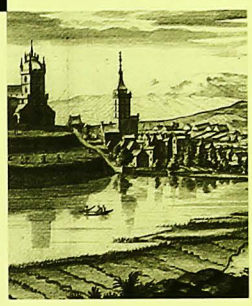
Historic Linlithgow

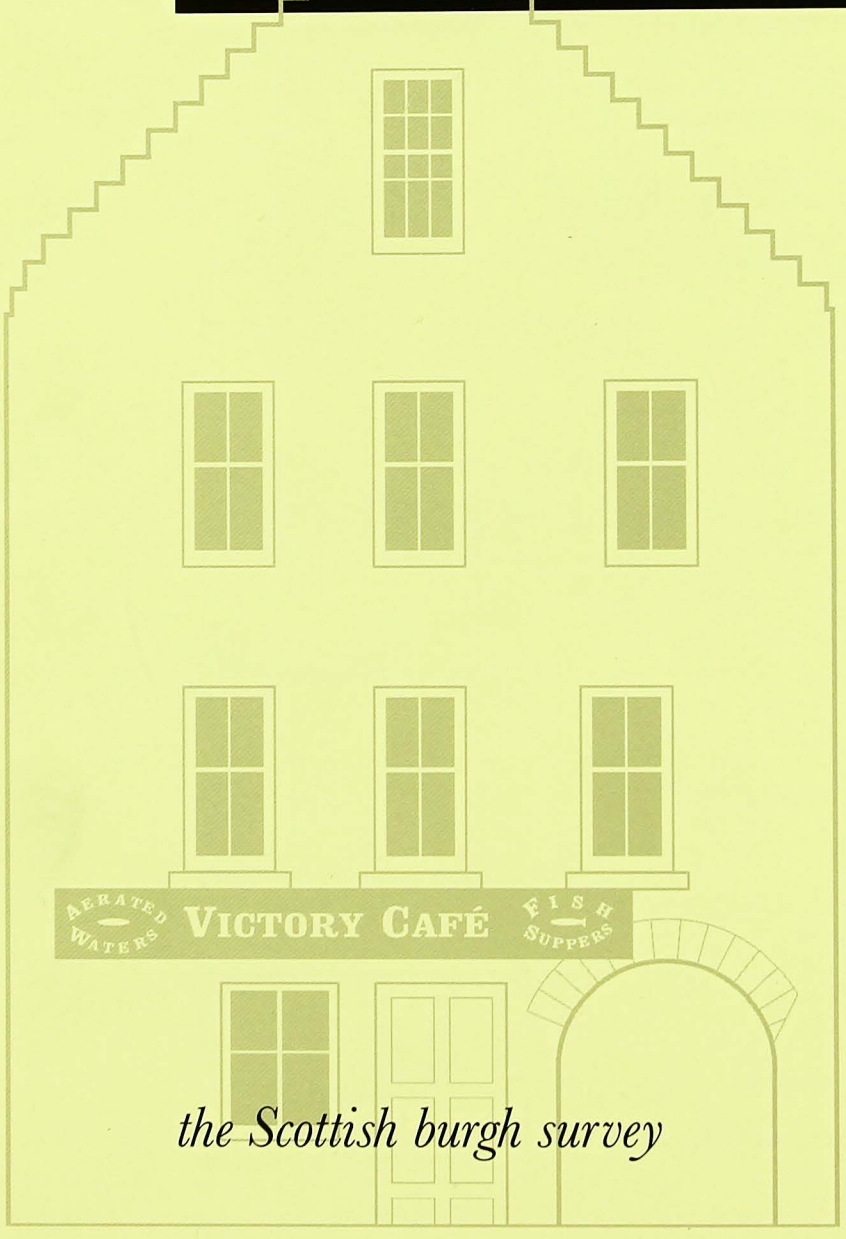
E Patricia **Dennison**

Russel **Coleman**



THE Prospect of Their Majesties' Palace of Linlithgow 1670s

Hamilton Lands



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A detail of John Slezer's *The Prospect of Their Majesties' Palace of Linlithgow*, 1670s

Historic Linlithgow

the archaeological implications of development

E Patricia **Dennison**

Russel **Coleman**

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CENTRE FOR SCOTTISH URBAN HISTORY
Department of Scottish History
University of Edinburgh

West Lothian Council

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

publication Historic Scotland *in association with* Scottish Cultural Press
First published 2000

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editorial Olwyn Owen

design Christina Unwin

printing . binding The Cromwell Press, Trowbridge

ISSN 1358 0272

Scottish Cultural Press ISBN 1 84017 013 1

all distribution and sales enquiries
Scottish burgh survey
Tuckwell Press
The Mill House
Phantassie
East Linton
EH40 3DG
telephone and facsimile *01620* 860164
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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

British Library cataloguing in publication data

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AMW	*Accounts of the Masters of Works for Buildings and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, edd H M Paton, J Imrie & J G Dunbar, 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1957–82).
APS	*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, edd T Thomson & C Innes (Edinburgh, 1814–75).
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, edd J Bain *et al* (Edinburgh, 1881–8 & 1986).
CSP Scot	*Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, edd J Bain *et al* (Edinburgh, 1898–1969).
DES	*Discovery and Excavation in Scotland.*
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edd J Stuart *et al* (Edinburgh, 1878–1908).
Edin Recs	*Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604–26*, ed M Wood (Edinburgh, 1931).
Gazetteer	*Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: a Survey of Scottish Topography*, ed F H Groome (Edinburgh, 1886).
HS	Historic Scotland.
NMRS	National Monuments Record of Scotland.
NSA	*The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, edd The Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy (Edinburgh, 1845).
OSA	*The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799*, ed J Sinclair. New Edition, edd I R Grant & D J Withrington (Wakefield, 1973).
Pryde, *Burghs*	Pryde, G S (ed), *The Burghs of Scotland: A Critical List* (Oxford, 1965).
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
RCRB	*Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland*, ed J D Marwick (Edinburgh, 1866–1918).
RMS	*The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, edd J M Thomson *et al* (Edinburgh, 1882–1914).
RPC	*The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, edd J H Burton *et al* (Edinburgh, 1877–).
RRS	*Regesta Regum Scottorum 1153–1406*, edd G W S Barrow *et al* (Edinburgh, 1960–).
SBS	Scottish Burgh Survey.
SHS	Scottish History Society.
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
SRS	Scottish Record Society.
SUAT	Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust.
TA	*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, edd T Dickson *et al* (Edinburgh, 1877–).

The Centre for Scottish Urban History is indebted to a number of people for their assistance and advice.

The production of this Survey would have been impossible without the interest and positive encouragement of **local people**. In particular, we would like to thank Dr Bruce Jamieson of **Linlithgow Academy** for all his advice and painstaking scrutiny of our text. Mr Tom McGowran of **Linlithgow Heritage Trust**, Mr William Hendrie of Torphichen and Mr A R Moodie of Linlithgow also found time in their busy schedules to answer our queries and to check through parts of our text. Any mistakes still present are entirely the authors' responsibility.

We would particularly like to acknowledge the assistance and enthusiastic support of Dr Stuart Eydmann, Senior Planner: Conservation and Design, and Ms Simone Kapp, Design, both in **Strategic Services, West Lothian Council**; and for the access given to us to documentary and photographic material in the archives of West Lothian Council.

Especial thanks also go to the staff of both the **West Lothian District Library Headquarters** at Marjoribanks Street, Bathgate, and **Linlithgow Library.**

Mr Geoffrey Stell of the **Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland** has continued to support the Burgh Survey project, not only with his usual encouragement, but also by reading and advising on sections of our text.

Dr Denys Pringle of **Historic Scotland** provided invaluable assistance by providing access to his research on Linlithgow Palace; and we are indebted to Mr Nick Bridgland, also of **Historic Scotland**, for his time and assistance.

Colleagues at the University of Edinburgh and elsewhere have given invaluable support and advice; in particular, we would like to mention the **Centre for Field Archaeology** and the **Department of Scottish History.** Mr Simon Stronach, of the **Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust**, must also be thanked for his help. We have also benefited from discussions with Professor Charles McKean of the **University of Dundee.**

The **Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland** has been, as ever, supportive. The staff of the **National Library of Scotland**, at both George IV Bridge and the **Map Library** at Causewayside, have been extremely helpful. The staff of the **Scottish Record Office** have assisted us in our researches.

To all of these we extend our thanks.

Editorial assistance was provided by Mrs Melissa Seddon. The illustrations were collated by Mr Matthew Ritchie.

For permission to reproduce photographs and other illustrations, we wish to thank the following:

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The first recorded evidence for the existence of Linlithgow dates from the early twelfth century, by when a church dedicated to St Michael had already been founded. There was also already a royal castle and manor, testament to an early connection with the Scottish monarchy. In the early fifteenth century, work began on a new royal palace which, over the reigns of successive monarchs, developed into the impressive structure that dominates the town today. Linlithgow Palace was the favourite residence of James IV (1488–1513), who transformed it into a building capable of comparison with the finest châteaux in France. The burgh developed a thriving export trade in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but it was royal patronage, especially from the reign of James I (1406–37) onwards, which encouraged the town's increasing prosperity. Wealthy local families constructed grand town houses which, together with the tolbooth, the reconstructed church of St Michael, the cross fountain and other buildings, formed an impressive townscape, of which a surprisingly large proportion still survives. The years after the Union of the Crowns brought a downturn in the fortunes of the burgh, culminating in the final abandonment of the palace following a fire in 1746. In the nineteenth century, Linlithgow became much more accessible with the construction of the Union Canal and, later, the arrival of the railway. Both contributed to the growth of new industries, such as paper making, and the town's growing wealth was manifested in new buildings, both public and private. Modern Linlithgow is a thriving commuter town, in which the twentieth-century and the medieval buildings and burgage plots successfully co-exist, and with the strong survival of local traditions.

Historic Linlithgow is one of a series of reports on the historic burghs of Scotland—known collectively as the Scottish Burgh Survey—all of which have been commissioned by **Historic Scotland** and its predecessors. The main aim of the survey is to identify those areas of the present and historic burgh which are of archaeological interest and therefore require sensitive treatment in the event of any proposed development or other ground disturbance. It is designed primarily as a manual for the use of local authorities and archaeological curators. However, as an essential prerequisite to this assessment of the archaeological implications of development, it also describes and illustrates the geography and topography of the town, its known archaeology and history, its historic standing buildings and the origin of its street names—all of which will be of interest to the wider public, be they inhabitant, visitor or student.

Historic Linlithgow was prepared for Historic Scotland within the **Centre for Scottish Urban History**, under the supervision of its Director, Dr E Patricia Dennison. The Centre is part of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh. Dr Dennison and Mr Russel Coleman, of the **Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust**, are co-authors of the report. Mr Kevin Hicks, of the **Centre for Field Archaeology**, University of Edinburgh, is cartographer and illustrator. Mr Philip Stout of the Department of Scottish History acted as Research Assistant; the research team comprised Miss Susan Gillanders, Mr Jim MacCormack, Mr Todd Trapnell and Mr Robin Macpherson, all postgraduates in the Department of Scottish History. The project is supervised by the Head of the Department of Scottish History, Professor Michael Lynch, and managed for Historic Scotland by Ms Olwyn Owen, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, who is also general editor of the series.

The research on historic Linlithgow was carried out between October 1996 and January 1997. This survey was entirely funded by Historic Scotland with help from the Centre for Scottish Urban History. The report has been published with financial assistance from **West Lothian Council** and Historic Scotland. Further copies may be obtained from **Tuckwell Press Limited**, The Mill House, Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian EH40 3DG.

Historic Scotland
September 1999

the Scottish burgh survey

summary

1 Use the colour-coded map on the foldout at the back of this book **figure 31** and/or the **general index** to locate a particular site (normally the site of a development proposal).

2 If the site is in a **blue area**, any development proposal is unlikely to affect significant archaeological remains. No action is needed.

3 **Green areas** (light and dark green) are designated as potentially archaeologically sensitive. If the site is in a green area, it is possible that a proposal involving ground disturbance may encounter archaeological remains. Seek appropriate archaeological advice as early as possible.

4 **Red areas** are Scheduled Ancient Monuments or properties in the care of the Secretary of State for Scotland, and are protected by law. Consult Historic Scotland.

5 Use the map on p 54 **figure 23** to determine into which area of the burgh the site falls (Area 1, 2, 3 or 4), and turn to the relevant area in the **area by area assessment** for a fuller account (pp 55–107).

6 Use the **general index** and, if appropriate, the listing of **street names** (pp 121–4) for rapid access to information specific to a site, street or named feature of the town.

step 1

As a working manual, the first point of reference is the colour-coded map on the foldout at the back of the book **figure 31**.

The **red areas** are **protected by law**. Under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 all development proposals which affect them require the prior written consent of the Scottish Ministers (Scheduled Monument Consent) in addition to any planning permission required. These provisions are administered on behalf of the Scottish Ministers by Historic Scotland. **All applications for planning permission which affect either the site or setting of a Scheduled Ancient Monument (red area) must be referred to Historic Scotland**, acting for the Scottish Ministers in terms of Section 15(j)(v) of the Town and Country Planning (General Development Procedure) (Scotland) Order 1992 and Section 5(e) of its Amendment (No. 2) Order 1994. *All enquiries regarding prospective development proposals in or adjacent to red areas should be referred to Historic Scotland for advice at as early a stage as possible.*

The **green areas** (light and dark green) are **potentially archaeologically sensitive** and may retain significant sub-surface archaeological information. *Consultation should take place with the local authority planning department, where any development proposal or enquiry involving ground disturbance is being considered*, including car parks, road schemes, environmental improvements, landscaping and drainage schemes, as well as the usual range of development and re-development proposals in built-up areas. There is no necessity for consultation where ground disturbance is not in prospect, such as applications for change of use of a building. There may, however, be a requirement to obtain *planning permission* or, in the case of a listed building, *listed building consent* or, if demolition works are proposed within a conservation area, *conservation area consent*. In such instances, early consultation with the staff of the local authority planning department will always be helpful.

If in doubt whether consultation is necessary, please refer to the local authority archaeologist and the local authority planning department. It is important to note that sub-surface disturbance within historic standing buildings may also affect archaeological remains, and that some standing buildings may retain archaeological features within their structures. Please seek advice as required.

The **blue areas** denote those parts of the historic burgh which **may be archaeologically sterile** and where archaeological consultation is probably not necessary. In practice, *there is rarely a hard dividing line between the green and the blue areas.* If in any doubt, check the account of the relevant area in the **area by area assessment** (*see* step 2), and seek archaeological advice as appropriate.

step 2

In this new series of burgh surveys, each survey has been organised locationally, in order to assist speedy consultation on any proposed development site. In the case of Linlithgow, the historic core of the town has been divided into four arbitrary areas, Areas 1 to 4, which are shown on the plan on p 54 **figure 23**. The second step for the user, then, is to consult this plan and to determine into which area a specific enquiry falls.

step 3

Each area is assessed individually in the **area by area assessment** (pp 121–4). The commentary for each area is prefaced with a detailed plan of that area. Archaeological, historical, geographical and geological factors of particular relevance to the area are all discussed and an assessment of the archaeological potential is made. For ease of reference, even if a dividing line between areas is shown as the middle of a street, discussion of the area includes any elements within the street up to the opposite frontage. The importance of an integrated approach to the historical and archaeological information is implicit in the design of this report: the history and archaeology are presented together on each page rather than consecutively.

This integrated, area-based approach has involved some repetition of information in the area by area assessment, in order that users are not required to cross-reference more than necessary when dealing with a specific enquiry. Although such repetition would not be normal in a work of interest to the general public, it was felt that it would be permissible here in order to facilitate the work of primary users: local authority planners and other curators of the archaeological resource.

historic standing buildings

historic buildings reinforces the above sections by providing basic historical and architectural information about the historic standing buildings of the town; where relevant, it also provides the area location and an assessment of the archaeological potential of specific buildings. *It should always be borne in mind that historic standing buildings may also contain archaeological remains, both beneath their floors and within their structures.* Some of these buildings may be listed and consequently subject to listed building control. Where listed buildings contain, or may contain, architecturally or archaeologically significant building fabric, the planning authority is obliged to make efforts to ensure that this is preserved and not adversely affected by proposed building works.

objectives for future fieldwork and research

Any report of this nature cannot be definitive. During its preparation, a series of archaeological and historical objectives for future fieldwork and research has been identified; these are listed at pp 117–19. They will be of particular interest to urban historians and archaeologists, and to those responsible for management of the archaeological resource in Linlithgow.

referencing

The **notes** to the background chapters detail all the documentary and archaeological sources used (*see also* the list of **abbreviations**). The **area by area assessments** are not footnoted separately but references are provided for the previous archaeological work and chance finds listed at the end of each area assessment. The report contains a comprehensive **general index** as well as a listing of **street names** giving basic historical information and, where relevant, area location. A **bibliography** and a **glossary** of technical terms have also been included.

The data accumulated during preparation of this survey and draft copies of the completed work, as well as all unpublished reports of any small-scale excavations and watching briefs, are housed in the **National Monuments Record**, John Sinclair House, 16 Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh, EH8 9NX, telephone *0131* 662 1456, facsimile *0131* 662 1477/1499.

full reference to this report

Dennison, E Patricia and Coleman, R 2000 *Historic Linlithgow: the archaeological implications of development*, published by Historic Scotland in association with Tuckwell Press, Edinburgh. (Scottish Burgh Survey 2000).

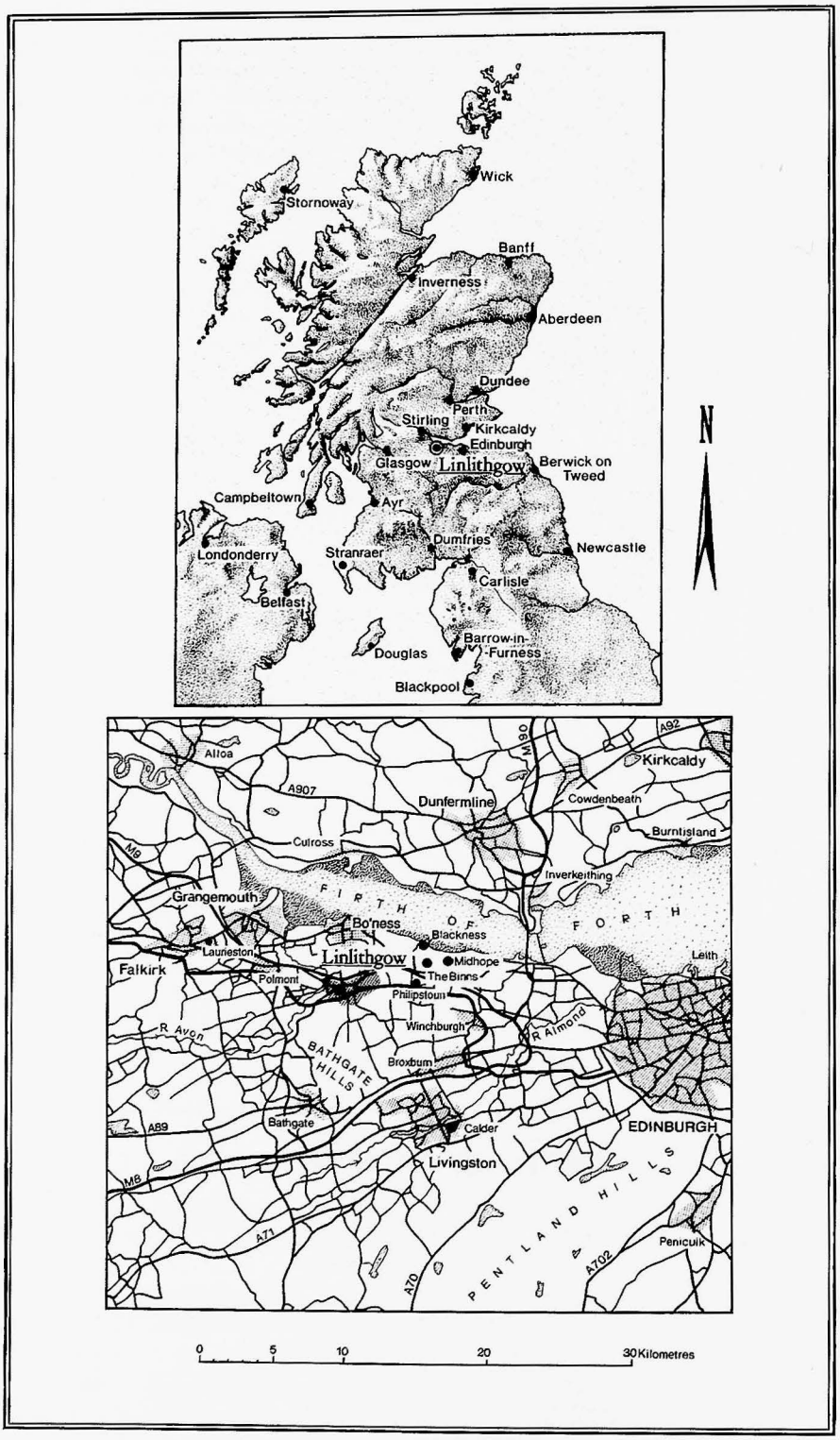


figure 1
Location of Linlithgow

Linlithgow: its site and setting

The Royal Burgh of Linlithgow lies on the south side of the Firth of Forth, roughly midway between Stirling and Edinburgh. The Bathgate Hills to the south and the Airngath Hill to the north provide a backdrop to the loch-side setting of the town. The River Avon lies a short distance to the west, flowing through Linlithgow Bridge on its journey to the Firth of Forth.

