this way was threefold, firstly to prevent the evasion of petty customs duty levied on goods entering the burgh at the town port, secondly, to provide some measure of security for the towns folk and their property against vagrants and other undesirables, and thirdly, to exclude travellers in times of epidemic disease. It was the responsibility of the property holder to build a wall sufficiently high to make illegal

access difficult and to maintain it, a responsibility, as the burgh records show, which was often neglected.

The town wall could be seen in 1914 from 'Mr. Woodcock's' garden, west to Mr. Roy's coal yard' (Beveridge, 1914, 10). Comparison of nineteenth century cartographic sources suggests that the railway, which was opened in 1842, cut across the middle of the backlands to the south of the High Street in the east, until it coalesced with Dog Well Wynd and the town wall, when the line of the railway absorbed the wall and the old back lane which would have stood approximately in the centre of the present track (Wood, 1820; O.S. 25" 1855), (see map 3). There is no authenticated stretch of the original wall standing today on the south side of the High Street. The loch must have afforded adequate security for the burgages to the north of the High Street, perhaps with the exception of the property immediately east of the West port, which has now been developed, and that property between the Cross eastwards to the Bell Burn, which probably had a substantial foot dyke.

Three ports are recorded at Linlithgow. The east port, which stood at the east end of the Star and Garter Hotel (NT 0049 7712) was connected by a short curtain wall with the Low East Port (NT 0049 7715) which stood to the north on the Blackness Road. A narrow vennel joined the Blackness and Edinburgh roads on the east side of the wall, and on the west side, between the two ports, and running westwards probably as far as the present station entrance (NT 0046 7713), the High Street was narrowed by a line of buildings known as the 'Middleraw'(Beveridge, 1914, 9). This arrangement existed at the east port from at least the sixteenth century, until some time between 1773 (Armstrong) and 1820 (Wood), by which time both the 'Middleraw'and the gates had apparently been cleared.

At the west end of the High Street (NS 9960 7703) stood an arched gateway which provided access to the burgh from the west. This gate was removed in the course of town improvements in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century which also involved the lowering of the road at NS 996 770 leaving West Port House standing some way above the road. The narrowness of the road in the nineteenth century in front of the present Sheriff Court building, led some early writers to conclude that this was the site of an earlier West Port (Beveridge, 1914, 11). However, the same writer points out that many burghers were given permission to construct an outside stair projecting into the roadway, or to erect booths on the pavement, which led future proprietors to advance the frontage of

the building into the street. This is the most probable cause of constriction at this point.

The line of the enclosing town wall is known, and reflected in the present property boundaries to the north and south of the High Street. With the exception of those areas already indicated, the main area of interest relating to the town 'defences' lies in identifying the exact nature of the town ports. A deeper examination of the burgh records than is possible in the time available here, together with examination, in the case of the East and Low Ports, of the stratigraphy below the present road surface, could together provide a valuable insight into the arrangements for street closure, the physical nature of the gate, and its relationship with the adjacent town buildings. The lowering of the road surface at the West Port mentioned above, suggests that the site of this gate is a dubious source of information. The site of the East and Low Ports, however, seem to have suffered less disturbance, and may provide a greater degree of information.

The Town Plan

The recent housing redevelopment apart, the buildings of Linlithgow still follow essentially the street alignment and plan of the medieval burgh.

The High Street remains the main thoroughfare of the present town. In the eighteenth century, this street was a meandering ribbon development approximately ¾ of a mile long which fluctuated in width, the broadest point of which was approaching the cross from the east. In the sixteenth century the building line was very irregular, in many places buildings had encroached on the line of the old street. Permission to construct either an outer stair or a booth projecting into the roadway led subsequent proprietors to claim the right to advance the frontage of the building onto the street (Beveridge, 1914, 11). In other cases, houses stood far back in their yards, for example, a sixteenth-century building on the site of 213-221, High Street was situated in this way. The ground, with a retaining wall, rising several feet above the street level, while the house stood far back on the slope of the present garden (Beveridge, 1914, 13). At the East Port the street was narrowed by a line of buildings forming a 'gushet between the East and Low Ports',and which ran westwards as far as the Station entrance. This group appears on a map of 1773 (Armstrong) but had been removed by 1820 (Wood). Over the last twenty years, the building line on the north side of High Street

between the Cross and the West Port has receded from its original line and development has taken place mainly on erstwhile backland areas.

From the High Street running to the backlands from the north and south, a number of wynds developed. The old Watergate ran in the sixteenth century westwards from the Kirkgate and followed part of the southern line of the Edwardian fortifications, down to the lochside. The street was closed effectively by the erection of a house across the entrance, and the laying out of gardens circa 1771, when the new Watergate was opened.

The Kirkgate, connecting the Palace with the market place, has remained virtually unchanged since the sixteenth century, except that the width was reduced in the seventeenth century with the construction of the Townhouse which encroached upon it by circa 8' (2·4m). The main entrance to the Palace was before the reign of James V (in 1534 or 1535) to the east of the Kirkgate (see page 27). However, the existence of the Kirkgate in the early sixteenth century is attested by the fact that James IV is recorded as having made purchases from Cremars trading in it, and it probably served as access to the parish church (Ferguson, 1910, 115).

St.Michael's (or Easter) Wynd, (NT 004 770), can also be traced back to the sixteenth century. The course of this street was diverted to the station entrance between 1838 and 1842 with the building of the Railway Embankment, having previously run southwards up the hill, to a postern in the town wall (Beveridge, 1914, 9).

Oliphant's Vennel ran in the sixteenth century down to the Loch, from the High Street and was a somewhat flexible passage, as when street fronting property was being rebuilt, the point of access shifted according to the building design. For most of the seventeenth century, Dog Well Wynd was not a public thoroughfare, but a convenient point of access to the road at the back of the town, through a derelict street fronting property (NT 001 770). In 1692, the then owner of the property threatened closure of the path to the public which was then acquired by the burgh. Beveridge (1914, 7) claims that a wynd on the north side of the High Street opposite Dog Well Wynd and going down to the old bleaching green by the Loch, was also known in the early records as the Dog Well Wynd.

The Lion Well Wynd (NS 999 770) was opened on the south side of the

High Street in 1750, and New Well Wynd (NS 997 769) in 1795. The
wynds at the south side of the High Street mostly provided access
to the South Vennel; a road at the yard heads, which was largely
destroyed by the railway in the mid-nineteenth century (see page 17).
East, west communications on the south side of the town were sub-
sequently maintained by a new road , Royal Terrace, with attendant
Victorian villa development on the old burgh tail rigs.

Recent development has largely destroyed the old access routes be-
tween the Loch and the High Street west of the Cross, and substituted
new entries into the re-planned scheme (NT 000 771 and NS 996 770).
South of the High Street,local authority housing development in the
last fifty years, has also intruded new roads into the original fron-
tage, as for example St. John's Avenue, (NS 997 770).

Early Buildings and Materials

Comprehensive burgh records from the seventeenth century onwards,
coupled with a lack of development in the historic centre of Linlith-
gow until the latter part of the nineteenth century, have combined to
give a good literary and photographic record of buildings in Linlith-
gow dated as early as the late fifteenth and sixteenth century.

In common with most other Scottish burghs, town buildings before this
date were probably constructed almost entirely in wood, with the ex-
ception of churches, chapels, public buildings and the houses of the
more wealthy populace. By 1560, building in stone had become common
practice (Beveridge, 1914, 14), but though the more important town
buildings were slated, straw and turf divots cut from the burgh muir
were the most common roofing materials. The mid-seventeenth century
saw perhaps the worst destruction of town property since the disastrous
fires of 1411 and 1424. In 1644, the town magistrates drew up a list
of old and defective houses and took steps to enforce immediate repairs.
By 1647, however, some town buildings had become sufficiently ruinous
to warrant demolition (Beveridge, 1914, 55-56), a programme continued
by Oliver Cromwell in 1650, when, in order to acquire materials for
the construction of the Palace defences, and to secure the strategic
advantages of his new stronghold, he demolished all the property in
the Kirkgate, and several public buildings (see page 27). Beveridge,
(1914,62) claimed that nearly half the town had been rebuilt before
1700, but the majority of the surviving sixteenth and seventeenth cen-
tury buildings were demolished in the late nineteenth and early twen-
tieth centuries. A few, however, survive, 40 to 48, High Street date

from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and were built
by the Hamiltons of Pardovan and Humbie (RCAHMS, 1939, 217). West
Port House (NS 9965 7703) was completed by 1600, but it is possible
that the street fronting block of this L-shaped building was earlier,
as a blocked gun-loop and windows are visible on this front.

A comprehensive photographic record of demolished late sixteenth and
seventeenth century buildings is maintained in the National Buildings
record in the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments in
Edinburgh. Buildings such as the late sixteenth and early seventeenth
century tenements at 120-122, 174-176, 244, 249-255, 287 and 289 High
Street have been swept away since the beginning of this century, as
have buildings such as, Cunzie House (NT 0017 7715) which stood on the
site of the fifteenth century Linlithgow Mint (Dakers, 1935-36, 205;
Lindsay, 1845, 27). Modern shops now stand on this site, but during
improvements previous to the rebuilding, crucibles were found here.

Until demolition in 1885, a town house dating from the late fifteenth
or early sixteenth century, which probably had been the property of the
Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, occupied the site pre-
sently held by a large nineteenth century redevelopment on the south
side of the High Street (NT 004 771). The house consisted of a number
of buildings ranged around two courts. Access between the courts was
maintained by an arched way beneath the square tower (Waldie, 1894, 12;
MacDonald, 1932, 56). A photograph taken circa 1845, (and now in the
Print Room of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery), by the Edinburgh
photographer D.O. Hill, clearly shows the tower (ex.inf. Miss S.F. Ste-
venson).