Linlithgow Loch and an imposing gravel mound that juts out into the loch from the south, natural features which provided a focus for the development of the medieval town, still dominate the townscape today **figure 2**. It was on this promontory that David I (1124–53) chose to build a manor house or castle.[1] During the Wars of Independence, Edward I of England (1272–1307) established an earth and timber castle here. Probably enclosing the earlier manor house, it was used as a supply base during the siege of Stirling Castle in 1304. Repairs were made to the castle, and a new manor house built, during the reign of David II (1329–1371), and again by Robert II (1371–90). It was after a fire in 1424 had destroyed much of the town and the manor house, however, that James I (1406–37) commissioned a programme of works that would transform the site, a little over a century later, into the royal palace that we see today **figure 25**. James IV (1488–1513) was proclaimed king here in 1488, James V (1513–42) was born here in 1512 and Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–67) in 1542.

The adjacent church of St Michael of Linlithgow is arguably one of the finest parish churches in the country **figure 14**. Its origins date from at least the twelfth century; a church on this site was dedicated by the Bishop of St Andrews in 1242. The present structure is principally late medieval (1425–1532). Several programmes of refurbishment were carried out in the nineteenth century, and in 1964 the present spire was added.[2]

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were a prosperous period for Linlithgow, the royal palace attracting courtiers and diplomats, some of whom also had houses in the town. Splendid residences and manors also clustered around the royal palace of Linlithgow—Calder, Kipps, Houston, Binns, Ochiltree, Midhope and Duntarvie.[3] Linlithgow was

figure 2
Linlithgow from the air
© Crown Copyright: RCAHMS

essentially an inland burgh but, with a monopoly on trade on the Forth between the Almond and Avon, it needed an outlet like other burghs in Lothian—Edinburgh with Leith and Haddington with Aberlady. Linlithgow's outlet was at Blackness, and, later, Bo'ness, which were the ports connecting it to Leith, London, the Low Countries and the Baltic **figure 1**.

After the Union of the Crowns in 1603, James VI (1567–1625) and the royal court moved to London, and Linlithgow's importance declined. After the Duke of Cumberland's troops had been billeted in the palace in 1746, fires broke out, and the palace has remained roofless and uninhabited ever since. It is now a Scheduled Ancient Monument and cared for on behalf of the Scottish Ministers by Historic Scotland. Part of the grounds (The Peel) is administered as a royal park.

Many industries were located in Linlithgow in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most notably tanning, shoe-making, glue-making, linen- and paper-making and dyeing. The Union Canal, one of the last major canals to be built in Britain, opened in 1822 **figure 20**. The canal and the railway, opened in 1842, contributed towards a revival in the fortunes of the town. This last century, however, has not been so kind to the town's industries. The canal itself closed for trade in 1933, although the Linlithgow Union Canal Society, formed in 1975, runs Scotland's only canal museum from a row of stable houses. The Millennium Link project, however, aims to re-connect the Union Canal to the Forth and Clyde Canal and re-open both for navigation, giving a new lease of life to the canals and bringing about an increase in tourism. In 1964, the Nobel Works, which first opened at the Low Port in 1901 and manufactured explosives during both World Wars, closed down. (The site is occupied by the Regent Centre.)[4] The St Magdalene's Distillery, opened in 1834 and one of four in the town, closed in 1983 and has now been partly converted to luxury flats, although the remainder of the complex is still undeveloped **figure 21**.

Today, Linlithgow is a popular dormitory town, served by the M9 motorway (opened in 1972) and the railway, but some industry still remains, notably electronics. In 1994, it was named Scottish Tourism Town of the Year. The population of the town has experienced extraordinary growth in recent years, rising from 4,570 in 1951 to 12,500 in 1995.[5] Linlithgow still has an official town crier, town drummer and town piper—all appointed by the Court of the Deacons of the Ancient and Royal Burgh of Linlithgow. This is an organisation set up by the old town council at its demise in 1975 to perpetuate the traditions of the town and to fund, organise and run the annual ancient tradition of inspecting the town's boundaries—the Riding of the Marches—which continues to this day. The 'Linlithgow Story' can be seen at Annet House (143 High Street), an eighteenth-century merchant's house recently converted into a museum and heritage centre by the Linlithgow Heritage Trust.

administration

Prior to local government reorganisation in 1975, Linlithgow was the county town of West Lothian, also known as Linlithgowshire. West Lothian was bounded by Midlothian to the east, the Firth of Forth to the north, Stirlingshire to the west and Lanarkshire to the south-west. In 1975, the former county became West Lothian District within Lothian Region. The most recent reorganisation, in 1996, has led to the creation of West Lothian Council.

In 1970, after some redevelopment had already taken place, notably The Vennel (1967), West Lothian County Planning Department produced 'The Town Map Review—Draft Report' to examine the changes taking place in the town, particularly the conflict of interests between the preservation of the town's built heritage and the demand for modern facilities.[6] With the demise of Linlithgow Town Council in 1975, one of the first actions of the newly created West Lothian District Council was to approve earlier proposals for two Conservation Areas. The northern area comprises the old town, loch and adjacent ground, and the southern area includes the canal, Royal Terrace and several large villas with grounds.[7]

geography and geology

Linlithgow lies in a broad agricultural valley. The Firth of Forth lies three miles to the north, beyond a 150 m high ridge known as Airngath (Erngath) Hill **figure 1**. To the south of Linlithgow, the Bathgate Hills separate the rural north from the more traditionally industrial south. Here, east of Edinburgh, the wide expanse of Lower Carboniferous Sandstone includes the Oil–Shale Group, for a time the most important oil-producing area in the world.[8] Further west, between Bathgate and Linlithgow, a sequence of volcanic basalt lavas, like those that make up the Bathgate Hills, replace these sedimentary rocks.[9] These produce prominent ridges in the otherwise featureless landscape. The thick boulder clays here produce heavier and more poorly drained soils than in East Lothian, and consequently a much greater proportion of permanent grassland in the West Lothian landscape (some 50 per cent).[10] This rural scene, however, soon gives way to the industrial sprawl of the Carron Valley and the extensive carselands of the Middle Forth further west.[11]

physical setting and the topography of the burgh

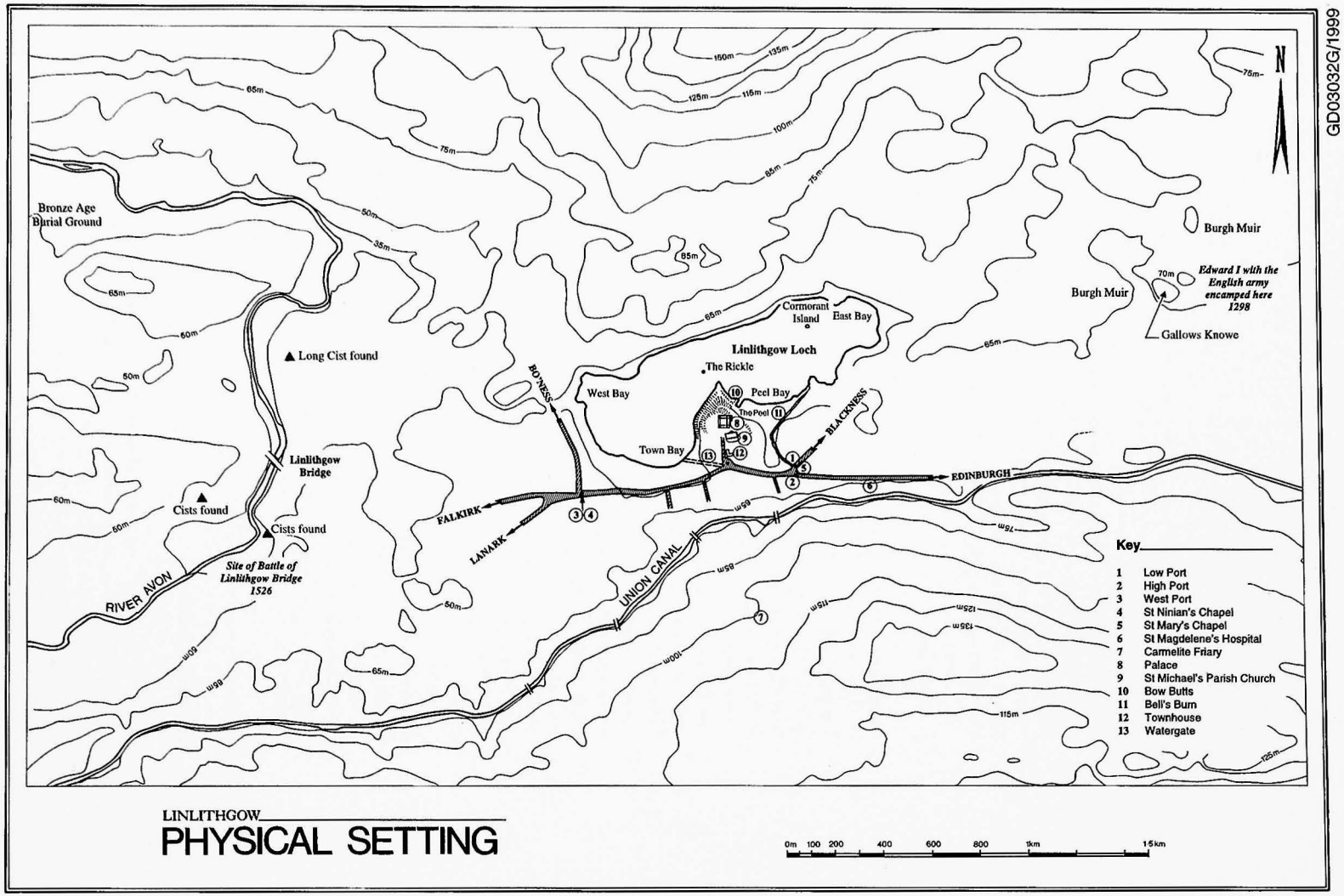
Linlithgow Loch

The palace crowns the summit of a much landscaped glacial mound of sands and gravels that juts out as a promontory into Linlithgow Loch, one of only two natural lochs left in Lothian **figure 2**. The summit of this mound stands at *c* 66 m OD, rising some 15 m above the town. The valley in which Linlithgow lies once comprised a chain of lochs and marshes, many of which have since been drained (for example, Burgh Loch and Leech Loch, and part of Linlithgow Loch below the palace was filled in in the late nineteenth century). The present water level of the loch is considerably lower than in the past, and it is likely that the lower fringes of the palace mound were marshland. In fact, beds of sedges and other vegetation have been found over ten feet (*c* 3 m) above the water level of the loch in the nineteenth century, and a dug-out canoe was found during the construction of the Sheriff Court House in 1863.[12] The loch today is approximately 40 hectares in area, and contains several small islands: the palace mound itself may have been an island, with the others being Herons' Inch, Bare Island and 'The Rickle'. Mill Burn flows into the loch at West Bay, the Bonnytown Burn at East Bay. The loch shore to the west of the palace mound is known as the Town Bay, and to the east it is known as Peel Bay. The loch was designated a Site of Special Scientific Interest in 1953, and also lies within the limits of the Scheduled Ancient Monument of Linlithgow Palace.

streets

Like many Scottish burghs, medieval Linlithgow developed along one long street, High Street, although the earliest (and possibly pre-burghal) settlement is likely to have centred on the Kirkgate **figure 3.** Approximately one kilometre in length, from East Port (and Low Port) to West Port, High Street has several kinks and twists in its alignment, most notably around The Cross. This was the focal point of the town where the markets were held and, today, the groups of buildings ranged around the north side, with the palace and church in the background, ensure this is one of the finest civic stage-sets of any Scottish town.[13] The original tolbooth that once stood here was demolished by Cromwell's troops in 1650. The present town house, on the north side of The Cross, dates from 1668 **figure 17.** The Cross Well (1807), at the centre of The Cross, is thought to be an exact replica of the well that was erected here in 1628 **figure 15.** The market cross stood close by, in front of the tolbooth.

Perhaps the oldest street in the town, possibly dating to the twelfth century, Kirkgate strikes up the slope from The Cross to the palace, and at its head stands the parish church.



GD03032G/1999

figure 3
The physical setting of Linlithgow

Like the palace, the church overlooks the town. Watergate led west from Kirkgate to the only area of hard beach on this part of the loch.

ports

There were four ports, or gates, into the town, none of which survives today. At the east end of the town, the Low Port guarded the entrance from Blackness. A second port, the High Port, was sited just a few metres to the south, on the road from Edinburgh. At the west end of the burgh, the West Port was situated where the road forked, south to Lanark and west to Linlithgow Bridge and on to Falkirk. Another unofficial gateway was opened up at the head of St Michael's Wynd, possibly by the late sixteenth century.

burgage plots

Linlithgow has some of the best preserved rigs of any medieval Scottish burgh. Either side of High Street these rigs, or burgage plots, extended north and south in a herring-bone pattern. Each was thought originally to enclose an area of one rood (¼ acre), each plot being 8 yards wide and 150 yards long on the south side of High Street. The south shore of the loch effectively marked the end of the burgage plots on the north side of High Street, but whether the ends of these plots were marked by walls or fences is unclear. The change in the water level of the loch and the modern landscaping along the shore provide few clues as to what this area may have looked like. These plots on the north side of High Street were generally shorter in length, because of the loch and, as compensation, the plot holders may have been given extra land to the south of the burgh. The south side of High Street has seen dramatic changes to the townscape with the insertion of the canal, the railway and the subsequent development of Royal Terrace. The plots here were originally much longer than on the north side of High Street, and a continuous stone dyke, maintained by each of the plot holders, effectively formed a town wall. The insertion of the railway in 1842 cut many of these plots in two, isolating the tail ends of these rigs from their respective street frontages.

springs

Linlithgow is famous for its natural springs. Four of these have given their name to the wynds and vennels that provided access between the properties on High Street and the back lane (South Vennel) and to the fields beyond—Dog Well Wynd, Lion Well Wynd, New Well Wynd and St Michael's Well Wynd. The wynds are thought to have evolved along the lines of streams that ran off the hillside to the south. Once it became less important to limit points of entry into the town, these were developed as vennels between the properties.[14] St Michael's Well **figure 18**, Cross Well **figure 15** and New Wells are still in existence (*see also* pp 78, 92–3, 105).[15]

ecclesiastical buildings

There were several chapels in and around medieval Linlithgow. A chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary was situated between the High and Low Ports, in an area once known as Middleraw and, further east, stood St Magdalene's Hospital, possibly a leper hospital. At the opposite end of the town, St Ninian's Chapel stood close to the West Port. An almshouse, demolished by Cromwell, is thought to have stood on the west side of Kirkgate. A site about which considerably more is known is the Carmelite friary (*see* **area 3**). It lay some half a kilometre to the south of the town, and has been the subject of several archaeological investigations this century, most notably in the 1980s when the garden of the villa in which the main complex stands was to be redeveloped **figure 6**. The east and south ranges of its church were identified during the excavations. For details of St Michael's parish church and later ecclesiastical buildings *see* pp 63–8.

notes

1 R D Pringle, *Linlithgow Palace: A Historical Guide to the Royal Palace and Peel* (Edinburgh, 1995), 4–5.
2 B Jamieson, *The Church of St Michael of Linlithgow* (Kirkcaldy, no date), 18–25, 30.
3 R Jaques & C McKean, *West Lothian: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. ii.
4 W F Hendrie, *Linlithgow: Six Hundred Years A Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh, 1989), 136–7.
5 *Linlithgow Area Local Plan* (West Lothian District Council Plan, 1994), 12.
6 M N Powell, *Linlithgow: A Brief Architectural and Historical Guide* (Linlithgow Civic Trust, 1990), 4.
7 *Ibid*, 5.
8 J Whittrow, *Geology and Scenery in Britain* (London, 1992), 290.
9 I B Cameron & D Stephenson, *The Midland Valley of Scotland* (3rd edn, British Regional Geology, 1985), 72, 109.
10 Whittrow, *Geology*, 291.
11 *Ibid*, 291.
12 G Waldie, *A History of the Town and Palace of Linlithgow* (Linlithgow, 1894), 18.
13 Jaques & McKean, *West Lothian*, 8.
14 Powell, *Linlithgow*, 2.
15 *Ibid*, 3.

archaeological and historical background

There have been a number of archaeological investigations in and around Linlithgow, often small-scale 'rescue' excavations (*see* pp 63–4, 80, 92–3), which have shed some light on the medieval town. Some prehistoric finds have also been documented and offer a glimpse into the more distant past. A full gazetteer of archaeological sites and finds from the Linlithgow area can be found in the RCAHMS computerised National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS).[1] The Royal Commission's *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Lothian and the Borders* also details sites and monuments of interest of all periods.[2]

prehistory

There is much to see in Linlithgow today to remind us of its medieval past, but there are also clues to a more ancient past. The first physical evidence for human activity in the Linlithgow area comes, in fact, from the site of a medieval friary on the outskirts of the town (*see* **area 3**) **figure 3**. Here, a series of more than a hundred small pits, post-holes, gullies and cobbled surfaces were discovered during recent archaeological excavations, sealed beneath the Carmelite friary complex, situated *c* 350 m to the south of the medieval burgh **figure 6**.[3] Some of the pits seem to have been dug to extract posts from the ground, but there were no identifiable patterns to suggest the plan or form of buildings or structures. A sample of charcoal recovered from the fill of one of these pits provided a radiocarbon date of 3315 ± 55 bc.[4] The several sherds of Neolithic pottery retrieved from the same fill make this one of the earliest groups of Neolithic pottery ever found in Scotland.[5]

Other finds of later prehistoric date were found in more disturbed levels and from earlier archaeological work on the same site in the 1950s. These include a sherd of Beaker pottery, a flint arrowhead and a possible scraper, all of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date; a bronze ring of the eighth or ninth century BC; fragments of jet; and even a piece of Roman pottery. These finds suggest that there may have been more than one period of occupation on this site. The site had been much disturbed by the building of first a medieval chapel, then the friary, but what is clear is that this elevated site (*c* 100 m OD), overlooking Linlithgow Loch and the Forth Valley, was much used in prehistoric times.

A number of other prehistoric finds have been discovered in Linlithgow over the years, but the find spots themselves have often gone unreported. A polished stone axe, typical of the Neolithic period, and what may have been a small hoard comprising two Bronze Age axes and a spear point have been found in the town.[6] A socketed axe, thought to have been part of the same Bronze Age hoard, was recovered from a modern pit at the Carmelite friary in 1953. Burials are often the most common find of this period and, though none has been found in Linlithgow, a number have been discovered along the banks of the River Avon and on the higher ground of the Bathgate Hills **figure 3**.

A recent prehistoric find in the area is that of a stone-built cist of massive construction, discovered in October 1997 by building contractors during levelling works prior to the erection of an industrial unit at Mill Road Industrial Estate. A rapid salvage excavation was carried out, showing that the cist had been inserted into a pit measuring at least 2.10 m deep, 1.70 m long by 1.34 m wide. The cist contained the remains of at least two disturbed inhumations, and may have been re-opened to receive further remains.[7] Study of the remains is continuing. In advance of scientific dating, an Iron Age date is thought possible on the basis of limited parallels.

the Roman period and later prehistory

The sherd of Roman pottery recovered from the friary is not the only Roman find from Linlithgow, and most of the others have been made in the vicinity of the palace.[8] These include the neck and mouth of an amphora, found during grave-digging in the churchyard **figure 14** in 1862, and a Roman bell.[9] The bell is thought to date from the first century AD. In 1925, two pieces of a first century AD mortarium and an amphora fragment were found during excavations immediately north of the palace.[10] A hoard of

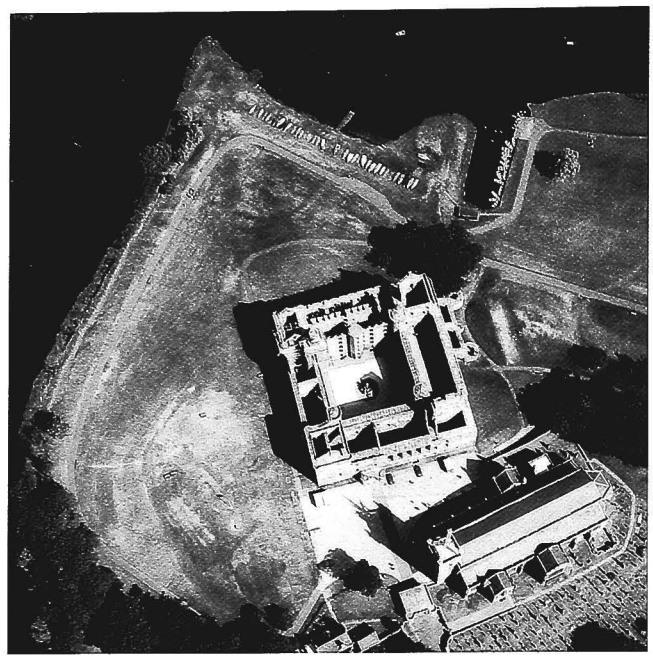


figure 4
Cropmarks in Linlithgow Peel 1989

Roman coins was also discovered on the Burgh Muir some time in the eighteenth century **figure 3.**[11] Around 300 coins, since lost, depicting various emperors (including Vespasian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Domitian) were found here in an earthen urn disturbed during ploughing. Other than stray finds, the only evidence of a Roman camp or fort is from recent aerial photographs of Linlithgow **figure 4.** These revealed cropmarks to the west of the palace. Given the long history of this site, they could be of any date, but one possible enclosure, with a rounded angle, could be Roman.[12] There is, however, a long-held tradition of a Roman fort either here or closer to the River Avon.[13] The latter was confirmed in 1991, when the insertion of a gas pipeline at Inveravon provided an opportunity to further investigate an area on the east bank of the river **figure 3.**[14] Cropmarks, a stone structure, cobbled surfaces and sherds of Roman pottery indicating a possible Antonine date had already been discovered here, indicating a small fort attached to the rear of the Antonine Wall.[15] Excavations in 1991 confirmed this, but revealed that a buttress-like structure attached to the south face of the Antonine Wall had subsequently been replaced by a small fort or fortlet around AD 160, with two phases of occupation.

There is another local tradition of a loch-dwelling, known as a crannog, in Linlithgow Loch **figure 2.**[16] Crannogs can date from the Late Bronze Age but were still being constructed and occupied in the medieval period.[17] These timber houses were built on artificial, or partly artificial, islands of brushwood and timber strengthened with vertical piles and stones.[18] Today, they sometimes survive as stony islands, but more often they lie submerged beneath the waters and are revealed only by underwater survey or aerial photography. Most crannog excavations were carried out in the nineteenth century and produced huge quantities of finds, such as wood and leather artefacts, perfectly preserved in the waterlogged conditions. The Linlithgow crannog is said to have been situated close to the shore of Town Bay and reached by a submerged causeway **figure 3.**

the middle ages

Over 280 spellings of the name 'Linlithgow' appear from the early twelfth century, when recorded evidence becomes available. There were two main categories of the name for this settlement, one with the prefix 'Lin' and the other without. It has been argued that those without 'Lin' refer to the place and those with, to the name of the loch, by which a settlement developed. Meaning a 'loch in a damp hollow', the name is a compound of 'llyn', a loch or lake, 'laith', damp and 'cau', a hollow;[19] and it is a vivid depiction of the geographic setting (*see* p 7). A seventeenth-century tradition held that the burgh arms, a black bitch tied to a tree on an island, derived from the placename: 'lin' being a loch, 'lith', black and 'gow', a hound.[20]

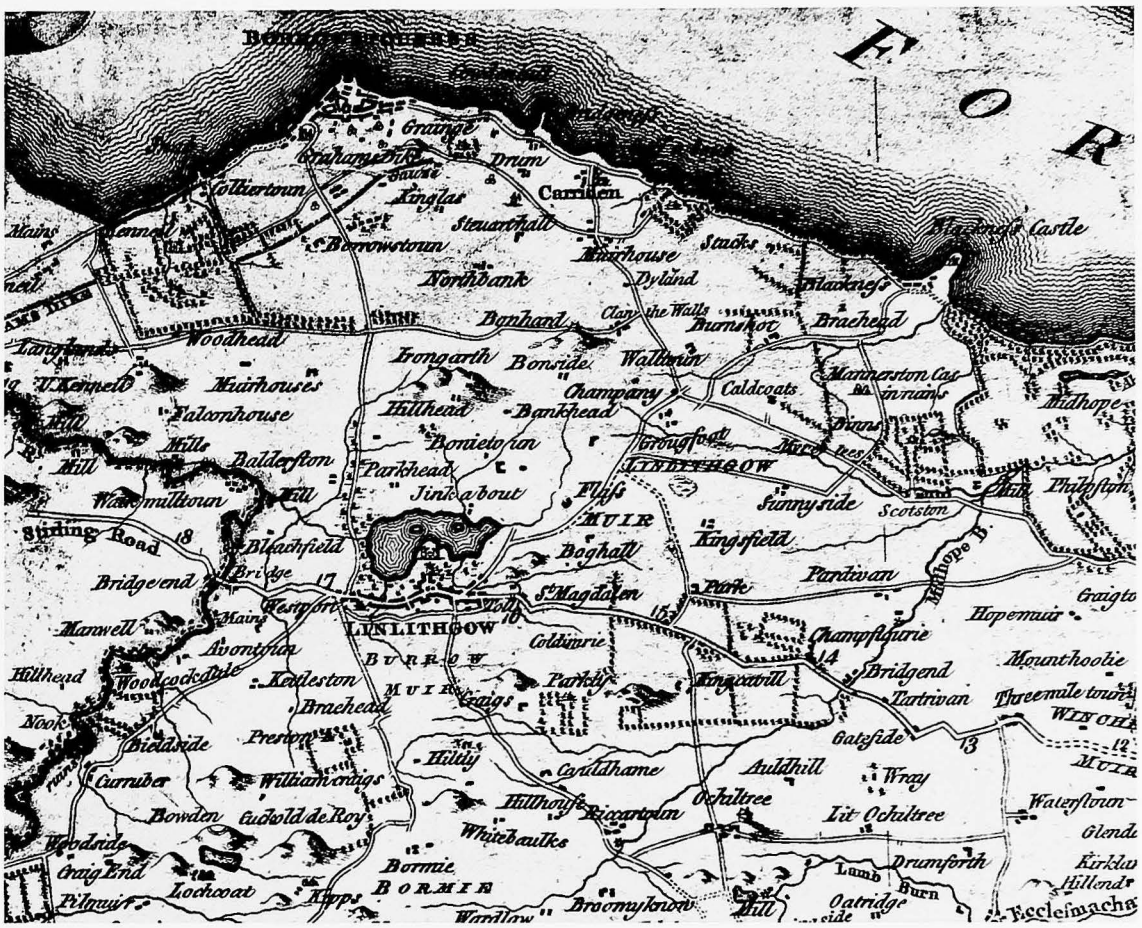


figure 5
A & M Armstrong's *Map of the Three Lothians*, 1773

The site of Linlithgow, at a mid-point between Edinburgh and Stirling and near the only possible fording point of the River Avon for many miles, ensured that it became a key point for both royal and other travellers between the two settlements **figure 5**.[21] A church dedicated to St Michael was in existence at Linlithgow as early as, if not before, the reign of David I. The king granted the church, with its chapels and lands, to the priory of St Andrews *c* 1138. Significantly, it was specified that the priory should receive the lands of the church both within and without the burgh, thus clarifying that the burgh had already been established.[22] There was also in existence, by this time, a royal castle and manor, or grange, nearby, for the king made a further grant, to the abbot and canons of Holyrood, of the skins of all sheep and cattle slaughtered at the castle and the demesne of Linlithgow.[23] Clearly, by this reign, settlement had not only begun to cluster near the protective presence of a royal stronghold; but also such formal rights had been granted to the township for it to be termed a 'burgh'. It is uncertain precisely where the castle and burgh were sited; but, in all probability, the royal residence was on the secure site now occupied by the palace and St Michael's Church. It would be expected that the settlement clustered nearby, not only for its own protection, but also for accessibility to the royal residence, as the township would have been the major supplier of goods and services to the castle. There is a firm tradition that the twelfth-century church was on the site of the present one.

In all probability, soon after the settlement received the formal rights of a burgh, a main street was formally laid out, with burgage plots, or tofts, running in herring-bone pattern back from the street frontage. Certainly, a grant of 1150 to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth of a toft in Linlithgow,[24] and one also to the abbot of Dunfermline,[25] would suggest this process had already commenced. While it may be possible that the early township clustered beside the pathway leading to the presumed site of the church and royal stronghold, it may be assumed that this newly laid out main street followed very much the line of the present and medieval High Street, as the pathway leading to the

royal residence did not offer sufficient development potential, being somewhat confined in length. Documentary evidence, however, does not clarify whether there was a shift of alignment in the town at this time; and confirmation may be found only by archaeological investigation.

A log boat has been found in the town (*see* **area 3**). These are often medieval, rather than prehistoric, but as the boat has not been subjected to scientific dating procedures the true date can only be guessed at.[26] The Linlithgow boat was discovered in 1863 during the construction of the Sheriff Court House, and lay at the mouth of a small stream that once drained into the loch.[27] It is possible that this boat was contemporary with David I's manor house.

The indigenous people would have had their numbers swollen by others, some possibly from the neighbouring areas and some who were incomers from further afield. To encourage burgesses to settle in a new burgh, a period of time, called *kirseth*, was set aside, during which the burgess was permitted to set up his dwelling on the allocated burgage plot without payment of burghal dues. The normal period of *kirseth* was one year, although in some burghs, such as Dingwall, where it proved more difficult to attract incomers, up to seven or ten years might be granted. There is no record of Linlithgow's *kirseth* period; but, sited as it was in such a strategic locality, incomers were probably easily attracted to the new burgh.

There was much more, however, implied in burghal status than the right to a burgage plot. To be a burgess involved a number of obligations, as a full member of burghal society, as well as privileges. The most important obligations were obedience to the law of the town and maintenance of its defence. Failure to co-operate could result in harsh retribution in the burgh court and even banishment from the town. On the other hand, only burgesses had the right to attend the head courts of the town, normally held three times a year, at which major decisions were made. These were supplemented by the regular meetings of the burgh council and burgh court, both of which the burgesses controlled.[28] The majority of the townspeople, however, were merely indwellers, with no formal rights.

At first, the burgh officers would have been royal appointments, but in time they were chosen from, and by, the community of the burgesses. It is probable that the sheriffs of Linlithgow played an important part in the running of the town. Certainly, in the 1190s, it was the sheriff who had the responsibility of collecting the burgh fermes, or rents.[29] In 1296, this appointment went to Sir Archibald Livingston.[30] In 1305, Peter Luband was appointed keeper of Linlithgow, as well as of Edinburgh and Haddington.[31] Before this time, however, the town had two bailies, but whether appointed by the people or by the crown is unclear. John Raebuck and John de Mar, as bailies, along with ten important burgesses, were obliged to swear fealty to Edward I of England in 1296.[32] The chief officer of many medieval burghs was the *prepositus*, later called the provost. Two writs of Edward I refer to the *prepositi* of Linlithgow;[33] but this may be a reference to the bailies. There was certainly a *prepositus* in Linlithgow by at least 1327, when he was returning his annual accounts.[34] Whether or not the *prepositus* was functioning as sole principal officer, or merely as 'chief bailie' is not certain. Linlithgow had a burgh seal by at least the end of the thirteenth century, however, which would suggest the emergence of some notion of 'community'.[35]

As well as the potential for self-government, burghs received a further powerful advantage: the right to hold fairs and markets, at which they could raise tolls, or market dues, from those who attended. There is evidence that a tolbooth was constructed in the year 1373.[36] Whether this was a totally new structure or a partial replacement for an old one is unclear. It was here that the tolls were collected and the town's weights, for use at the market weighing machine, or tron, were kept. Allied to the right to a market was the bestowal by the crown of a hinterland on the burgh. All within this hinterland were to attend the burgh's market and were forbidden to sell produce or goods elsewhere. This gave a new burgh not only a source of income, but also a potentially strong hold over the surrounding rural area.

Linlithgow held the sole right of trade along the seventeen miles of coast from the Avon to Cramond. The various returns recorded in the fourteenth century suggest that Linlithgow was prospering at this time. In 1327, for example, £14 9s 1d customs was returned; by 1330, this had risen to £26 11s 8d; and in 1360, 1364, 1369 and 1372 respectively to £73 19s 5d, £121 6s 5d, £975 4s 11d and £1,401 5s 1d. Although there was a slight drop in 1373 to £1,274 6s 2d, Linlithgow was holding its own when compared with other burghs. Haddington, for example, returned £804 14s 6d in 1369 and £624 15s 8d in 1373. The town was considered to be of such importance commercially that Prussians visited it in 1393.[37] Much of this growth in Linlithgow's returns was based on its wool exports, which passed out of the town's port at Blackness. It had been operating as the port for landlocked Linlithgow from at least the twelfth century **figure 5**.[38] Other towns also availed themselves of this convenient east-coast port; Ayr, for example, regularly sent wool overland to export through Blackness.[39] In 1360, the right to raise their own customs was sold to the burgesses for £333 6s 8d. Although the records are not precise, it seems that these customs may have included not only the petty customs, but also the great customs imposed on the staple goods of wool, leather and hides.[40] In Robert II's charter to Linlithgow, granted at the holding of a parliament in the great hall of the castle in October 1389, however, there is reference merely to the right to petty customs, along with burgh fermes (rentals) and tolls (market dues).[41] The great customs, normally retained by the crown, were confirmed to Linlithgow, along with its feu ferme, which had originally been granted in 1388 or 1389,[42] in 1446. The latter was an annual payment to the crown, by the town, in exchange for a royal officer collecting dues within the town; and it suggests that Linlithgow had for some time been well able to manage its own financial affairs.[43]

A measure of the burgh's standing may be witnessed in its being represented in the General Council of 1357 and in parliament from 1367.[44] The Court of the Four Burghs, the arbiter of disputes between—and initiator of common practice within—all burghs consisted of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh and Berwick. On the loss of the latter two into English hands, it was decided that the depleted numbers should be redressed by the addition of Linlithgow and Lanark to the Court, in 1369.[45] Linlithgow was clearly considered to be one of the foremost burghs of the country.

In spite of such marks of standing and economic fortune in the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century was to see a decline in the town's customs. By 1406/07 the revenue had fallen to £500 per annum, to £312 16 1d in 1422 (compared with Haddington's £39 5s 10d), to £201 3 6.5d in 1449 (compared with Haddington at £99 5s the year later and Edinburgh at £2,549 6s 9+d), and to £45 6s 3+d in 1456.[46] To make matters worse, on a number of occasions between 1414 and 1420, the custom of Linlithgow was taken by force by James of Douglas and Walter of Haliburton. In 1414, the custumars of Linlithgow, who had the responsibility of collecting the customs, were imprisoned by Douglas at Abercorn and, in 1420, by Haliburton at Fidra. Two years later, in 1422, Sir Walter Stewart incarcerated them in Dumbarton Castle.[47] Edinburgh was gaining an increasing stranglehold over exports during this century. 59.2 per cent of cloth exports in 1434/35, for example, passed through Leith. Linlithgow's 4.4 per cent appears slight by comparison; but its real significance becomes more apparent when it is noted that the share of other burghs had fallen sharply, Aberdeen to a mere 2.7 per cent, Dundee to 2.08 per cent, Haddington to 0.8 per cent, and Stirling to 0.3 per cent.[48] Linlithgow was not the only town to suffer from the strength of Edinburgh.