Some evidence is forthcoming from documentary sources as to the usage
of town buildings other than as dwelling houses from the sixteenth cen-
tury onwards. Weaving was a popular trade from the mid-seventeenth cen-
tury, and houses such as that on the site of 287 High Street, were occu-
pied by persons employed in this trade. Dyeing was also a popular trade,
but in terms of physical evidence, shoemakers' premises are the most
likely to provide the necessary information. Until 1620, Cordwainers,
each prepared their own leather which suggests the existence of numerous
tanning pits previous to this date. The poor quality of the leather pro-
duced, led to the establishment of a separate tanning industry in Linlith-
gow, and a decline in the shoemaking industry in the later seventeenth
century (Beveridge, 1914, 42). Excavations on the north side of the High

Street (NS 998 771) in 1974 (see page 13), identified a series of medieval pits which were probably connected with the tanning industry.

Future investigation in the burgh should follow established patterns and aims in advance of proposed renovation and redevelopment programmes. Excavations have in the past proved it possible to identify seventeenth century structural remains (see page 13) and though traces of earlier buildings may not be recoverable having been destroyed by the more substantial foundations necessary for stone buildints on a sand subsoil, the immediate backland areas could provide valuable information on the socio-economic and industrial status of the inhabitants.

The Church (NT 0023 7728)

David I (1124-53) in grants made to the Priory of St.Andrews, gifted the church of Linlithgow, 'with its chapels and lands, as well within the burgh as without' (Waldie, 1894, 29). This is one of the earliest mentions of a church in the town. The twelfth century church, about which little is known, was replaced by a new building, dedicated and opened in 1242 on the same site as its predecessor. This building recorded in Boyamund's Roll in the latter part of the thirteenth century (Dowden, 1907-8, 47) was in the early fourteenth century incorporated in the Peel of Edward I and temporarily in use as a garrison store. The present church is the result of the destruction by fire of the thirteenth century building in 1424. Building work continued through the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, and the resulting structure is described on page 7. Subsequent alterations and additions to the fabric are well documented and obvious (RCAHMS, 1929, 213-215).

It is very probable that all traces of the earliest churches have now been destroyed in the course of building renewal and internal alterations over the centuries, burials, and the installation of heating systems in the church. There is no very clear idea of the extent and plan of the twelfth and thirteenth century churches, and whether the earlier plan was enclosed by the fifteenth century building is unknown. Restoration work in 1894-96 entailed the construction of a vestry on the site of the sacristy, and the only remaining building connected with the pre-Reformation church the site of which is known, is the Vicar's house which stood by the south wall of the churchyard on the site of the burgh school or county hall (Waldie, 1894, 30). In view of the lack of knowledge of the early buildings on this site, any future proposed work inside or immediately outside the present church could be profitably monitored in the hope of identifying extant early masonry incorporated

in the present church, or the plan of earlier free-standing buildings.

Minor Religious Foundations in the Burgh

A number of chapels and almshouses, some of indeterminate function, were established in Linlithgow in the sixteenth century. The sites of some of these buildings and their graveyards can be placed exactly, while the positions of others are rather more ambiguous.

1. The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the hospital with which it was associated, lay outside the East and Low Ports of the burgh. Beveridge,(1914, 9) claimed that the narrow vennel to the immediate rear of the curtain wall linking the two ports, formed the western boundary of the chapel, which, with its burial ground to the east known as 'Fare-you-well yard', was on a site occupied in 1914 by a cycle shop and yard, back to the boundary of the Regent factory (NT 0051 7715). The almshouse was founded as a result of a grant by Henry de Levingston in 1496. An entry in the town council minutes in 1637, however, records the council disposing of an old place in the Low Port 'whilk was of old the townes almous house, now demolischit' (Waldie, 1894, 126). There is no real evidence as to the extent and plan of the almshouse and chapel, or their relationship to each other. Later building may have destroyed any surviving evidence, but the proposed redevelopment of the Regent factory site may allow the degree of survival of archaeological deposits in the vicinity of the East Port to be established (see page 9).

2. The Ordnance Survey record an Almshouse on the west side of the Kirkgate (NT 001 772), which may be identified with that recorded in existence in Linlithgow before 1448. Its presence is recorded in 1578, and it apparently continued to function until the Cromwellian refortification of the peel in the seventeenth century, when most of the Kirkgate was levelled (O.S. Record Card NT 07 NW 28). The exact site of this house is not known, and in the light of the frequent rebuilding which has taken place on the west side of this street, remains may not now exist. Any future improvements to properties here, could, however, be usefully monitored.

3. At the West Port of the burgh (NS 9960 7703), St. Ninian's Chapel stood to the north, and projected southwards into the street. The Bo'ness Road, approaching the port from the north, was bifurcated by the chapel and its burial ground, and joined the main street at two points outside the gate. Ferguson (1905, 139) claimed that one of the earliest references

made to the chapel occurred in the reign of Edward I which implies
an early foundation. One of the last mentions of the building as a
functioning religious house, occurs in the treasurer's accounts in
1507, recording donations to the Chapel of St.Ninian (Waldie, 1894,45).
It had effectively ceased its religious function by the 1560s, and in
1562, it was feued by the burgh, to whom it belonged, to James Hamil-
ton of the West Port, The charter disposing of it describes the chapel
as having at that date been for many years in ruins.