Documentary records give some clues, also, to Linlithgow's townscape in the middle ages. The town was clearly aligned along the single main street, with the short routeway leading northwards to the kirk and castle. The granting of apparently vacant land to one Thome Carsone and his heirs, on the south side of the main street between the tofts of William Masoun on the east and David Betysone's on the west, some time between 1374 and 1376, suggests that there were still some gap (unoccupied) sites in the town as late as this date.[49] At the east end of the town, however, was the 'Myddilraw', a block of buildings that formed an island site in the middle of the main street, which might possibly

suggest that here space for building was at a premium. The market area and the market cross, it is safe to assume, would, however, have been the most favoured location for important dwellings; the cross would have been sited in the main street, at the foot of the Kirkgate (as it became called) that led to the parish church and palace. There was also a school in the town, first mentioned in 1187. This probably stood very close to the church.[50] The town had mills by 1214 x 1226, when they were referred to in a charter of Alexander II (1216–49).[51] In 1457, a new mill was built near to the town by James Millare. Whether this was the same mill that stood to the east of the town and was in a derelict state by 1480,[52] or was the mill named the 'Lochmyll' in 1510,[53] is unclear. The *St Andrews Liber*, however, shows clearly that there were a number of mills in Linlithgow in the middle ages,[54] some of which provided revenue for the St Andrews monastery.[55] The existence of a yard in the town itself, called 'Mader-yard', also suggests that dyeing was being carried out in the town.[56] It is known from archaeological excavation that tanning was taking place to the north of the High Street.[57]

Near to the town, in an acre of land, there was a hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene. Its chaplain was supported from rentals of town tenements.[58] Originally possibly dependent on St Andrews priory, there is a first reference to it in 1335, when Edward III (1327–77) claimed to appoint a warden. In origin this hospital may have been for lepers, as references to payments to the lazar house, as distinct to the almshouse, of Linlithgow are recorded in the mid fifteenth century.[59] Its position outside the town would also support this theory, leper houses always being placed at a safe distance from the townspeople. According to a charter of 1528, it was classified as a poor hospital and had a cemetery for the inmates.[60] Nearby stood the cross of the Blessed Mary Magdalene.[61] Another almshouse stood just outside the town, near to where the Low Port (*see* p 81) later stood. Later known as Balderston's Barn, it may have been a leper house.[62] A further almshouse was in existence in the town before 1448. It was located on the east side of the Kirkgate, to the south of the cemetery, and survived until the seventeenth century (*see* pp 81–2).[63] By 1496, a newly constructed chapel stood in the area of 'Myddilraw'. Attached to it was an almshouse; its chaplain was supported from rentals of property to the south side of the market place.[64] Both were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.[65] There was also a chapel at the western entrance to the town, dedicated to St Ninian.[66]

Outside the town, to the south, was a house of Carmelites, sometimes called the White Friars **figure 6**. Some claim that it was erected in the late thirteenth century, but such claims seem to be spurious. Certainly, by 1401, there is firm evidence, with an indenture between Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith and the provincial of the Carmelites. The former had granted to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Linlithgow and the brethren of the Carmelite order, who were to celebrate divine service there, land for the construction of conventual buildings and a garden.[67] The house appears to have been established on the site of an existing chapel, probably built in the thirteenth century,[68] which was used as the nave of the priory church. The extensive glass finds that have been recovered suggest that the windows were glazed; archaeological evidence has also confirmed that the lime plaster on the walls was painted[69] and that the chancel was slabbed in yellow sandstone of local origin.[70] The lands of the priory extended down the hill on which the convent was built, up to the rear of the burgage plots on the south side of the High Street.[71] Some carved stones, possibly from the Carmelite Friary, have been found in a boundary wall on the east side of Preston Road, to the south of Preston House Lodge (NS 9995 7580).[72]

The Manuel Nunnery, a religious house which followed the Cistercian Order, lay to the west of the River Avon. It appears also that there had been an intention to found an Augustinian friary. Grants were made to the 'bigging' (building) of their house; but there is no evidence that this was ever successful. Whether there were Dominican Friars (Black Friars) in the town is uncertain. There are a few documentary references to them but these may be in error for the White Friars. Their existence cannot be totally ruled out,[73] and some maintain that their house was at the east end of the town.[74]

In common with most other Scottish medieval towns, Linlithgow was not surrounded with strong stone walls. The loch would have provided some protection to the dwellings

figure 6
An aerial view of the Carmelite Priory 1983

on the north side of the High Street, to the west of the road to the castle. Those to the east were possibly also protected by the loch, although it is uncertain precisely how much land was covered by its water in the middle ages; and it is possible that the burgage plots here abutted on to the protective peel, as they did in more recent times. The properties to the south, however, received no such natural protection. To effect a minimum of safety from unwelcome intruders, the townsfolk erected a wooden palisading and dug a ditch at the foot of the burgage plots. This was not really meant to be highly defensible. Indeed, it is known that the palisading was so insubstantial that it blew down in high winds.[75] The townspeople punctuated the ditch and fencing with small gates, giving access to the burgh crofts, where crops were grown and animals were grazed. There were probably two main ports, or gates, controlling access into the town in the middle ages, one at the east end of the main street, the other at the west (*see* p 75). Again, the purpose was more as a psychological barrier than as a truly defensible structure. The gates were closed at night, at curfew, or shut against outsiders when plague or other disease threatened. The ports also functioned as collection points for tolls, or market dues, from those coming to use Linlithgow's market. One of Linlithgow's ports, or town gates, was destroyed in 1457, when a great 'bombard' or mortar passed through, knocking it down, either partially or totally, and necessitating its reconstruction. This suggests the port was not a particularly solid structure.[76]

The castle and the parish church were the dominant features of the townscape; not only because of their prominent positions, but also because of their sheer mass. The twelfth-century church had possibly been replaced in 1242, when David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, consecrated the church. Whether he was hallowing a new building or rededicating the old, and whether any part of the earlier structure was assimilated into the thirteenth-century building is unclear.[77] A number of the consecration crosses, which originally marked where the holy water fell, are still extant, although in changed positions. A measure of the importance of St Michael's Church may be noted in 1290. In this year, assessments for 'Pope Nicholas's Taxation' rated St Michael's at 110 merks, compared with Dunfermline at 150 merks, Leuchars at 120 merks, St Andrews at 100 merks and Stirling at a mere fifty merks.[78] St Michael's may, indeed, have been aisled early; by 1301, it was referred to as 'great'.[79]

Edward I of England took up winter quarters in the town in 1301. The 'King's chamber' had been prepared for his visit, and the presence of masons, a smith and a thatcher suggests that the chamber was of stone with a thatched roof.[80] In that year and the following one, his craftsmen largely demolished the castle and replaced it with another that was 'mekill and stark'. The castle was reinforced with a protective peel,[81] by Edward

I's Masters of Works from the Welsh campaigns,[82] under the direction of Master James of St George.[83] The peel, made of tree trunks—whole logs or 'great logs not split too small'—was reinforced with a ditch in front, thus cutting off the promontory from the town. A gatehouse stood in the centre of this stockade and two towers were erected at either end, rising out of the waters of the loch. The original instruction from the king was that these were to be of stone, but he changed his mind and they were constructed in timber.[84] Contained within the peel was St Michael's Church, which functioned for a while as Edward I's garrison storehouse.[85] The loch side was protected with a further ditch and palisade.[86] The whole fortification was considered of such security that the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers of Torphichen, petitioned Edward I that the English brothers might be kept secure in the castle 'when necessary'.[87] The castle remained in English hands until 1313, when it was recaptured for the Scots by William Binnock or Bunnock, with his famous and daring ruse of blocking the gates and portcullis of the castle with his hay cart. Thereafter, parts of the castle were destroyed, on the instruction of Robert I (1306–29); but it is unlikely that it was totally demolished as, in 1334, Edward Balliol transferred the castle, along with the constabulary and the town, to Edward III in recompense for his assistance.[88]

The townscape also underwent some destruction during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The town was burned by the English in 1342.[89] St Michael's tower was either under repair, or reconstruction, in 1384, when payments passed through the exchequer;[90] much of this repair work may have been necessitated by damage effected in Edward I's occupation. In 1411, the town was burned[91] and again, in 1424, a great fire damaged much of the castle and church. How much destruction was visited on the property of the ordinary townspeople is not recorded, but it is thought to have been extensive.[92]

In 1425, the earlier portions of the present palace were begun,[93] and the following year expenditure was recorded for stone and lime for the park and fish ponds. By at least 1491, this park area was enclosed by a park wall, which seems to have included both the loch and the royal residence, as in 1492 an agreement was made with the burgh officials that the kirkyard might be extended into the peel, as long as a wall was erected to prevent access to the peel and gardens.[94] It is perhaps significant that from 1429 the castle was consistently termed a 'palace' (*see* p 58).[95] Some reconstruction work on the castle had been effected in the fourteenth century, but the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries (*see* pp 58–61) were to see a major transformation. James I set in train restoration work, which lasted until his assassination in 1437. Much of this may have been funded by sums collected for his ransom, but never paid over to the English crown.[96] It seems that most of the work was concentrated on what is now the east range, flanked partially with the adjacent north and south wings. It is possible that the palace was, thus, a C-plan, open to the west. The main entrance, which may still be seen, but without its ramp and drawbridge, stood in the centre of the east range. It was approached by a routeway that passed to the east of St Michael's Church. Above the gateway, on the first floor, was the great hall, measuring approximately 9 m by 30 m. The servery and kitchen lay beyond, in the north range, and the royal apartments were probably in the south range. Little is known of the exact design of the interior, but lavish amounts were spent, and it is known that sculptures, ceilings and wall plaster were painted. Work was also carried out on the park and fish ponds.

James II (1437–60) appears to have been less interested in residing at Linlithgow, although certain repairs were undertaken, not only on the fabric of the palace, but also on the park, its ditches, stables (for a cost of 9s) and the fish ponds and nets. His son, James III (1460–88), probably resided in the palace from the early years of his reign. During his rule, more substantial building works were undertaken; it is possible that the plan to enclose the west side of the palace was formulated during his reign. This was a scheme that was to be brought to magnificent conclusion in the reigns of his son and grandson (*see* pp 59–60).[97] By making James I's palace quadrangular and adding square, non-projecting corner towers, James III and James IV, following Italian influence, it has been speculated, developed what is in effect a *palacium ad modum castri*, one of the most imposing examples of which was the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (*see* p 61).[98]

It seems that the church was also largely rebuilt at that time.[99] It is thought, however, that the church could not have been totally destroyed in the fire of 1424, as Queen Joan, wife of James I, worshipped in it in 1429.[100] In 1425, money was allocated from customs revenue to support the chaplain of the altar of St James in the church, which likewise suggests that the church continued to function to some extent.[101] Moreover, in 1430, an attempt was made to have the church elevated to a collegiate church with a provost and twelve chaplains; but this measure failed, possibly because of the murder of James I, its instigator, in 1437.[102] Three years later, financial support was being given to the chaplain of the altar of St Sithe.[103] Rebuilding began with the nave and John Frenssh, the designer or builder or both, was buried in the north nave aisle in 1489, which indicates the extent of progress. The choir was started some time around 1497 and work probably continued until 1532, when the town council came to an agreement about its battlements with Thomas Frenssh, son of John and master of the 'kirk werk'.[104]

Probably a number of local people found employment on the major reconstruction work of both the palace and church. The records give evidence of other occupations being practised in the town. A significant support system for the maintenance of the royal household and attendant court would have continued to be necessary. Money was paid, for example, to a skinner in the town for providing hawking gloves for the king; and the court was entertained by local players and, on occasion, an 'Abbot of Unreason', who danced for the king. Masons, wrights, slaters and general workmen all assisted in the maintenance of the palace fabric; small goods, rushes, horses, pottery, bread, ale and strawberries were all purchased from local people; and the king had shirts and sarks sewn for him in the town and harnessing made for his horses.[105] Local priests, chaplains, friars and the poor and sick of Linlithgow also benefited from royal largesse.[106]

the sixteenth century

This century saw Linlithgow reach its pinnacle. Much of the town's importance resulted from the presence of the royal palace, which, during the reign of James IV, was transformed. The most radical refinement was the completion of the new west range, which housed apartments for the king and queen. But other sections of the palace were also renovated: the great hall was endowed with a new roof and clearstorey windows and possibly enlarged; a three tiered transe, or open gallery, was added on the north side of the south range to link the great hall and the west wing; the kitchen and associated apartments were remodelled; the south-east corner tower was renewed above ground floor level; and to the west of that, on first floor level, where royal apartments had previously been sited, a new royal chapel was created. The exterior was enhanced on the east side, possibly with the intention of creating a more castellated appearance, with a turreted barbican, the remains of which may be seen today. It was in the north-west tower, now called 'Queen Margaret's bower', that Queen Margaret, who held the palace as a dower house, supposedly waited in vain for the return of James IV from the battle of Flodden.[107] By the end of the reign of James IV, Linlithgow Palace was a sophisticated and splendid residence, having much in common, some would argue, both in detail and general form, to Italian signorial palaces such as the Palazzo Venezia.[108]

James V, born in Linlithgow Palace in April 1512, completed the refurbishment programme, once he had freed himself of the control of various regents. In 1526, the year of the battle of Linlithgow Bridge, fought out between the rival factions for control of the young king,[109] a new captain and keeper of both the palace and the park, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, was appointed; eight years later, Thomas Frenssh, the mason, commenced work on the palace buildings. He was also master of the 'kirk werk' in St Michael's Church, on which his father had worked prior to his death and burial in the newly finished north aisle in 1489 (*see* p 64).[110] The royal chapel was refurbished, as were the great hall and the kitchen; and the fountain in the central courtyard, still standing today, although much renovated, was built around 1538. Possibly the greatest innovations came in the south wing: the wall was straightened and the south-west tower

was enlarged to balance that at the south-east; but, more importantly, a new entrance was forged through the south wall and an outer gateway was built to its south. The outer gate stands today, still emblazoned with the symbols of the four orders of chivalry to which James V belonged: the Garter of England, the Thistle of Scotland, the Golden Fleece of Burgundy, and St Michael of France (although the existing panels were re-carved in Edinburgh in 1845, the originals having become indistinct).[111] In the park, where James IV had erected lists for jousting and butts for archery practice, a less warlike pastime was encouraged, with a tennis court to the south-west, on the loch shore to the north of the palace,[112] similar to that which may still be seen at Falkland Palace in Fife. James V's queen, Mary of Guise–Lorraine, compared Linlithgow Palace with the finest châteaux on the Loire.[113]

The townscape was enhanced with lesser, but still prestigious, buildings. Some dwellings, for example, known to have been erected or already standing in the sixteenth century, reflect not only the importance of their occupants, but also the influence of the royal works at the palace. Demolition work in central Linlithgow in the 1960s revealed many features, such as fireplaces, that attested to the late medieval affinities with the character and detail of the royal residence **figures 7 & 8.**[114]

The Cornwalls of Bonhard were a distinguished local family, of which one member, Alexander, was said to have been one of the six knights dressed in like clothing to the king, in order to confuse the enemy, at the battle of Flodden, where he was killed. The family had a town house on the site of 57–61 High Street. The Cornwall coat of arms and the inscription 'Ve Big Ye Se Varly 1527' ('We Build You See Warily 1527'), which used to decorate the front of the property, may now be seen on the wall above the back of the pend to *no* 59.[115] Pont's map delineating Linlithgow in the late sixteenth century, when enlarged, shows clearly that many houses lining the High Street were arcaded at this time **figure 9.** The Hamilton family was one of the most influential in mid sixteenth-century Scotland, and held considerable importance in Linlithgow: Hamiltons, for example, controlled the palace until 1554, functioned as the treasurer in the town and held the heritable sheriffship of Linlithgowshire.[116] It is to be expected that their residence was one of the most prestigious in the town. Further west along the High Street from the Cornwalls' house, on the site of the present Sheriff Court House, stood Archbishop Hamilton's house. This was one of the important dwelling houses to the south of the High Street, known to have had the long rig to the rear offering a back gate to the burgh lands beyond, for it was from this house that James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh shot the Regent, James Stewart, earl of Moray, in 1570, and effected his escape through the backlands of the property.[117] An early engraving, *c* 1780, by Philip de la Motte, shows this to have been a galleried house, and it is thought that it was from a balcony that Hamilton shot the regent.[118]

A standing house at the West Port is a reminder of some of the quality dwellings in the town. Completed in 1600 for one James Hamilton of Silvertonhill, parts of the building, including the frontage, may be earlier. West Port House now stands above the roadway, which was lowered sometime between 1790 and 1830 (*see* p 90) **figure 10.**[119] The Hamilton Lands, built for the Hamiltons of Pardovan, at 40–48 High Street, are possibly also of the same period and, again, give clues to domestic buildings typical of Linlithgow's sixteenth-century main thoroughfare (*see* p 76) **figure 11**, as does the sixteenth-century stone oven at the rear of the properties.

A building of some importance in the town was unfortunately demolished in the late nineteenth century. It was probably the town house of the Knights Hospitaller of Torphichen, who held a number of tenements and land in the town.[120] There is also a local tradition that it functioned at one point as the royal mint, and that possibly the 'skire silver', the Scottish version of Maundy Money, which James IV dispensed to the poor of Linlithgow from the steps of St Michael's Church on the Thursday before Good Friday, may have been minted here. Other suggestions are that it was either an almshouse or a leper house.[121] Whatever its origins, it was clearly a fine dwelling. With a block of buildings fronting the street, an archway led to an interior courtyard. Beside the archway

figure 7
Demolished properties
1962

figure 8
Demolished properties
1965

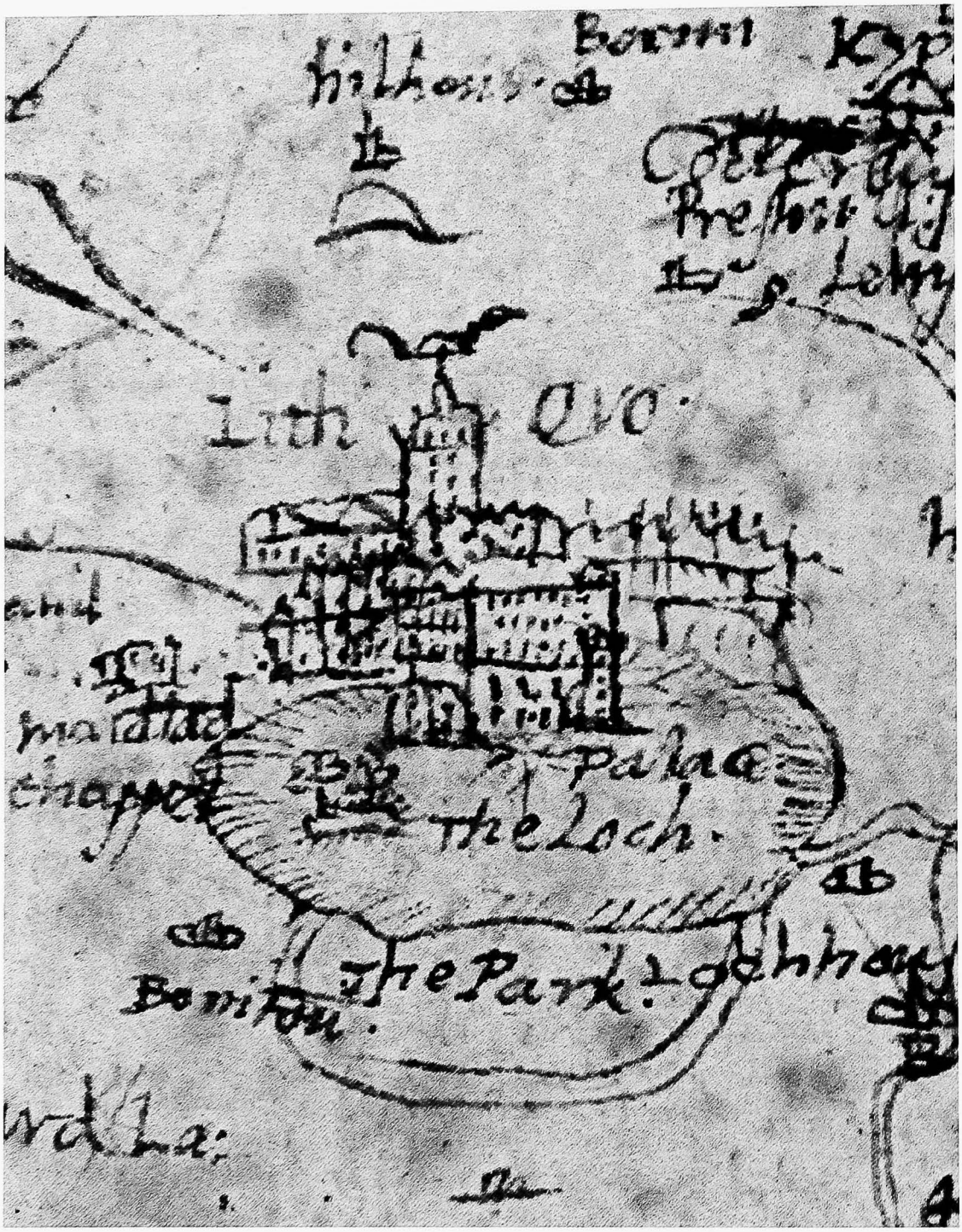


figure 9
Detail of Timothy Pont's map showing Linlithgow *c* 1590

figure 10
West Port House
1974

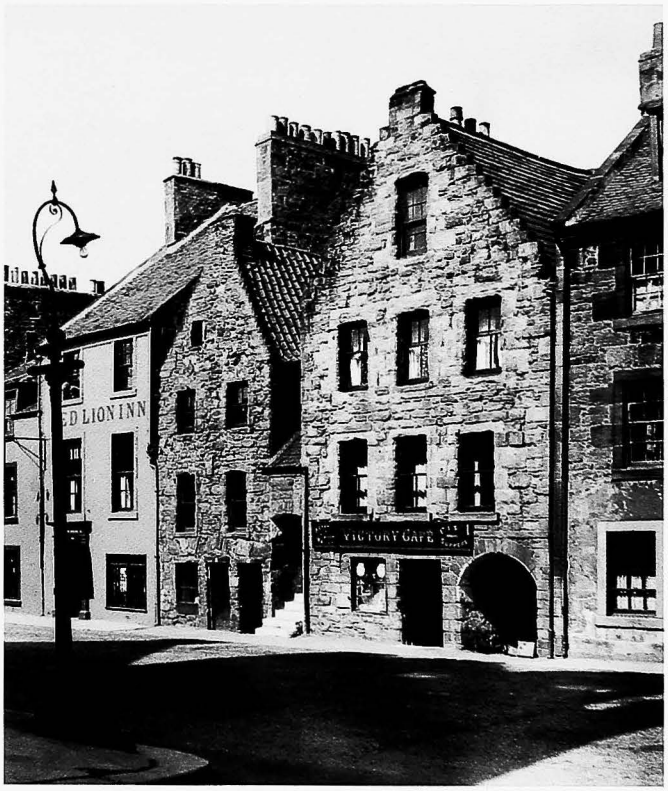


figure 11
Hamilton Lands

figure 12
The town house of the Knights Hospitaller

was a square tower, with crow-stepped gables, and at the south end of the courtyard stood another tower of five storeys. Many features of the house, particularly the hall fireplace, on the west side of the range,[122] and oriel windows, bore a close resemblance to those of the palace **figure 12**.[123]

In Queen Mary's reign, both the Spanish and French ambassadors reputedly had prestigious properties in the town. They stood four storeys high and were situated across the road from Archbishop Hamilton's house. Only relatively recently demolished to make way for flats, they were substantial buildings of stone and slate **figure 13**.[124]

Many dwellings were not as comfortable as these significant Linlithgow houses. Clustered along the main street and the vennels that ran off them were the homes of the poorer burgesses and indwellers. Many of these would have remained small, single-roomed thatched or turf-roofed buildings, often sitting cheek by jowl with their wealthy neighbours, although there is evidence also of tenements with fore booths, over chambers and over lofts.[125]

The town also had public buildings to maintain. The tolbooth stood to the north of the market place and market cross. It is possible that by this time, as well as being the collection point for tolls and housing the town weights (*see* pp 71–2), it also functioned as the burgh court house, as in other towns. At this time, the weights used in towns were not standardised; but Linlithgow's firlott was the most commonly used measure in Scotland and, in fact, became the standard.[126] Linlithgow had its own measures for length, weight and volume. These may still be viewed at the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh. Sessions of parliament were at times held in Linlithgow, for example in 1545, when the tolbooth was the venue.[127] This suggests that it was relatively prestigious. It is known that the tolbooth also began to function as the town jail, as in 1598 reference is made to a decision having been made to use the vaults of the tolbooth as a prison. In consequence, the provost, Nicholas Cornwall of Bonhard, took out a tack on the 'eastern booth of the

figure 13
The Spanish ambassador's house 1936

market cross' in March of that year, and the following month on the western. This implies that these two booths were attached to, or part of, the market cross; the fact that Cornwall of Bonhard had to undertake to keep the market cross both painted and watertight might seem to reinforce this.[128] The two booths were also permitted to set forth goods for sale at their doors and windows on market days.[129] Certain market crosses are known to have had space or room under the main structure, for example in Aberdeen at a later period;[130] perhaps here there is a suggestion that the same was true of Linlithgow's cross; but the market cross was certainly a substantial feature. In the nineteenth century, the cross was described as having been 'an octagonal erection resting on a flight of steps, and surrounded with a bartizaned wall. In the centre another building arose...The space within the bartizan afforded room for the magistrates, town council, and principal inhabitants to assemble and 'drink the healths' on the king's birthday.'[131]

The school stood a little behind the tolbooth, with access from the east side of Kirkgate. This was probably, in origin, the song school[132] attached to the parish church of St Michael, the main purpose of which was the training of choristers. Set back a little, behind the tolbooth, was the town's 'fleshhouse' or shambles.[133] Important features of the townscape were the ports. By this time, there may have been two ports at the east end of the High Street, the Low Port and the East or High Port, each controlling the entrance to

the town from the Blackness and Edinburgh Roads, as well as the West Port. The High Street continued on its medieval alignment, with the addition of wynds, such as St Michael's Wynd, giving access to the South Vennel, which ran as a back lane behind the burgage plots on the south side of High Street.[134] Northwards to the loch, there were closes such as Oliphant's Vennel. It is known that Kirkgate was an established thoroughfare by this time, as James IV made purchases from cramers, who dealt in small goods there. It also gave access to St Michael's Church.[135] Probably the thoroughfare giving access round the east side of the church to the eastern castle entrance was now defunct. Running westwards from Kirkgate to the loch was the Watergate.

The royal presence at the palace affected more than the townscape. The comings and goings of the royal court had a significant impact on the lives of the townspeople. James IV was particularly noted for his kindness and charity to the poor of the town (*see* p 20). Many of the townsmen and women must have had close contact with the palace through employment or provision of goods. In 1514, for example, barley was distributed to some of the Linlithgow women to process into ale for the royal household.[136] The Linlithgow wright who received payment for work carried out on the palace and one Alexander Ryddoche, a Linlithgow smith who made an iron window pane, are merely two examples of the employment of local men. In 1539, most of the cloth sent to Linlithgow to make into clothing would probably have been worked by Linlithgow seamstresses and tailors. And the payment of the sizeable sum of £35 to Marion Henrysone, a widow, for certain debts owed to her would suggest services to the palace. One Thomas Kellis supplied the palace with balls used by Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley for the game of 'catchpule' or tennis. Unskilled work was also essential. Robert Gray, a cadger paid £6 for carrying coffers, was one of many who were rewarded for menial tasks.[137]

Some locals participated in the regular Christmas revelries at the palace, when an Abbot of Unreason was appointed to lead the jollifications during 'Daft Days'. On these and other occasions, entertainment included play acting. 'Patrik Johnson and the playaris of Lythgow' were frequently summoned to the royal presence. James Robesoune, a burgess of Linlithgow, received payment in 1531, for example, for entertaining the king.[138] Probably the most noted play of the century was 'Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis', by Sir David Lindsay, which had its opening night in Linlithgow on 6 January 1540. The townspeople, in their turn, were perhaps entertained by the occasional glimpse of the royal menagerie, kept at Linlithgow Palace. Royalty and its entourage must have been a common sight in the town centre until the reign of Mary Queen of Scots. She, despite being born there, rarely resided at the palace.

In 1540, on the completion of the 'kirk werk' at St Michael's **figure 14**, a new royal charter was bestowed on the town. Amongst the benefits granted was the specific right to have a provost, although a *prepositus* had functioned in the town in the middle ages (*see* p 14). The burgesses chose Henry Forrest of Magdalenes, who had been active personally in the 'kirk work'. His tombstone may still be seen, a little to the east of St Catherine's aisle. Henry Forrest is traditionally credited with giving new meaning and structure to the ancient tradition of 'Riding the Marches'.[139] The burgh lands, which surrounded the town, had been closely guarded from encroachment for centuries. A meeting of burgesses checked, possibly originally on foot, the extensive burgh boundaries, stretching to Winchburgh in the east but oddly not including Blackness.

An important element of the burgesses who rode the marches was the incorporated trades. The original eight crafts included the hammermen (or metal workers), the wrights (wood workers), baxters (bakers), coopers, weavers, tailors, cloth fullers (waulkers) and the cordiners (leather workers). The tanners, who plied their craft beside the plentiful supply of water in the loch,[140] belonged to the cordiners for their deacon in 1506 was John Henderson, a tanner.[141] The presence of three cloth-related incorporations would suggest that the textile industry was an important one in the town, although they lost ground after the fifteenth century. In the mid sixteenth century the fleshers replaced the cloth finishers as the eighth incorporated trade.[142] Many of the townspeople would have found employment in trades that were not incorporated, such as coal, silver and metal mining

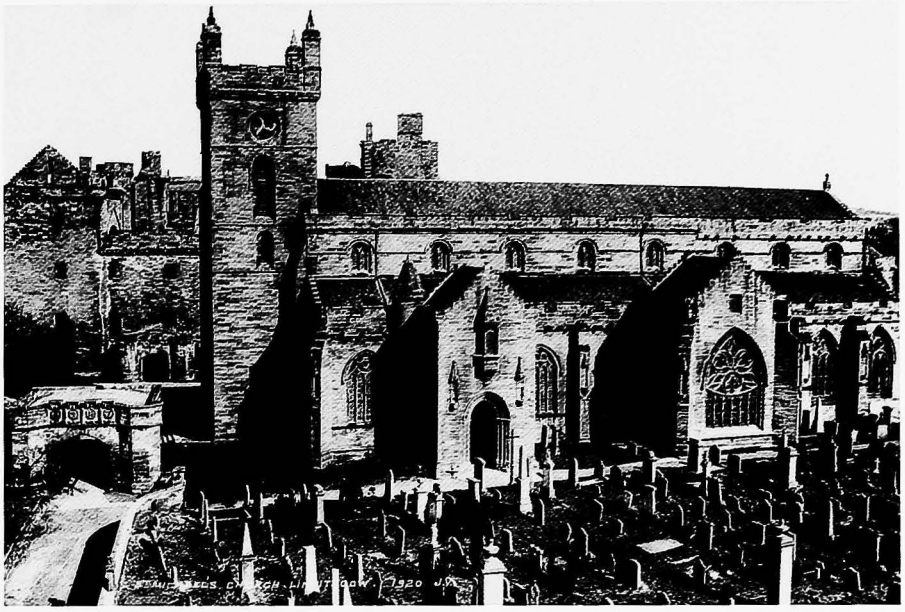


figure 14
St Michael's parish church, *from a postcard dated 1920*

and quarrying.[143] A coal mine was being actively worked near to the town in 1540, although it was worked out by 1558.[144] Others would have been involved in carrying and carting goods to and from the massive stone-walled warehouse at Blackness on the shore, beside the pier which the incorporated trades built and maintained. Here, they stored their goods before transportation for export, as well as raw materials awaiting removal to Linlithgow. Customs receipts for the year 1556, however, make it clear that Linlithgow merchants were also exporting through the ports of Leith and Stirling.[145] Remains of the Guildry, as the Blackness storehouse was called, survived into the 1960s, when it was replaced by a block of flats.[146]

By the sixteenth century, however, customs returns suggest that Linlithgow's exports were dwindling. By then, they trailed behind those of Haddington. In 1532, Linlithgow totalled a mere £18 11s 6d, compared with £92 7s 9d for Haddington, which supported a wider range of goods, as well as a greater volume. By 1596, Linlithgow's payment had fallen to a mere £3 12s, compared with Haddington's £55 5s and Edinburgh's £2,124 12s 7d.[147]

The parish church gave a fair indication of the status of the town. On the exterior of St Michael's, twenty niches were filled with statues of the saints, and the tower was topped with a stone crown. The principal and original entrance is from the south and, to ease communication with the palace, there was a smaller entrance on the north side, now blocked up. The magnificent interior was topped by an oak ceiling and lining the walls were altars. Some of these were supported by the incorporated trades: the cordiners, for example, maintained those dedicated to St Stephen and St Crispin; the coopers that of St Cuthbert; and the hammermen, the altar dedicated to St Eloy.[148] St Michael's altar was the principal dedication; but others, such as those dedicated to St John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, St Bridget (St Bride), St Peter, the Holy Trinity[149] and All Saints[150] and that to St Catherine, in the south transept, were equally revered. The altars of St Bride and Allhallow raised rentals of £10 and £6 13s 4d respectively at the time of the Reformation, which suggests that they were still well endowed.[151] It was in the south transept that James IV supposedly saw the apparition warning him against the fatal expedition to Flodden.[152] The bell that tolled for the town's dead after the battle still rings out and bears, in Latin, the inscription: 'The town of Linlithgow made me, I am called Blessed Mary, in the time of our august Lord James the Fourth, in the year 1490'.[153] The font which held the holy water that baptised the infant Mary Stewart in 1542, however, did not survive long into her reign. In 1559, the Protestant Lords of the Congregation arrived in the town to 'cleanse' it of Catholicism.[154] The font, along with many statues and trappings of the altars, was smashed. The only statue of a saint to survive, although damaged, was that of St Michael, very probably because he was the patron saint of the

town, not because it proved impossible to remove, as some believe; the effigy did blow down in a storm in 1926.[155]

St Ninian's Chapel was ruinous some time prior to the Reformation. It is documented as 'waste' by the early 1560s;[156] and a charter of 1562 disposing of it suggests that it had been in ruins for many years.[157] It was then described as a 'ruinous house...situated at the West Port in the middle of the street, bounded by the lands of James Hamilton on the north, and the Common Highway on the south and east, with a piece of waste ground on which a smithy had been erected called Thomas Robert's forge, and also partly occupied by the kilnpot stede or place [location of kiln] on the east side of the forge'.[158] The Carmelite friary appears not to have suffered wholesale desecration. This may have been because there was a close working relationship between the burgh and the Carmelites, who were known locally as 'the brethren abune the toun'.[159] In 1531, for example, the prior was made a free burgess of the town and the convent was used by the burgh court to hold disputations and for judicial oaths.[160] Provost Henry Forrest feued, for nineteen years, in 1544/5, two acres of the Carmelite lands that abutted on to his burgage plot. Even after the 'cleansing', the friars continued to play a part in town life. In October 1559, Friar Hopper witnessed a sasine of Alexander Livingston; and in the following year the same friar confirmed Provost Forrest's son in the two acres feued by the father and this was witnessed by another friar.[161] When a further two acres were feued out in 1563, it is clear that the land was still considered to be that of the friary. It was not, in fact, until some ten years after the Reformation that the Carmelite priory and lands, Carmelaws, passed into lay hands.[162]

Political events also had an impact on the lives of the people of Linlithgow, particularly during the time of unrest which followed the deposing of Queen Mary. In 1567, for example, the town had to supply oxen for the Regent, James Stewart, earl of Moray; and three years later an army was billeted in the town. A muster of all able-bodied Linlithgow men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, swelled the ranks later that year; although a year later, in 1571, the provost and bailies managed to effect their own absence from the army, at Leith, by the payment of £100. It was also in Linlithgow that Regent Moray was shot, as he rode up the High Street in 1570 (*see* p 20). In this same year, the 'Duke's House', as the residence of James Hamilton, second earl of Arran and duke of Châtelherault, was named, was blown up with gunpowder. Whether other properties suffered from the blast is not recorded, although the threat to fire the rest of the town was averted.[163] The market place also saw much activity other than buying and selling. The remains of executed persons were at times hung up as a warning to others, the most usual site for this being the tolbooth; and it was at Linlithgow market cross, for example, that Châtelherault, leader of the deposed queen's party, was declared a rebel in 1570.[164]

Linlithgow Palace and, in consequence, the town were visited much less frequently in the reign of James VI. Indeed, the palace seems to have suffered neglect during the minority of the king, after his succession in 1567 and the rule of the country by a succession of regents. The keepership of the palace was granted to Captain Andrew Lambie in 1571. With a garrison of twenty-four men, his role was to guard the palace and various important prisoners that were, from time to time, warded there. This caused the townspeople some hardship, as the Privy Council instructed that the provost, bailies and council of Linlithgow were to provide £10 weekly for their maintenance.[165] Two years later, the provost and bailies took on further responsibilities, albeit temporarily, on the instruction of the Privy Council. As both James Hamilton of Kincavill and John Livingston of Preston disputed who was the sheriff of Linlithgow and as the time of the fair was rapidly approaching, the provost and bailies were instructed to act as joint sheriffs, so that correct peace might be maintained at this important time in the burgh's life.[166]

Linlithgow was to see the return of some splendour in 1585, when parliament met in the great hall at the palace. The town was chosen because it was 'clene and void of all suspitioun of the said seiknes [plague] and most commodious and narrest to the burgh of Edinburgh'. The following year, the 'Lords of Council and Session, with all other members of that court, and also the Lords and other auditors of the Exchequer, with the

clerks and offices therof' convened at Linlithgow, so that affairs of state should be discharged. Plague continued to hit other towns, so in November 1587, Linlithgow being clear, the Court of Justiciary was held in the town.[167] The presence of such dignitaries might be taken to imply that the palace was in a good state of repair, but this seems not to have been the case. The yards, orchards and gardens had been neglected for some considerable time, although a new gardener was appointed in 1582. A year later, the master of works, Sir Robert Drummond, warned that the west quarter of the palace was 'altogidder lyk to fall down'. If immediate repairs were effected this would cost £100; but, if postponed, £1,000 would be required. Some work was undertaken; and the records indicate that the king and queen were resident at Linlithgow in the 1590s.[168] Even so, by 1599 it was reported of the palace that 'there [was] a quarter ruinous and the rest necessary to be repaired'.[169]

the seventeenth century

With the removal of the royal court to London in 1603, Linlithgow lost some of its status. In 1613 the provost and bailies of the town argued that it was 'a verie poore burgh, without trade or handling, and [had] little or no commoun good quhairby thay may beir out and sustene the commoun burdyns of the said toun'. This may have been an exaggeration, as the town was placing a complaint against Thomas Foullis, master of the royal mills, for diverting water from its accustomed course to feed the king's mill, thereby depriving the town's mill and rendering it 'altogidder inutile and unprofitable unto thame, to the grite hurte, wraik and inconvenient of the said burgh'.[170]

The construction of the new north wing, with one of the finest Renaissance façades in Scotland and a complete suite of domestic interiors, including some of the best examples of the period, however, strongly suggests that King James VI had every intention of using the palace more regularly than he did. The work, begun in 1618 and completed in 1624, under the direction of the master mason William Wallace, was effected after the king's one visit to Scotland in 1617, which included a brief stay at Linlithgow,[171] but he did not return again.[172] Charles I (1625–49) did, however, occupy the palace briefly in 1633, after much activity in the residence in anticipation of the royal visit: windows were repaired at a cost of £94 2s and cleaned for a further £6; and the stables were refurbished, the walls being taken down and replaced in stone and lime.[173] Supplies of meat and assistance to the king's baker were provided by the town and the parish supplied horses for transporting the king's baggage.[174] Properties in the Kirkgate were also to be renovated by replacing their derelict thatching with slates, so as not to offend the eye of the monarch on his progress to the palace; a new unicorn was made for the top of the market cross; several of the council were provided with silk clothes; orders were laid down that no one was to wear 'plaidis and blew bannetis' as they were 'undecent';[175] middens were to be removed from all the streets; beggars were banished from the town;[176] and private persons were forbidden to take lodgings in the town during the royal visit.[177]