Of its subsequent history, little is known, and by 1795, there was no
trace of the chapel (OSA, 1795, 569), although Wilson Dougal (1910,24)
claimed that several stones from this building were to be seen incor-
porated in a wall 'at one side of the Bo'ness Road' Recent fieldwork
provided no certain identification of these stones. The plan of the
chapel and its graveyard are not known, and improvements which took
place at the West Port at the end of the eighteenth century (see page
17) involving the lowering of the street, may have removed all trace
of the site. However, human bones found at NS 9960 7709 in 1902 (O.S.
Record Card NS 97 NE 11) may cautiously be considered as from the site
of the graveyard, though the records relating to this find were des-
troyed in enemy action during the 1939-45 war, and the date of depo-
sition is not certain.

Future roadworks here, and proposals for redevelopment on the site of
the old fire station, could usefully be observed to assess the survival
of archaeological deposits in this disturbed area.

The Augustinian Friary

Cowan and Easson have recorded royal donations to a house of Augustinian
Friars in Linlithgow made between September and December 1503. Although
two grants of £7 'to thair bigging' are made, there is no other evidence
to indicate that the order actually settled here.(Cowan & Easson,1976,141).

A Dominican Friary. A house of Black Friars was thought to have existed
in the east part of the town. Cowan and Easson (1976,122) were dubious
as to the authenticity of two documents dated 1294 and 1348 referring
to the Black Friars of Linlithgow, however, references are made in 1451
and 1453 to a croft held on lease by the Friars Preachers of the town,
and in 1503, a payment is recorded 'to the Blak Freris of Linlithgow'.
While it is possible that these references are transcription errors and
refer to the White Friars discussed on page 25, it is possible that a
Dominican House existed in Linlithgow for a short period, though there
is no evidence as to the site of this Friary.

The Carmelite Friary (NT 0030 7650)

There is some doubt as to the actual date of foundation of this house. Spottiswood attributed the foundation to the burgesses of Linlithgow in 1290. Brockie, on the other hand suggested a date of 1280, quoting a reference to the foundation of a Carmelite House in a letter of that date. Cowan and Easson (1976,137)consider this document of doubtful authenticity, and it seems more likely that the house was founded in 1401 when an indenture made in that year, testifies that Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith gave land to the Carmelites for the construction of conventual buildings and a garden. Little is known of the subsequent history of the Friary,except that it was probably razed to the foundations by the reforming zeal of Lord James Stewart, the Earl of Argyle and John Knox in an iconoclastic march from Perth to Edinburgh in 1559 (Eyre-Todd, 1923, 276). Certainly, no traces of the house remained in 1795 (OSA, 1795, 569), and travellers passing through the burgh in the earlier part of that century, also commented on the complete disappearance of the Friary.

The house and lands, occupied a considerable area to the south of the burgh. Excavations in 1905 and 1953 recovered the plan of the church and some conventual buildings (see page 13). The site of the well used by the Friars is known (NT 0024 7676), as also is that of the Teind barn said to have been erected by the Friars. 18 to 20, Strawberry Bank (NT 0022 7698), eighteenth century buildings now demolished, occupied the reputed site of the barn; a stone inscribed [1584 H.D.] was incorporated in the west wall of the cottages and may have come from the earlier building, this was lying in the garden of 17, Strawberry Bank in the 1960s.

The Friary site may in future be under threat, planning permission has at present been refused for development, but a reversal of this decision would require re-examination of the importance of the site, and a decision made as to whether to undertake further excavation to establish the total area occupied by the conventual buildings and any enclosing wall, or, alternatively, simply to maintain a watching brief as development progresses.

The Early Castle and the Later Defences

The present Palace and its antecedents were built on a natural gravel mound forming a promontory into the Loch. The great house standing on the Peel today was begun in 1425, and although it fell into decay

circa 1650, it remained in sporadic use until it was severely damaged
by fire in 1746. It is the structures which occupied the mound before
1425 which are of interest here.

Excavation and landscaping on the Peel indicate that the Palace is
built on forced soil which increases in depth towards the north re-
quiring considerable underbuilding in that quarter of the Palace.
Indeed, at its north-east extremity, undisturbed sub-soil lies at a
depth of 28' (8·5m) below the level of the enceinte, and the foun-
dation courses are some 11' (3·0m) below this. Some of this accumu-
lation may be the result of landscaping in the nineteenth century,
when much soil was removed from the top of the Peel and deposited
by means of a miniature railway on the edge of the Loch.

A lordship of Linlithgow existed as early as 1143, when a charter of
David I confirmed to the church of Holyrood skins from the sheep in
his castle of Linlithgow, (Waldie, 1894, 29). Two charters of Malcolm
IV were signed at Linlithgow, as also were charters issued by William
the Lion which would imply the existence of a formal residence, by
this date. In the late thirteenth century, a letter of John Bishop
of Liege uses the phrase 'mansum de Linlithcu situm in Scotia', man-
sum can be loosely translated as a country house with a portion of
land attached to it (Ferguson, 1910, 6), and it was probably this
'house' which yielded to Edward I in 1296 (Seton, 1818, 45). In 1301,
Edward threw up a Peel at Linlithgow, consisting of a 'pele', or pali-
sade, presumably enclosing the earlier defences and church. This early
Edwardian fortification was probably of timber. On the journey from
Berwick on Tweed to Linlithgow, Edward purchased hammers, chisels,
picks and various pieces of iron, presumably to be employed in the
building of the Peel. In 1302, he issued a mandate commanding the
Sheriff of Northumberland to send to the master of works at Linlithgow,
thirty of the best carpenters he could find, and by September of that
same year, there only remained fourteen perches of Peel and six bre-
tasches to complete. The stockading was further strengthened with
stones, and an external ditch was excavated (Ferguson, 1910, 16). The
actual extent of the Edwardian Peel is now unclear, but it probably
included the high ground upon which the present Palace ruins and parish
church are situated. It was hoped that excavations to the west of
the Kirkgate in 1966 (see page 12) would define the limits of the
fortification in this area, but the results were disappointing.

However, the upper limit of the Peel defences may be assumed to have run to the south approximately along the line now occupied by the main entrance to the castle erected by James V in circa 1535. On either side of this gateway may be traced provision for the gaffs of a drawbridge indicating the presence of a ditch in front (RCAHMS, 1929, 220). Before circa 1535, the main approach to the castle was a road leading from the High Street, swinging eastwards in front of the townhouse, skirting the east end of the church and graveyard, to the east wall of the Palace (op.cit.)

After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell during the period 1650-51, sur-rounded the Palace and church with a deep fosse and rampart. The wall was built from the east and west ends of the parish church or the churchyard, to the Loch behind it, thus converting a large proportion of the King's Park into a stronghold. The materials for this wall were obtained from the houses in the Kirkgate, the town hall, the ancient burgh hospital and the pre-Reformation manse. The old Water-gate, closed in the eighteenth century and the subject of excavations in 1966 (see page 12), was said to form the southern limit of both the Edwardian defences of 1301, and those of Cromwell which it is said followed the same line (Beveridge, 1914, 8). The ditch identified in the excavations west of the Kirkgate in 1966, may possibly represent the line of these fortifications, but there is insufficient conclusive evidence for certainty. A ditch of similar dimensions to that describ-ed on page 12, was identified at NT 005 772 at the rear of Webster's tyrepark on the west side of the Bo'ness Road in 1973, and may be re-lated to the Cromwellian fortifications but again, the evidence is in-conclusive. The site was landscaped early in 1974, and no further sightings of the ditch were recorded (Price, 1973, 59).

The remnants of the Cromwellian fortifications were still to be seen in 1840 (Waldie, 1894, 113) though they had mainly been removed in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1663, the Privy Council empowered the Earl of Linlithgow to authorise the town officers to appoint a suffic-ient number of people to effect the demolition of the said fortificat-ions (Ferguson, 1910, 212).

Traces of terracing and some banks survive in the Peel park, notably on the east side of the Palace. It is difficult to establish the chronology of these mounds and terraces, as no recorded archaeological investigation has taken place, and overall later building and landscap-ing has effected considerable disturbance. The depth of forced soil