The town council minute book of 1620–40 reveals that the burgesses had to maintain the fabric of the town at other times. In April 1620, for example, the bridge over the River Avon, the important link with the west, was under repair; and, in the same year, planking, sand and lime were ordered for the upgrading of the tolbooth. Six years later, the council agreed to purchase timber for 'the bigging of the hous of blaknes'; this was probably not new building, but rather repair work to the 'Guildry' (*see* p 33). The schoolhouse also needed maintenance. Indeed, such extensive work was necessary, in 1630, because of the 'weakness of the roof and walls', that the scholars were removed 'into the hospitallis hous in the kirkgaite', that is, the old almshouse (*see* p 82),[178] even though a new school had been erected in 1625 at the back of the tolbooth.[179] The burgh authorities also encouraged the townspeople to maintain their property adequately. In 1644, for example, a list of old and derelict houses was drawn up with the intention of forcing their occupiers to effect repairs. Three years later, however, a number were still in so poor a condition that they were demolished.[180] One group of properties that

figure 15
The Cross Well
1890s

disappeared at this time was the Middleraw. In order to improve the street in this area, the council purchased houses, such as the Cross House, owned by William Ritchie, and for which he paid £100. They were then demolished.[181]

Contemporary visitors to Linlithgow were very complimentary about the townscape. Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of Cheshire, commented in 1636 on the 'fair church and dainty conduit in the middle of the street'. This was the Cross Well, sited in the very heart of the town beside the market cross **figure 15**. The palace was deemed to be 'very fair' and 'built castle wise' and, interestingly, confirming the view that some of the late sixteenth-century properties were influenced by the palace he added, 'By the way, I observed gentlemen's (here called lairds) houses built all castle-wise'. Jorevin de Rocheford, in the town possibly in 1661, believed the castle to be 'one of the strongest places in the kingdom'; and he also went on to praise 'the very handsome church at one end of the market-place, in the centre of which [was] a fountain, in a basin which receives its waters'.[182]

An interesting insight into the topography of the town may be gained from the town council minutes of October 1635. In this year, plague had broken out in the Low Countries. Commissioners were appointed to prevent any ships from the Netherlands landing plague-stricken passengers, and quarantine lodgings were prepared.[183] It was the opinion of the council that 'vagabonds' were the most likely carriers; and since both vagabonds and beggars tended to gather at the 'yeardheadis', that is the end of the burgage plots, all were to be banished and the burgesses were to build up their walls at the end of the burgage plots. This ruling is recorded in the town council minute book and applied to all tenements from the east port to the west and to those at the 'north-west' of the burgh.[184] 'North-west' was possibly a scribal error of the town clerk, as the plots here had a measure of natural protection from the fact that most of them were bounded by the loch. Alternatively, if this minute is correct, here may be confirmation that the plots at the north-east did not need further protection, as they had the security of abutting onto the peel (*see* p 62). A serious measure to control crime in the town had been enacted two years previously: it was deemed that 'jurisdiction of the toun of Linlithgow is limitate and restrained to a verie little speace outwith thair west port and thairby many fugitive persones and thieves murtheres or comitteries of blood and whose malefactoris have escaiped unpunisched the...provest and baillies...not haveing power to follow thaime out of the boundrie of thar jurisdictioun'. The magistrates, therefore, granted all the rights to apprehend and punish, as they had within the town, as far as the Bridge of Avon from the west port and for a distance one mile, more than previously, all round the town in all other directions.[185]

One 'crime' that hit Linlithgow, as many other towns, was that of witchcraft. Andrew Turnbull was tried in the town in 1617; a number of other cases followed.[186] The presbytery of Linlithgow showed a certain enthusiasm for rooting out the problem. In 1644, when Margaret Thomson was released from prison on the instruction of the Privy

Council, the presbytery disagreed. Four years later, the presbytery applied to have a standing commission for the trial of witches, but this was refused by the Privy Council.[187]

The town was also to witness harsh treatment of another group of people in 1645. After the battle of Philiphaugh and the defeat of James Graham, fifth earl of Montrose by David Leslie, camp followers who had escaped the massacre were rounded up and brought by the Covenanters to Linlithgow Bridge, where they were thrown into the Avon. If they survived the fifty-foot drop and attempted to reach the banks, they were forced back by pikemen until they drowned.[188] Along with many other towns at this time, Linlithgow suffered from the presence of billeted troops. In 1643, for example, the burgh paid out £12 13s 4d for the support of militia, Argyll's Regiment; and in the October of that year alone, the burgh's quartering accounts indicate that £368 6s 2d was spent on the horse regiment of Alexander, first earl of Balcarres. June 1644 saw an overnight stay of possibly only forty-five men of the Marquis of Argyll's Life Guard of Horse, but their quartering charges amounted to £40 11s 4d. In January 1647, it was Colonel Harry Barclay's unit that quartered itself in the town. This was a pattern that was to repeat itself on numerous occasions, to the considerable hardship of the townspeople.[189]

Linlithgow received less welcome visitors than royal personages in 1650, when Oliver Cromwell installed himself in the palace, with his troops encamped on The Peel. It was at this stage that fortifications were erected around the palace. These probably followed the line of Edward I's 'pele', but the banks and ditches which protected the palace and grounds were to be defended by artillery. In order to enclose The Peel adequately and have a ready quarry for stone, the tolbooth was demolished, as were the hospital or almshouse (*see* p71 & 82), all the houses in Kirkgate,[190] and the schoolhouse. By 17 February 1651, however, the council had made the decision to set up a song school for the teaching of music and this was to be held in the Session House. Interestingly, seven years later, an enlightened project was approved: to establish a school 'to instruct young ones of the feminine sex'.[191]

St Michael's parish church also suffered from Cromwell's occupation. Even before his arrival, it had proved useful for a variety of purposes. In 1620, for example, it functioned as a wood store[192] and twenty-five years later, for a short while, it housed the University of Edinburgh when the plague-stricken capital was abandoned.[193] By the following year, the kirk session records make it very clear that restoration work was long overdue,[194] the church having been partially emptied before the arrival of the university, with the intention of placing new pews in the interior.[195] Efforts to bring about improvements were marred by a local schism in the church, in an obscure dispute, first recorded in the Session Records of 18 January 1648, involving worship, which also seems to have anticipated the later, nation-wide split between the clerical parties, resolutioners and Protesters. In such circumstances, there were problems over the appointment of a suitable minister,[196] and just as the town council was about to achieve this, the council was forced to flee to Blackness and the safety of Culross, because of the approach of Cromwell's troops. Such was the fear of their arrival that all the town's documents were sent to Dundee, considered the securest burgh in Scotland, for safekeeping.[197]

The parish church became incorporated in the defences of the peel (*see* pp 63–4); it was occupied both by the troops and their horses, the latter being stabled in the nave while the troops occupied the *triforium*. On the departure of the military, the church heritors estimated that £1,000 was needed to repair the roof and windows alone.[198] Other work had also to be effected. On the return of the council from Culross, permission had been gained from General Monck, commander of the government forces in the castle, that the parish church should be divided into two by a 'mid-wall'; so that the two warring parties, the Protesters and the Resolutioners, might worship separately.[199] Accordingly, the church was divided between the chancel, at this point the only furnished part of the church, and the nave, with the Protesters worshipping in the chancel and the Resolutioners in the nave. This wall was to remain in place until 1660,

when timber was purchased for 'scaffolding for taking down the mid-wall of the church'.[200]

Other evidences of the disturbed times in the 1650s were also removed from the townscape after the Restoration. The defences erected around the palace were all to be knocked down, under the supervision of George, third earl of Linlithgow, the hereditary keeper of the palace after the restoration of Charles II (1660–85). This work was to be completed with the help of the magistrates and inhabitants of the town, as well as the parish; they were to nominate a well-equipped demolition gang which was to be ready at the keeper's summons.[201] This might seem to have been somewhat harsh. To assist reconstruction, in 1662, the crown granted Linlithgow a free fair for three days and allowed the burgh to double the custom within the town, 'considering the great loss sustained by the burgh, and the destruction of all their public works by the attack of the usurper, viz their church, hospital, school, market cross, tolbooth, well, four mills and store houses or granarie at Blackness'.[202] It seems, however, that the magistrates may have been a little over-zealous, and imposed illegal imposts on malt and ale 'whereby the poor commonality suffer[ed]'.[203]

One major piece of reconstruction work for the town was the building of a replacement tolbooth. Sometime around 1661, the council petitioned the Privy Council that the town 'being destitut of a prison house...ever since the year 1651 at which tyme not only was the prison house destroyed by the Inglish usurpers bot their toune and inhabitants were harazed and undone so that they are not yet in a capacity to rebuild any prison house by themselves without supply'.[204] In the hope that the town would soon have a tolbooth, a bell was brought from Holland in 1661; and a further sign of increasing confidence in the future was the striking of a new burgh seal, at a cost of £21, a significant investment, given the repair work needed in the town.[205] The tolbooth itself was constructed between 1668 and 1670, to a design of John Milne, the king's master mason, with a double staircase giving access to the first floor and a spire added about 1673.[206] Its original form may be seen prominently on Slezer's engravings of Linlithgow in *Theatrum Scotiae* **figure 16**. This new tolbooth reduced the width of Kirkgate by

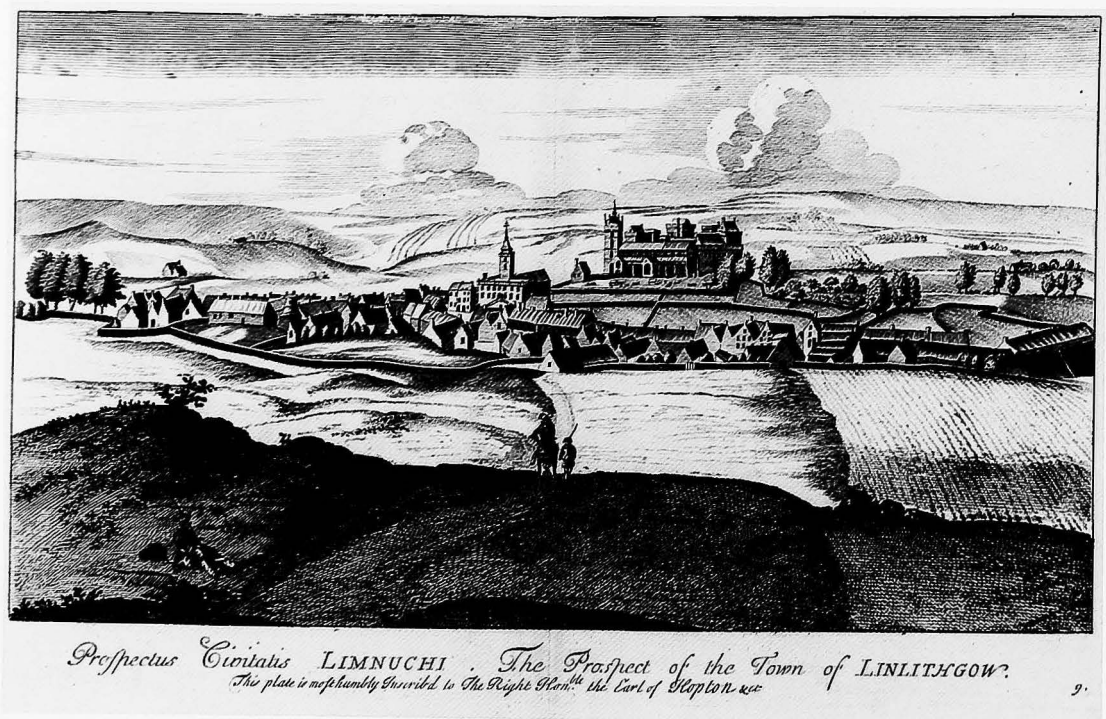


figure 16
John Slezer's *Prospect of Linlithgow* 1670s

figure 17
The townhouse
1992

approximately eight feet (2.4 metres) **figure 17**. The interior was embellished with paintings by a Dutchman, who was paid £6 7s 7d for his efforts.[207]

The records show clearly that, for the town, the 1660s and 1670s were a period of general building activity. Two clocks were made, one for the tolbooth steeple and the other for the church steeple, both in 1670/71. But it is known that the town had a clock before this time,[208] and possibly as early as 1558.[209] In the same year, it was reported to the council that progress was being made with the building of the grammar school.[210] The Cross Well had also to be reconstructed, having suffered during the Cromwellian occupation.[211] Close by, three tenements were converted into a fleshmarket, or shambles. These were disponed to the burgh in 1667, 1672 and 1694 respectively.[212] All such works were a heavy burden for the town, but it was still prepared to fund the erection of another building on the west gable of the 'guildry' and of the same dimensions, 'for the use of the good toun', in 1679.[213] The previous year, the guild had resolved to build a house for themselves at Blackness. It is clear from the Guildry Papers that the guild, which took a strong interest in the fabric of the town, was very supportive at this period: in 1670, they assisted the town in the rebuilding of the tolbooth or townhouse, in exchange for holding their meetings there and ringing the tolbooth bell to summon their members. In the same year, they contributed to the repairs of the church and were assigned a place for a loft; and, in 1671, the guild forwent two years' interest on town bonds to assist in the building of the grammar school, the townhouse and steeple and the flesh and meal markets.[214] In 1679, burghal financial assistance was given to the rebuilding of the bridge at Cleghorn, as this was the usual route to Lanark.[215] Six years previously, the bridge over the Avon was rebuilt by the Earl of Linlithgow who, in return, was granted the customs of the bridge, which had lapsed some time previously. These, however, he in turn granted to the town in 1681.[216]

Private housing needed attention as well. It was reported that the houses on the land to the east of the market cross were falling down in 1671, but it is clear that the council took care to monitor any improvement work: in 1661, Nicoll Gardiner sought permission to put a window in one of his side walls. It was given, on condition that the window was 'glassed for licht' and that the said Nicoll and his heirs and successors did not 'cast in anytime hereafter ony chaumber pottis or filth out of his said high window, upon the said...close'.[217] A disagreement between neighbours gives an interesting insight into properties on the High Street. In 1666, one James Henderson gained permission from King Charles II to extend the forework of his property on the south side of the street, at a site near to the 'middle of the burgh', which suggests it was close to the market cross area. Although this might not appear to have been a wise extension, given it was so near the

most congested part of the town, he was merely to extend as far forward as the building line of his neighbour, William Drummond of Hawthornden, on his east and the outshot or turnpike staircase of Provost Robert Stewart on his west—both prestigious neighbours. The provost and bailies showed more concern for the public wellbeing, however, when it was not their own property involved, and illegally prevented the extension. The matter was remitted to the dean of guild, the officer in charge of monitoring and controlling building matters.[218] This practice of protruding forestairs or booths onto the thoroughfare led, in many cases, to a subsequent claim to move the entire frontage of the building forward into the street. Occasional properties, however, sat back within the toft, such as one sited at 213–221 High Street.[219]

Matters of access were also dealt with by the authorities. Dog Well Wynd, for example, was not an official thoroughfare, but was used by the townspeople for quick access through a derelict property to the back lane behind the properties on south High Street. In 1692, the owner threatened to close the pathway and, in consequence, the council acquired the property and secured access for the townspeople.[220] Slezer's view of the town from the south gives a clear picture of the backlands of the properties on south High Street and access through them to the main thoroughfare. The yardheads, or 'heid dykes', were all protected with walling; although low, it appears to be more substantial than the medieval ditch and palisading **figure 16.**

The council, with so much necessary repair work in the rest of the town, could not afford to refurbish the church. Funds were raised by a levy on the whole burgh; and when this proved insufficient, the remaining necessary sums were raised by selling off the right to use pews. Lofts were also erected and all faced towards the new pulpit, which stood to the south side of the church. Many of the lofts were allocated to the incorporated crafts, who received windows along with their seats, both of which they had to maintain. The Gentleman Heritors had a loft at the east end; the king's pew faced the pulpit, with that of the Earl of Linlithgow to its right. The latter also gained permission to put a roofed tomb over his 'ancient burial place', to the south side of the church, in 1684.[221] By then, the parish church had been transformed from the pre-Reformation building, lined as it had been with its magnificent altars and rich pertinents.

Whether there was much decline in the fabric of the palace during the occupation and after the departure of the Cromwellian troops is unclear. John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, commented, in 1668, that it was 'for the most part ruinous';[222] so did Thomas Kirk in 1677.[223] Yet John Slezer's engraving of 1678 shows clearly that the palace was still roofed and it is known from their graffiti that cooks were still using the kitchens in 1685 and 1687. James, duke of Albany and York, the future James VII, also felt Linlithgow Palace a fit place to reside in 1679 and from 1680 to 1682.[224]

That the town was happy to be rid of the Cromwellian troops is clear from the town treasurer's accounts. £1 13s 9d was spent on building gallows to hang an effigy of Cromwell; £2 8s went on a cart to drag the effigy through the town; £2 8s was the cost of a board with arms on it, which was also burned with the effigy; and four loads of coal for this burning were purchased for £2 8s.[225] The restoration of the Stewart monarchy brought with it the return of episcopacy. Linlithgow, it is said, burned the Covenant on the second anniversary of the Restoration, amidst much rejoicing and bonfires. By 1696, however, in changed times, the council argued 'that the toun had noe hand in burning the Covenant and any aspersion put upon the toun thairanent to be false and calumnious'.[226] Whatever the case, some, at least, in the town continued to support the Covenant and non-conformity, meeting in illegal conventicles. General Thomas Dalyell of the Binns was one of the prime movers in the attempt to eradicate Covenanting support. The town found itself billeted with militia despatched to root out non-conformity in the 1670s;[227] and the tolbooth was to host a number apprehended at a conventicle near Bathgate in 1675.[228] Four years later, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge and the rout of the Covenanters, a number of prisoners found themselves housed in Linlithgow's flesh market, awaiting transportation to Edinburgh. Some suggest that as many as 1,200 were confined in the small space and, but for the kindness of the local schoolmaster, James

Kirkwood, who personally supplied clothing and food, many would not have been able to continue to the capital.[229] A meeting house was also set up in the town, without warrant, and the magistrates were ordered to suppress this. The long list of religious recusants fined at the time of the suppression of the meeting house suggests a fair degree of support for non-conformity in the town; and the fines were sufficiently large to pay for a house for the masters of the grammar school.[230]

The Cromwellian forces were credited with giving one benefit to the town. It is said that they brought more advanced techniques for tanning which they taught to the Linlithgow cordiners. Certainly, from this time, leather working was on the increase in the town; Linlithgow was eventually to have a fine reputation for the quality of its leather goods, in particular footwear. The other incorporated trades at this time were the baxters, coopers, fleshers, smiths, tailors, weavers and wrights; but a number of other occupations were pursued in the town. Carters, dyers, horse dealers, meal makers, masons and gardeners were common sights, while much of the important task of ale making was left to the women. Local produce and manufactures were sold at the weekly market at the Cross. Market day was Saturday until 1645, when it was changed to a Friday, so the townspeople could prepare more soberly for the Sabbath. Meal was sold from a room below the school and timber at the West Port. The weekly horse markets, held from January to May, were also at the West Port. At the time of the four fairs, the numbers gathering in the town were swelled by visitors from further afield. These were held on the Thursday after Pentecost, 24 August (St Magdalene's fair), 21 September (St Matthew's fair) and 24 October.[231]

In spite of all the town's efforts to set itself on a firm footing, it was to receive a blow in 1668. The town's prosperity depended largely on its ability to maintain economic control over its hinterland; to this end it had, for example, successfully pursued Queensferry for assaulting Linlithgow's custumars and preventing them from collecting the customs from Queensferry's fair and market in 1628.[232] Bo'ness (Borrowstouness) was no threat, as it was so small. Sir Robert Sibbald wrote that 'there was a gentleman died since the yeare 1660, who remembered that ther was but one hous wher now ther is the town of Borrostonesse, Grangepans, Bridgenesse and Crues-about Pans'.[233] By 1668, however, when it was elevated to a burgh of regality, Bo'ness had grown. The letter sent by the council, in an attempt to prevent the potentially disastrous recognition of a rival, on the grounds that Linlithgow had been a loyal town and that any further burghs would be detrimental, is still extant.[234] Nevertheless, in 1672, along with other burghs of regality and barony, Bo'ness was to receive the liberty to export, import and retail. Linlithgow's monopoly of trade through Blackness was now threatened.[235] Worse was to follow. The customs office was transferred to Bo'ness.[236] When the town council wrote to Edinburgh's provost, in an attempt to gain support for its return to Blackness, the response was that Linlithgow would have to provide a 'convenient office house' for a year, free of rent; accommodation for officers, merchants and mariners; and the merchants were to be supplied with boats to unload their goods, horses to transport the same and workmen to lift the loads into the cellars at as easy rates as they were used to.[237]

An assessment of the number of hearths in individual properties, for the purposes of taxation, gives a telling insight into the townscape in 1691. Of the 594 houses, most (some 60 per cent) had only a single hearth; but it is clear that many of the other homes were quite prestigious. That of Drummond of Hawthornden, on the south side of the High Street, appears to have been the largest, with fourteen hearths. There were, however, a number of other properties with multiple hearths: two had eleven; two others had ten; one, Rickertoune's lodging, had nine; and five had eight hearths. Most of these were sited on the south side of the High Street, with their long rigs running back from the dwellings. The Bonhards' lodging had six hearths; and the West Port house, three. Compared with other towns, Linlithgow had an unusually high proportion of prestigious housing. Musselburgh, for example, had only one ten-roomed house and this was the manse, the next largest being merely seven-hearthed; and in Stranraer the largest house had three hearths.[238] If it is assumed that there was, on average, about 4.25 inhabitants in each dwelling, this would suggest a population of just over 2,500.

In spite of these impressive houses, it is clear that, as the century drew to a close, Linlithgow was struggling to maintain its standing and economic viability. The 1692 report to the Convention of Royal Burghs highlights the town's predicament. The common good raised merely £2,800 Scots per annum, but the town's debts amounted to £18,235 6s 8d; Blackness was 'unsufficient and unsecure'; foreign trade, both export and import, was 'very inconsiderable' and inland trade not thriving, even though there were six yearly fairs, each lasting two days, and a weekly market; and the town had no ships, barks, boats or ferry boats. This dire state of affairs, Linlithgow felt, was caused by its neighbours, who had

> *within ther precinct and adjacent to them the burghs of barronies and regalities followeing, viz., Borrowstounes, Grangepanns, Kirklistowne, Torphichen and Bathgate, all which are highly prejudiciall to ther trade both outland and inland, particularly Borrowstounes and Grangepans whose houses are in a better conditione and sett at a higher rate than many of ther burgh, besides the great prejudice they have by a number of villages and kirktowns within ther precinct and adjacent to them, who wrong ther trade by venting [selling] aboundance of staple comodities to the countrey.*[239]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by internal struggle and disagreement amongst council members, provosts and ex-provosts and ultimately, in 1686, the temporary suspension of town elections and nomination of the council by James VII.[240] Religious factionalism also marred the peace of the town; the dismissal of Kirkwood as master of the grammar school for failure to attend fitting Protestant worship brought legal wranglings, which the town lost;[241] and in 1695, the council concluded that the town was in a 'deplorable condition' and that this was partly due to 'the maniefold loss sustained by the long and continued vaccancie of a fixed and edefieing ministries amongst them'.[242]

the eighteenth century

Sir Robert Sibbald, a visitor to Linlithgow, did not agree with the pessimistic view of the council. His account of a visit to the town, published in 1710, spoke of a 'town well built' and a palace 'magnificently built of fine polished stone', from which 'there [was] an easie passage by a lane to the Toun: in this lane [stood] the Grammar School, a large building fitted for teaching of the Scholars, and for lodgeing of some of the sons of the Gentrie'. The townhouse was 'stately', with 'a high steeple with bells and a fine clock', the top storey of the townhouse being used 'for publick feasts and intertainments', and the lowest for 'a weigh-house and rooms where prisoners [were] kept'. The fountain in the middle of the square raised the water 'a full spears height, which [fell] down in several pipes with a pleasant murmuring'. He also commented on the 'large street reaching from one end of the Toun to the other, which [was] adorned on each side with fair buildings, from which divers lanes [stretched] out, which [opened] a passage into several pleasant gardens, abounding with fruit and useful pot-herbs'.[243]

Daniel Defoe, also visiting the town in the early eighteenth century, painted a similar picture. Linlithgow, for him, was

> *a pleasant, handsome, well built town; the tolbooth is a good building, and not old, kept in good repair, and the streets clean: the people look here as if they were busy, and had something to do, whereas in many towns we pass'd through they seem'd as if they look'd disconsolate for want of employment: the whole green fronting the lough or lake, was cover'd with linnen-cloth, it being the bleaching season, and, I believe a thousand women and children, and not less, tending and managing the bleaching business; the town is serv'd with water by one very large bason, or fountain, to which the water is brought from the same spring which serv'd the royal palace.*

One reason for these numbers of women and children, he explained, was that:

> *At Lithgow there is a very great linnen manufacture, as there is at Glasgow; and the water of the lough, or lake here, is esteem'd with the best in Scotland for bleaching or whitening of linnen cloth: so that a great deal of linnen, made in other parts of the country, is brought either to be bleach'd or whiten'd.*[244]

The town was, in spite of Defoe's comments on a single supply of water, well endowed. The loch had been the usual source, water being drawn for domestic purposes and baking and brewing until as late as 1638. Use of the loch probably stopped only when local industries and human waste began seriously to pollute it.[245] Wells and water butts were the other supply of water. Cross Well was the most important well, standing as it did in the very heart of the town **figure 15**. Lead piping supplied the well from as early as 1629; it was rebuilt in 1658 (*see* p 78) by James Thomson, mason. It was essential that it be kept in good repair; in 1774, the council decided to rebuild it 'of new', while in 1794 an iron railing was put round it, replacing a ruinous stone rail.[246] The Dog Well stood to the west of the Cross Well. It was near to the Cross Burn, by which it was supplied, and probably dated to the 1640s. In 1673, it was moved two feet: it was making damp the north-west gable of a house that Bailie Robert Bell had received permission, in 1643, to bring ten feet forward into the street—another example of encroachment on the thoroughfare.[247] In 1766, one James Henderson laid a pipe to his own property from the Dog Well, but this was lifted on his death, seventeen years later.[248] The Lion Well was a little further west still. It had been erected by public subscription, was taken over by the town in 1766 and rebuilt in 1803. Near to the West Port was the New Well, erected in 1691.[249] In 1765, it was dry and in need of repair, as the lead pipes serving it were broken; a decision was taken to build a new reservoir for it in 1774.[250] It is still standing.

Extant, also, is the oldest public well supplying the street—St Michael's Well, with its inscription 'Saint Michael is kinde to straingers', to the east of the Cross **figure 18**. Originally, this stood on St Michael's Wynd, or as it was sometimes termed, Easter Wynd; but in 1719,

figure 18
St Michael's Well
c 1970

the council agreed that the supply should be brought down to the High Street in lead pipes and the present well was built in 1720;[251] in 1773, its reservoir was enlarged to improve the supply.[252] It was moved again in 1802, a little to the south-east, to 'improve that part of the street adjoining to the Easter Wynd'.[253] The town council minute books make it clear that maintenance of the water supply was one of the priorities; and there are constant references to its repair and maintenance.[254] There were also private wells, such as the Lady Well. In 1660, the council had come to an agreement with James Hamilton of Westport that water should be brought through his land to supply the town. Eighty years later, however, the Lady Well was found often to be dry, as Captain Walter Hamilton of Westport had diverted the channel for his own use.[255] There was a well at the rear of the Knights Hospitaller's building, while in the yard of the old chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a very old well, known either as St Mary's or Fairy Well. This was thought to have been a votive well; and as there had been an almshouse associated with the chapel, the spring may have had a reputation for healing.[256] In spite of the fact that Linlithgow was renowned for its wells, part of an early eighteenth-century saying being 'Glasgow for bells, Linlithgow for wells', the town decided to sink another in 1775, at the West Port. Called Paul's Well, when it was built in 1776, it was a draw-well with a bucket, but it was furnished with a wooden pump in 1778.[257]

The burgh officials showed a further enlightened interest in the health and well being of the town in 1736. They laid down that all dogs were to be 'worried', that is strangled, following the 'damage sustained by mad dogs and particularly the melancholy accident that has lately happened'. Quite what the 'melancholy accident' was is unclear, but the council insisted on a further safety measure: if any mad dog died it was to be buried at least three feet down and a notice of this information was to be placed on the church door.[258] The banning of cattle from pasturing in the churchyard, in 1779, by the council is a reminder that, even at this time, the town remained essentially rural.[259]

Near to the Cross Well and market cross was Cross House,[260] built around the turn of the century. An extension was added to the west in the mid eighteenth century and it is a fine example of quality building, confirming the favourable views expressed by Defoe. Also dating from the eighteenth century is the town house of the Boyds, now the Star and Garter Hotel, but retaining many classic eighteenth-century features (*see* p 86). Another important landmark stood to the west of the Cross—the Golden Cross hostelry. It was here that Robert Burns became a member of the local masonic lodge in 1787. Now replaced by modern flats, all that remains is a plaque displaying the coat of arms of Dean of Guild, James Crawford, who once lived there (*see* p 104).

The Registers of Sasines for the first half of the century give a clear impression of a bustling town, with not merely dwellings and working premises on the frontages of the burgage plots, but also much activity in the backlands.[261] One toft, for example, on the south side of the High Street, housed a dwelling, yard, stables, kiln, malt barns, tanning pits 'and others'.[262] There were also barking pots and kilns on the north side of the High Street.[263] Still standing in the backlands are two reminders of the activities that were pursued there: one, a stone oven, is a reminder of the dangers of fire in the late medieval period when it was wise to place ovens outside wooden housing (*see* p 69); the other, a dovecot, possibly originating in the sixteenth century and belonging to the family of Ross of Halkhead, was a means, for the wealthier members of society, to vary the winter diet with fresh pigeon. The tanners had a horse mill for treating and breaking bark and a kiln for drying it in a backland.[264] The incorporation of shoemakers had property on the south side of the High Street, at what is now *no* 125, which has since been restored (*see* p 92).[265] When, in 1747, the incorporation of dyers was granted sasine of a property, the business and congestion of backland life becomes clear: they were granted half of a corn barn and stack yard with a malt barn and kiln and some land on the south side of the High Street, bounded by property lying to the north (on the street frontage) and to the east. The town wall lay to the south.

Slezer's late seventeenth-century depiction of the town from the south, suggesting that the town wall was more substantial than timber palisading and ditching (*see* pp 75–6), is

reinforced by eighteenth-century documentary evidence. The dyers were also given sasine of tailriggs to the south of the town wall, with free 'ische and entrie' (exit and entry) to the barn and barn yards.[266] Access to the South Vennel, or back lane, at the yard heads was maintained, for those with properties on the frontages, by a number of small vennels as well as the public pathways at St Michael's Wynd and Dog Well Wynd. Other public wynds were opened up to give general access, two of the most notable being the Lion Well Wynd and New Well Wynd. The latter came into use in 1795, after the purchase by the town of tenements and two tailriggs so as to demolish them.[267]

There is some evidence that properties were, by now, being developed outwith the historic, medieval confines. By 1727, erstwhile arable land was being built up to the east of the town and before 1756, there are further references to properties having been erected outside the East Port, with the lands of the Chapel of Holy Mary on the west and the common green on the north.[268]

The eighteenth-century town council records illustrate clearly the continuing concern of the authorities for the townscape. All of the municipal property, such as the tolbooth, flesh market, town mills, bridges and ports needed constant maintenance.[269] By 1713, for example, the West Port and adjoining wall had collapsed. Its re-erection 'in the same manner as it was formerly' by a mason indicates that the West Port, at least, was a more substantial structure than the wooden barresses of medieval times.[270] Throughout the century, not only were existing structures maintained, but old ones were converted and new ones built. The guard house at the Cross was ruinous and demolished and the materials sold in 1765; the following year a lodge was built for the customs man outside the West Port;[271] the meal market was upgraded to a fleshmarket in 1788, with shading and roofing and divisions into stalls—a big improvement on the open shambles at the Cross. New corn and barley mills were built; in 1790 it was agreed that a corn and victual market was to be erected at the back of the council chambers, the third storey of which functioned as a debtors' prison. And in 1791, the council took the decision to build a library to house Dr Robert Henry of Milnfield's collection of books.[272] A new church was established in the latter part of the century. The 'Burghers', those Secessionists who were prepared to take the 'Burgess Oath' which contained an undertaking to 'uphold the true protestant religion', worshipped in Learmonth's tannery from 1770. They subsequently feued a site from Avon Place to the High Street and built their first church in 1772.[273]

The lives of the townspeople were not purely concerned with their own horizons; and the daily routine was, at times, interrupted by national politics. The council minute book records that, on Saturday 7 May 1715, there was fixed to the Cross, the town ports and 'other patent places...a treasonable pamphlet' against the king and government. This was, on the advice of the king's advocate and solicitor in Edinburgh, forwarded to London, for which measure the provost was thanked for his 'care and diligence'. By August, in fear of a 'threatened invasion' by the Pretender, a guard of thirty men was kept nightly. A month later, this was felt to be inadequate and the town appealed to the Earl of Hopetoun, Lord Lieutenant of the shire, for 400 men and ammunition against the expected invasion 'designed for the overturning of [their] religion and liberties carried on by the highlanders and other rebellious Jacobite parties in the north who [had] already taken...Perth'; although they could provide 400 men, there was ammunition available for only 200. A guard was placed in the palace, forty Linlithgow men were sent to supplement the county militia and the town was divided into eight companies.[274] In the event, the rising collapsed and Linlithgow, in spite of all its fears, was not closely involved.

This was not the case with the 'Forty-five. On Sunday 15 September, word came that Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his supporters had arrived at the West Port. Although Provost John Bucknay, known to be a Jacobite sympathiser, deemed it wise to leave for Edinburgh, his family and many other leading Linlithgow Jacobites celebrated in the palace with the prince; wine flowed from the fountain in the courtyard, but for the last time. The prince's supporters camped at St Magdalene's for a few hours. 13 January 1746 was to see the brief return of the Jacobites under Lord George Murray. The next occupant was commander-in-chief of the government forces, General Hawley; before the

battle of Falkirk, and again after their defeat, Hawley and his troops billeted in the palace. By 31 January, the disgraced Hawley had been replaced as commander-in-chief by the Duke of Cumberland. His arrival with reinforcements brought the army encamped in Linlithgow to over 10,000. Their departure the next day, while probably welcomed by the townspeople, was to have a disastrous result. Fires lit the night before were not extinguished and the palace went up in flames.[275] The town council minutes, however, make it very clear where sympathy lay, at least officially. Although the townsfolk objected to the billeting of troops on them, some compensation was given for the provision of food to the 'rebels', that is the supporters of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, whom the townspeople had been forced to supply, on the threat of execution. In March a letter of congratulation on his success against the rebels was sent to the Duke of Cumberland;[276] April saw the purchase of thirteen loads of coal for a bonfire to celebrate the battle of Culloden;[277] in May, a congratulatory letter went to the king; and in June, when Cumberland was again to pass through the town, it was decided to present him with the freedom of the town,[278] and the burgh rang with bells.[279]

Other, less important, visitors came to the town in the second half of the century. Bishop Pococke, visiting the town in 1760, wrote of the 'handsome, modern Gothic church' and the palace and loch. Interestingly, of the town itself he said nothing other than the fact that Linlithgow 'consists of a street'; a succinct comment on the topography of the town.[280] Robert Burns, in 1787, found that Linlithgow had

> *the appearance of rude, decayed, idle grandeur, charmingly 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...A pretty good old Gothic church...What a poor, pimping business is a Presbyterian place of worship! dirty, narrow, squalid; stuck in a corner of old popish grandeur such as Linlithgow!*[281]

In 1793, Linlithgow was described, by the minister Rev James Dobie, in the following manner:

> *The town consists of one street, about three quarters of a mile in length, with several lanes, and a range of gardens on the N and S. Opposite to the town-house is a vacant space, where the cross formerly stood, and the principal well still is. The street, towards the E, is broad and airy; about the middle, contracted and gloomy: as one goes westward, it again enlarges itself.*

The east end of High Street was 'broad and airy' as the Middleraw had been demolished (*see* p 30); and, although the cross, also, was no longer in existence (*see* p 32), congestion at the traditional market centre had a harsh visual effect.[282] It is known from cartographic evidence that the town ports were also removed during the second half of this century, which would also have added to the 'airiness' of the thoroughfare. Of the dwellings, Dobie continued:

> *Many of the houses have, it must be owned, a mean aspect, and exhibit striking symptoms of decay. Several, however, have lately been rebuilt, and other operations of a similar kind are now going forward; so that, in process of time, the whole may be expected to assume a modern and more elegant appearance.*[283]

The writer also commented on the health of the people, which he estimated to number 2,282; although the eighty or ninety registered poor, and others unregistered, were probably not in good health. Only a third of these were natives of Linlithgow, the rest being Highlanders or from other parishes, attracted to the town by low rents and the considerable charity funds.[284]

> *Linlithgow abounds with excellent springs. To that circumstance, concurring with the elevated situation of the grounds, which form two ridges on the N and S, thus producing a current of fresh air in the direction of E and W, may probably be ascribed the good health which the inhabitants in general enjoy, and the longevity many of them are found to attain.*[285]

Manufacturing of leather was still the most important industry in the town, employing seventeen tanners, eighteen curriers and thirteen tawers, as well as their servants and apprentices. Most of the hides and skins were of sheep, lamb and cattle, but the pelts of other animals were also processed. Between July 1790 and July 1793, 6,116 seal skins and fourteen hog and dog skins were tanned. Cured leather supplied two tambour factories in the town. Twenty-four people were involved in woollen cloth manufacture; there was one carpet weaver and a number of stocking weavers. Interestingly, the linen manufacture, commented upon early in the century (*see* pp 36–7) had gone into decline, largely, it was believed, because of the introduction of cotton and its importation from abroad. A calico producing business was introduced in 1786, employing about 200, but this number had halved by the 1790s. The works stood on the Avon, near to the bleachfield, which had, by now, been moved out of the town. A flint mill stood nearby. The town bakers, the corn mills, the three breweries in the town and four distilleries in the parish not only gave employment, but also supplied the needs of the town and parish beyond.[286] The town's produce was sold at the weekly Friday market; and there were six fairs, the most important being St Magdalene's, held on 2 August. Tellingly, the writer added, 'the fairs here are not so much frequented as formerly'.[287]

Linlithgow had once been in a strategic position, sited as it was on the main access from Stirling to Edinburgh, so often the route of royalty; and the burgh had become an important market town, readily accessible to the surrounding settlements and beyond. The new metropolis, however, was now Glasgow and the Glasgow–Edinburgh, west–east route was all-important. A new turnpike road was proposed between Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1767, to pass via Bathgate, in effect following the east–west valley south of the Bathgate Hills, rather than the traditional valley route passing between the Airngarth Hills to the north and the Bathgate Hills to the south and, in consequence, through Linlithgow. The council, aware of the serious implications of the proposal, decided to petition for the road to come through Linlithgow.[288] Unsuccessful, but undeterred, in 1791 the council petitioned the trustees of the new turnpike road between Edinburgh and Glasgow, via Airdrie and Bathgate, to build a side road to Linlithgow.[289] But the turn of the century still found Linlithgow in the same situation as in 1787, when Burns commented on its 'retired situation' (*see* p 40).