on the Peel, mentioned above, may have protected some early struc-
tural traces connected with the time of Edward I or earlier, but
no conclusions can be drawn on the present thin evidence. The Peel
park is in the conservation area and not threatened by redevelop-
ment, any future investigation should be directed towards identi-
fying the course of the Cromwellian and earlier defences, and traces
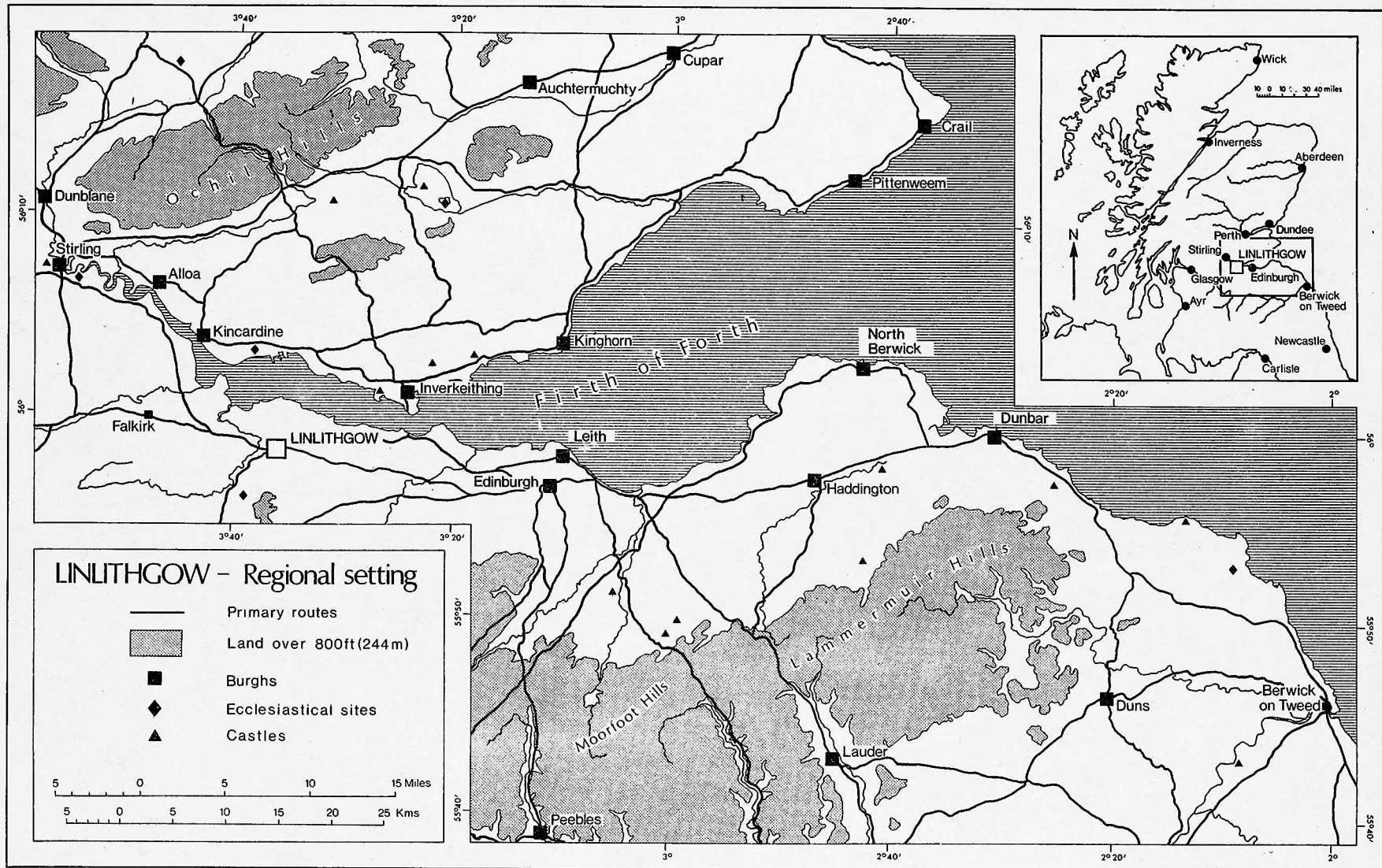of pre-fifteenth century occupation of the site.

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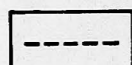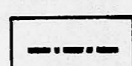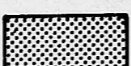
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LINLITHGOW – Regional setting

Primary routes

Land over 800ft (244m)

Burghs

Ecclesiastical sites

Castles

5 0 5 10 15 Miles

5 0 5 10 15 20 25 Kms

Dunblane
Stirling
Alloa
Kincardine
Falkirk
LINLITHGOW
Edinburgh
Leith
Inverkeithing
Kinghorn
Auchtermuchty
Cupar
Crail
Pittenweem
North Berwick
Dunbar
Haddington
Duns
Lauder
Peebles
Berwick on Tweed

Ochil Hills
Firth of Forth
Lammermuir Hills
Moorfoot Hills

3°40′   3°20′   3°   2°40′

56°10′
56°

3°40′   3°20′

55°50′
55°40′

3°   2°40′   2°20′   2°

Wick
Inverness
Aberdeen
Perth
Dundee
Stirling
LINLITHGOW
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Ayr
Berwick on Tweed
Newcastle
Carlisle

10 0 10 20 30 40 miles

N

Map 1

LINLITHGOW

Map 3

Listed buildings, all categories

Limit of conservation area

Limit of town in 1820

Site of chapel

★ Site of town ports

● Well, 19th century or earlier

Archaeological find spot

Site of archaeological excavation
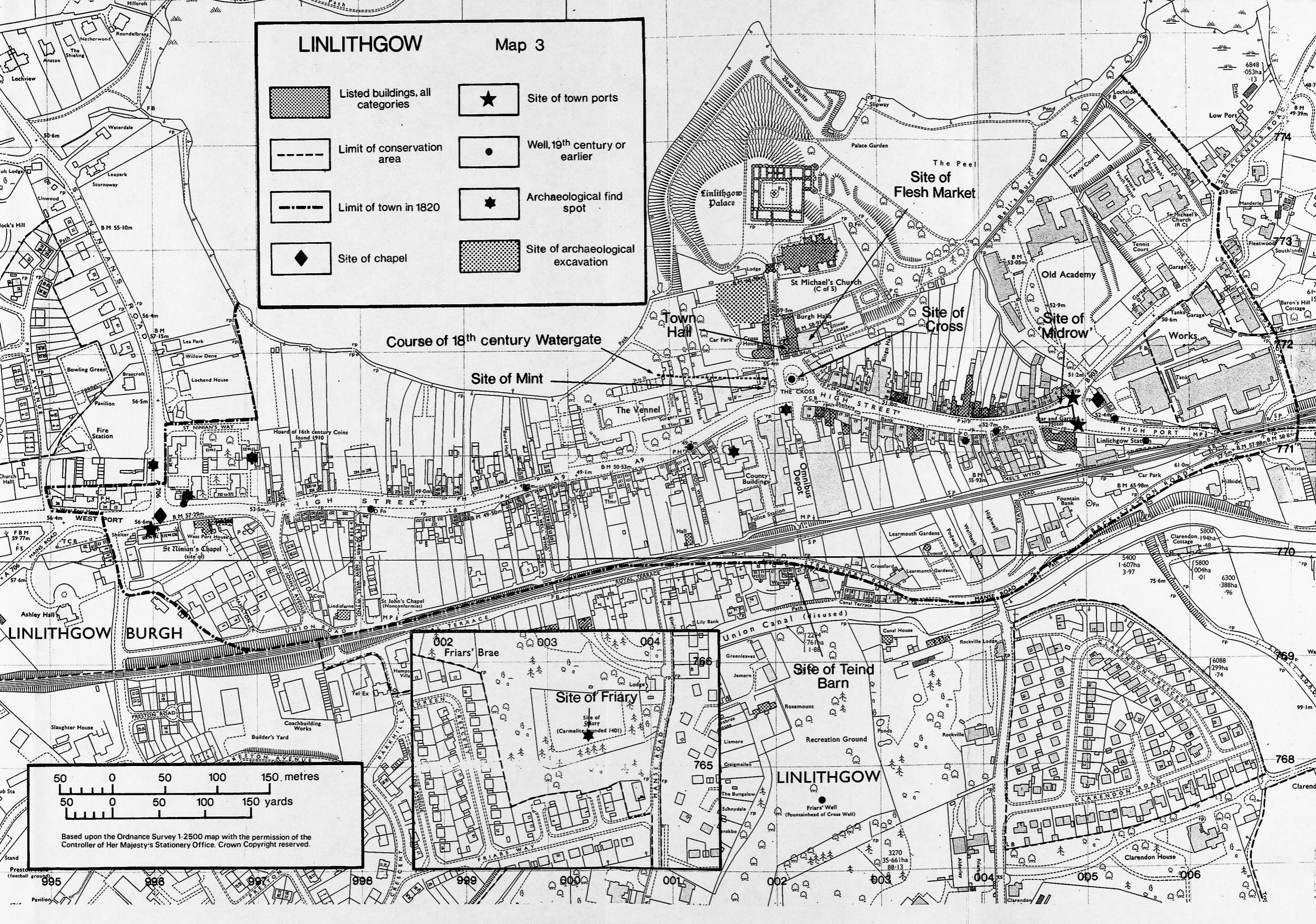
Course of 18th century Watergate

Site of Mint

Site of Cross

Town Hall

Site of Flesh Market

Site of Midrow

Linlithgow Palace

St Michael's Church (C of S)

Burgh Halls

The Peel

Palace Garden

Old Academy

St Michael's Church (R C)

Works

Linlithgow Station

The Vennel

County Buildings

Omnibus Depot

Police Station

Hoard of 16th century Coins found 1910

St Ninian's Way

St Ninian's Chapel (site of)

West Port

West Port House

Fire Station

Bowling Green

Pavilion

HIGH STREET

HIGH PORT

KEL'S WYND

Fountain Bank

Learmouth Gardens

Clarendon Cottage

LINLITHGOW BURGH

St John's Chapel (Nonconformist)

Royal Terrace

Canal Terrace

Union Canal (disused)

Canal House

Rockville Lodge

Site of Teind Barn

LINLITHGOW

Friars' Well (Fountainhead of Cross Well)

Recreation Ground

Site of Friary

Site of Friary (Carmelite founded 1401)

Friars' Brae

002   003   004

766

765

Friars' Way

Slaughter House

Coachbuilding Works

Builder's Yard

PRESTON ROAD

PRESTON AVENUE

Clarendon House

Clarendon Crescent

| 50 | 0 | 50 | 100 | 150 metres |
| 50 | 0 | 50 | 100 | 150 yards |

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774

773

772

771

770

769

768

995   996   997   998   999   000   001   002   003   004   005   006

LINLITHGOW Map 2

Areas of Archaeological Priority — 1-4

Demolished property

Areas effectively re-developed

Areas proposed for re-development

Buildings cut in

Frontages with cellars

Car parks

The Rickle

Linlithgow Palace

The Peel

1

St Michael's Church (C of S)

Old Academy

2

Burgh Halls

Ellnor Cottage

Lodge

Cross House

THE CROSS

HIGH STREET

The Vennel

ST NINIAN'S WAY

Star and Garter Hotel

Linlithgow Station

County Buildings

Police Station

Car Park

Auction Mart

Fountain Bank

Hall

3

1

St Ninian's Chapel (site of)

HIGH STREET

WEST PORT

West Port Hotel

West Port House

A 706

A 9

St John's Chapel (Nonconformist)

Lindisfarne

LINLITHGOW BURGH

Learmouth Gardens

Strawberry Bank

Avon Place

Royal Terrace

Lily Bank

Union Canal (disused)

Canal Terrace

Canal House

Greenleaves

Rosemount

Recreation Ground

LINLITHGOW

Friars' Well (Fountainhead of Cross Well)

Inset:
002 Friars' Brae 003 004

766

4 Site of Friary (Carmelite-founded 1401)

Lodge

765

Rosemount

The Bungalow

Sunnydale

FRIARS WAY

MANSE ROAD

Slaughter House

Builder's Yard

Coachbuilding Works

PRESTON ROAD

PRESTON AVENUE

Club Sta

Stand

Pavilion

Preston (football ground)

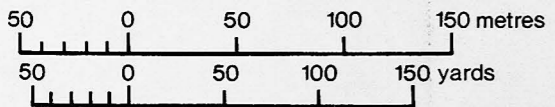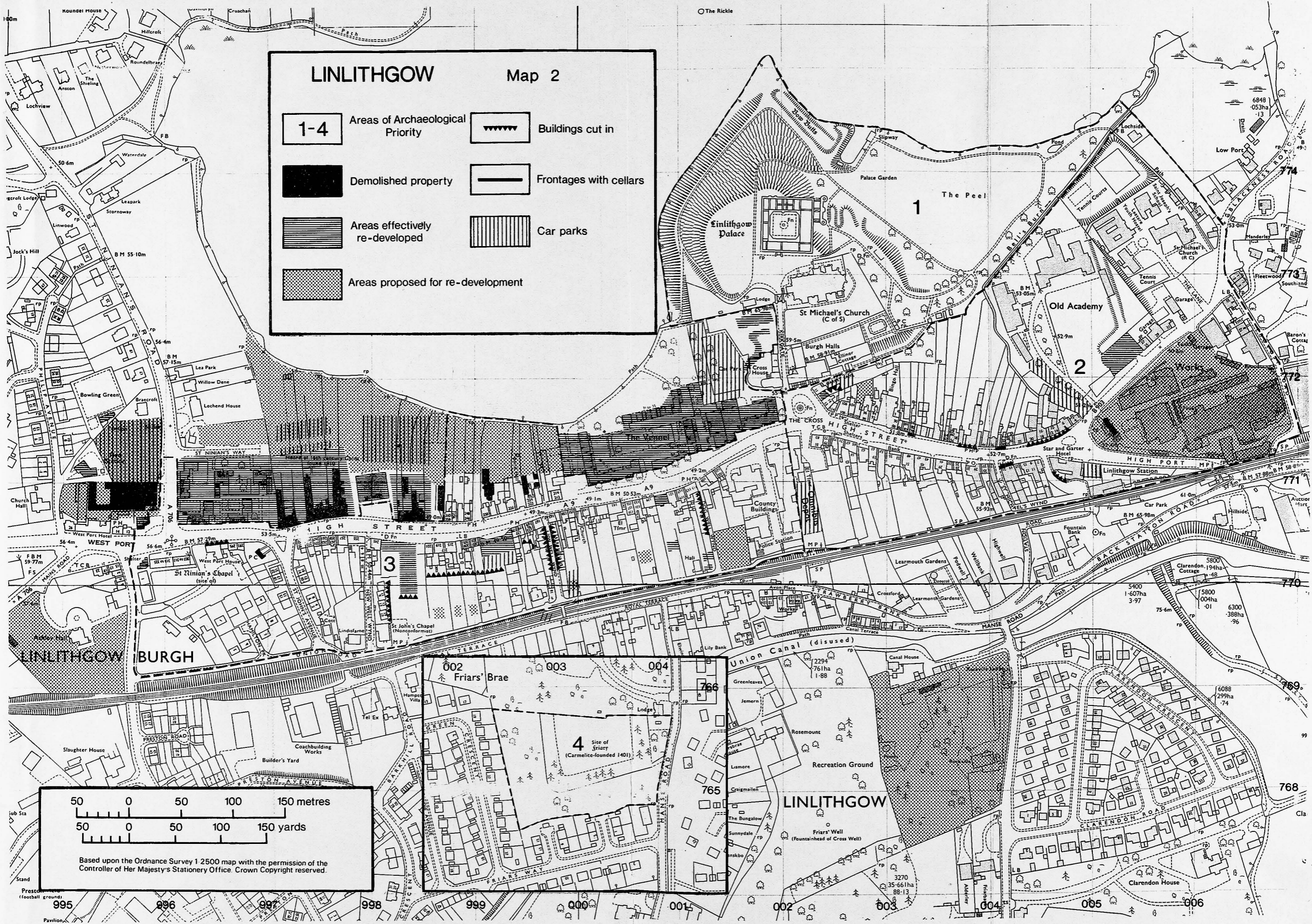### Scale:
50 0 50 100 150 metres
50 0 50 100 150 yards

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Roundel House

Cruachan

Hillcroft

Anson

The Shieling

Lochview

Waterdale

Leapark

Stornoway

Linwood

Jock's Hill

Tennis Courts

Bowling Green

Bracroft

Lochend House

Church Hall

MAINS ROAD

ST JOHN'S AVENUE

WELL WYND

BACK STATION ROAD

BLACKNESS ROAD

Low Port

Fleetwood

Southland

Baron's Cottage

Clarendon Cottage

Clarendon Road

Clarendon House

995 996 997 998 999 000 001 002 003 004 005 006

774 773 772 771 770 769 768 766 765