post-script

The nineteenth century was to bring great improvements to Linlithgow's accessibility. One of the most important innovations was the construction of the Union Canal, between 1818 to 1822 **figure 19.** Originally intended to link with Linlithgow Loch, the engineer, James Baird, persuaded the Union Canal Company to go ahead with a contour canal, following the course of the hillside behind the town. This obviated the need for locks, as the canal ran at the same level along the thirty-one and a half miles from Edinburgh to Falkirk. During the construction, Baird stayed at the still standing Canal House at the Manse Basin (*see* p 96); and it was from here that the 'navvies', who laboured on the canal, were paid every Saturday **figure 20.**

Although the main purpose of the canal was to provide coal from the Lanarkshire pits for Edinburgh, it brought benefits to Linlithgow also. Barge transport proved to be quicker and more comfortable than stage coaches; the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with fresh horses every eight miles, took a mere eight hours. This was a vast improvement on the first stage coach from Edinburgh to Glasgow, passing through Linlithgow from 1678, which took two days, although a hundred years later the 'Diligence', drawn by six horses,

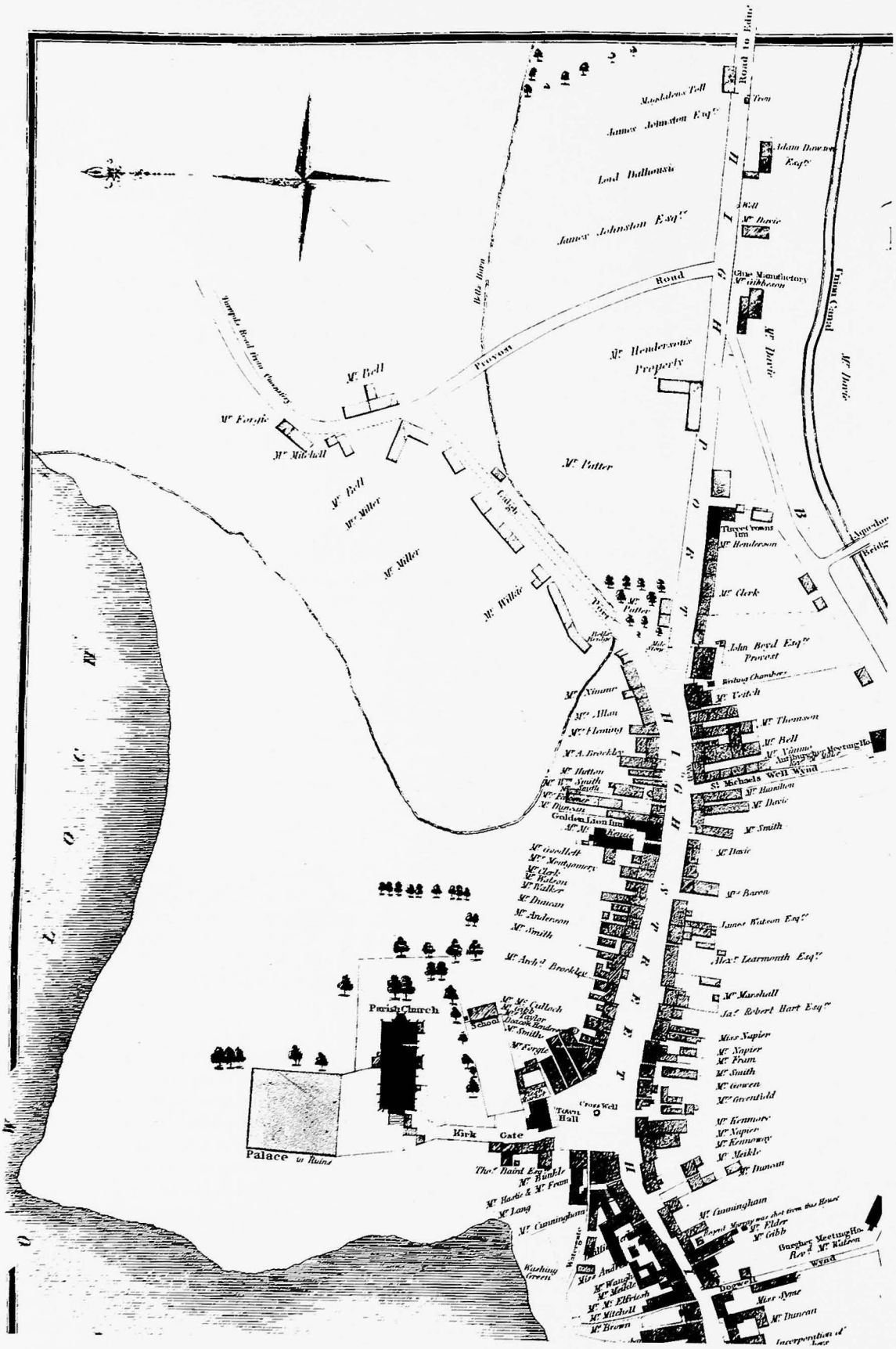

Road to Edin.r
Magdalens Toll
James Johnston Esq.r
Lord Dalhousie
James Johnston Esq.r
Road
Canal
Mr Bell
Mr Forgie
Mr Mitchell
Mr Bell
Mr Miller
Mr Miller
Mr Willie
Mr Henderson's Property
Mr Potter
Mr Potter
Mr Clerk
John Boyd Esq.r Provost
Mr Thomson
Mr Bell
St Michaels Well Wynd
Golden Lion Inn
Mr Smith
Mr Baron
James Watson Esq.r
Alex.r Learmonth Esq.r
Mr Marshall
Sas.r Robert Hart Esq.r
Miss Napier
Mr Napier
Mr Fram
Mr Smith
Mr Gowen
Mr Greenfield
Mr Kennedy
Mr Napier
Mr Kennedy
Mr Meikle
Mr Duncan
Mr Cunningham
Mr Elder
Mr Gibb
Mr Duncan
Parish Church
Town Hall
Cross Well
Kirk Gate
Palace in Ruins
Mr Cunningham
Mr Lang
Mr Hastie & Mr Fram
Mr Bunkle
Mr Archd Brockie
Mr Anderson
Mr Walker
Mr Dunbar
Mr Smith
Mr Gullock
Mr Gibb
Mr Smith
Mr Forgie
Mr Goodlett
Mr Montgomery
Mr Clark
Mr Watson
Mr Brown
Mr Mitchell
Mr Elfritch
Mr Meikle
Mr Waugh
Miss Syme
Mr Duncan
Mr Brown
Mr Hutton
Mr Duncan
Mr Allan
Mr Fleming
Mr A. Brockie
Mr Vetch
Mr Hamilton
Mr Davie
Mr Smith
Mr Davie
Mr Baron
Mr Davie
Mr Davie
Mr Davie

figure 20
Canal basin
1976

figure 21
St Magdalene's
Distillery
1979

had speeded up to ten hours. Not only did Linlithgow now have closer links with the two cities, but communication with its neighbours, such as Polmont, Laurieston and Falkirk on the Glasgow route, and Philpstoun, Winchburgh and Broxburn to the east, was simpler. Local industry was also now endowed with a new water supply. St Magdalene's Distillery, for example, an imposing group of buildings still standing (*see* p 86), was in an ideal position to draw its water from the canal **figure 21**.[290]

The importance of the canal, however, was to be largely superseded some twenty years later, with the arrival of the railway. Initial concerns over access over the railway line to the south of the town raised suggestions of archways, footbridges and tunnels, some of which remain. Most worries were overcome with the prospects of the many advantages.[291] Not only was the town now even more accessible, the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow taking a mere two and a half hours, but this new form of transport was to have an impact on the townscape. The Victorian railway station still stands prominently above the east end of the High Street and local hotels found a ready market from the passengers alighting from the trains. The Star and Garter stood close by the

railway station and was converted from a dwelling house in 1847, but demand for accommodation meant that others opened. St Michael's Hotel is still to be seen at the foot of St Michael's Wynd and, across the road, was the Palace Hotel. The town council placed Linlithgow on a difficult financial footing by attempting to force the railway to pay toll for the loads that it carried, just as the barges had done; lengthy litigation merely resulted in the House of Lords finding for the railway company and the town facing possible bankruptcy, a situation from which it took years to recover.[292]

Many prospered in the town, however. Substantial villas to the south of the town, such as Nether Parkley, Clarendon and Bonnytoun House were built; the town council decided to build a new manse on the glebe to the south of the town;[293] and, although possibly less imposing, new developments such as Royal Terrace were indicative of the new comfort of life for many in Linlithgow. A visitor by rail to Linlithgow gives an extremely interesting insight into the townscape:

> *A little town like a thousand others and if anything in it is calculated to arouse our interest it is the circumstance that these tenement houses, sometimes painted green and sometimes painted yellow, remind us of our German homeland and not of the towns of England.*[294]

Alexander Smith in Dreamthorp gives a romantic and picturesque evocation of the growing wealth of the town.[295] Some of this wealth came from new industries introduced into the town. Paper making took advantage of the waters of the Avon; and just as the river had powered mills from medieval times, so, in the nineteenth century, paper mills were established on its banks.[296] Lochmill stood on the site of a medieval meal mill, which later became a printfield (*see* p 94) and nearby Avonmill, also on the site of a printfield, used the dam built by the printfield company to run its water wheel.[297] Glue making, originally sited near the present Edinburgh Road but removed with the construction of the railway, was established at Gowanstank, on the site of the present St Joseph's Primary School. One of the old industries continued to flourish as well. Leather and shoe making were still important facets of Linlithgow life. Tanners' yards still used the water of the loch; although the tanning sheds to the north of the High Street have now disappeared from the backlands, an old cobbled entrance, furnished with iron runners to take the weight of the wagons loaded with skins **figure 22**, and some traces of an old yard near the Low Port site, are two remnants of this important part of the life of nineteenth-century Linlithgow. The tanneries and the glue works, however, gave Linlithgow a reputation amongst rail travellers as 'the place that was smelt before it was seen'.

The parish church was to see unwelcome change. In 1812, after the news that the roof was liable to collapse, the heritors decided that, while the roof of the nave should be replaced, it was in future to serve merely as a hall. The congregation of somewhere between 1,200 and 1,300 were to be accommodated in the east end of the church, that is in the chancel, transepts, apse and as far west as the first pillars of the nave. In the name of supposed improvement, the magnificent oak roof and the stone chancel arch were destroyed. Even further demolition was to follow. A few years later, the tower of St Michael's was in danger of collapse. To save it, the reluctant choice was taken to remove the imperial crown from the top of the tower. In the summer of 1821, it was demolished, although the cockerel which topped the steeple may still be viewed in Linlithgow museum. Also to disappear, in 1845, was the watch house in the kirkyard.[298] This had been built to protect the graves from body snatchers. Mortsafes, placed over the new graves for three weeks, may still be seen in the kirkyard. In the 1890s, perhaps inspired by the restoration work at St Giles' in Edinburgh and Dunblane Cathedral, the people of Linlithgow decided to restore, as far as possible, their parish church to its former glory. Almost £8,000 was raised and the interior was transformed into the beautiful church of today. The tower remained unadorned, however; it was not until 1963 that the distinctive landmark of Linlithgow—the crown of thorns—was placed atop St Michael's.

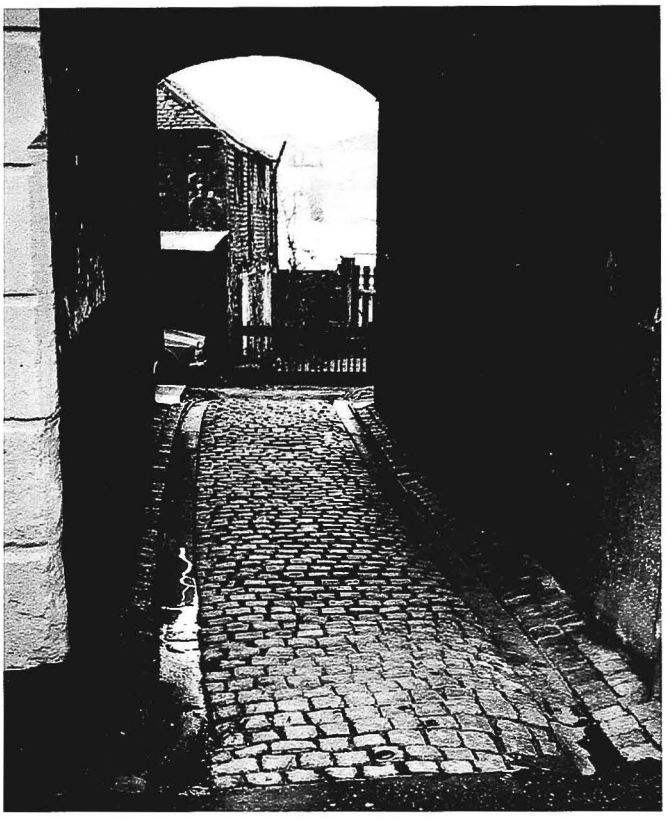


figure 22
Old tannery entrance

The townhouse, also, was to suffer. As early as 1810, the town council took the decision to replace the stairs at the front of the townhouse with a verandah, or piazza.[299] Fire broke out in 1847, destroying much of the fabric, even though the town's 'water engine', or fire engine, was housed immediately beside the county hall at the rear of the townhouse.[300] According to the town council minutes, the fire was suspected to have been caused by the concentrated rays of the sun through a window leading to 'spontaneous combustion'.[301] The following year, rebuilding was under way, but instead of following the Mylne design of 1668, the façade was still furnished with a wrought iron piazza and the tapering spire was not replaced. The townhouse retains most of these nineteenth-century features, although the wrought iron piazza was replaced in 1907 with the existing double stairway. The little town school to the rear of the townhouse was also to suffer. Although largely superseded by the other schools (in 1894 by the Academy near to the West Port; and in 1902 by the premises at Low Port), the old school retained a place of affection in the minds of the townspeople. In 1902, it burned down.

Another famous landmark was showing signs of age. The Cross Well, which had been renovated after the Cromwellian occupation, was in such a state of disrepair, even though it had been rebuilt 'of new' in 1774 (*see* p 37), that, in 1807, it was 'reedified',[302] but according to its original design. An inscription on the well records that its 1807 reconstruction was by Robert Gray—by tradition a one-handed stone mason who strapped his mallet to the stump of his amputated limb. The well no longer has its original function: in 1889, Linlithgow received a piped public water supply from Cockleroi Reservoir. From 1831 the town had also benefited from the marvel of the Linlithgow Coal Gas Light Company;[303] and from 1860, with a main drain laid from the town, the loch ceased to function as its sewage tank.

New buildings and suburbs on the townscape were powerful symbols of the prosperity of Linlithgow. The Victoria Hall, built to commemorate Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887, was an impressive structure, in the Scottish baronial style, with soaring towers. Old properties disappeared, to be replaced, for example, by the Sheriff Court House, built on the site of the house from which Regent Moray was shot (*see* p 20). The old Hospitallers House (*see* p 20) had to make way for progress; it was demolished in 1885. New churches were indicators of the growing population: in 1807, the Antiburghers

(those of the Secession Church who would not take the Burgess Oath (*see* p 39)) built the East Church in a wynd that was to stand above the railway station; the Burghers erected the West Church, by Dog Well Wynd, after the demolition of their original church (*see* p 121) to make way for the railway;[304] St Ninian's was established in 1874; St Michael's Roman Catholic Church in 1887; and St Peter's Episcopal Church in 1928. The townscape would continue into the twentieth century to reflect the changing role and fortunes of Linlithgow. While much has been lost, particularly along the north-west of the High Street, Linlithgow is fortunate in what it has left. Street patterns, burgage plots and many other tangible remnants (*passim*), allied with local traditions, such as the Riding of the Marches, and a veritable wealth of documentation related to the town's past are all forceful reminders of the historic past of this ancient royal burgh.

notes

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23 *Gazetteer,* v, 515.
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33 *Ibid*, v, 515.

34 *ER*, i, 68. Cf E Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), 42, which argues that there was no *prepositus*.

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41 *RMS*, i, 776.

42 Pryde, *Burghs*, 7, argues for 1388; but Robert II's charter was dated 23 October in the eighteenth year of his reign, which would have been 1389 (A MacDonald, *Linlithgow in Pictures* (London, 1932), 25).

43 *APS*, ii, 61.

44 Pryde, *Burghs*, 7; *APS*, i, 517, 501.

45 *APS*, i, 507.

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267 SRO, GD215/1812, Beveridge Papers.

268 SRO, B48/2/3, Register of Sasines, 1713–33, 292r; B48/2/4, Register of Sasines, 1733–56, 280.

269 SRO, B48/9/7, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1709–26; B48/9/8, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1717–28; B48/9/9, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1726–39; B48/9/10, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1739–51; B48/9/11, Linlithgow Town

Council Minute Book, 1751–63; B48/9/12, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1752–54; B48/9/13, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1763–83, *passim*.

270 SRO, B48/9/7, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1709–26, 22 August 1713.

271 SRO, B48/9/13, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1763–83, 18 May 1765; 25 October 1766.

272 SRO, B48/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 8 March 1788; 21 November 1789; 20 October 1792; 3 December 1791.

273 H M Cadell, 'Parish of Linlithgow', in Cadell, *Third Statistical Account*, xxi, 152.

274 SRO, B48/9/7, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1709–26, 9 May 1715; 14 May 1715; 28 May 1715; 6 August 1715; 19 September 1715; 28 September 1715; 6 October 1715.

275 SRO, GD 215/1731, Beveridge Papers; Hendrie, *Linlithgow*, 101, 104.

276 SRO, B48/9/10, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1739–51, 8 March 1746; 22 March 1746.

277 SRO, GD215/1731, Beveridge Papers.

278 SRO, B48/9/10, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1739–51, 10 May 1746; 21 June 1746; 23 June 1746.

279 SRO, GD/215/1731, Beveridge Papers.

280 R Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760*, ed D W Kemp (SHS, 1887), 269.

281 MacDonald, *Linlithgow*, 20–21.

282 *OSA*, ii, 755.

283 *OSA*, ii, 755.

284 *OSA*, ii, 769, 771.

285 *OSA*, ii, 755–6.

286 *OSA*, ii, 759–63; R Heron, *Scotland Delineated* (Edinburgh, 1975; orig pub 1799), 330.

287 *OSA*, ii, 767.

288 SRO, B48/9/13, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1762–83, 21 February 1767.

289 SRO, B48/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 17 September 1791.

290 Hendrie, *Linlithgow*, 112–13.

291 SRO, B48/9/17, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1831–1840, 5 August 1839; 19 August 1839; 27 August 1839; 30 September 1839; 10 December 1839; 8 June 1840.

292 Hendrie, *Linlithgow*, 117, 119.

293 SRO, B48/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 7 May 1803.

294 T Fontan, *Across the Tweed* (London, 1965), 72; we are indebted to Professor Charles McKean for drawing this reference to our attention.

295 A Smith, *Dreamthorp* (London, 1874), 1–20.

296 Shaw, *Water Power*, 366–7.

297 Hendrie, *Linlithgow*, 121.

298 SRO, B48/9/18, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1840–51, 26 May 1845.

299 SRO, B48/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 3 November 1810.

300 SRO, B48/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 27 February 1808.

301 SRO, B48/9/18, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1840–51, 6 July 1847.

302 SRO, B58/9/14, Linlithgow Town Council Minute Book, 1783–1813, 8 March 1806. In early 1997, during the clearing out of council premises in Bathgate, a number of carved figures from the original well were discovered. These remain now within the care of West Lothian Council. We are grateful to Dr Stuart Eydmann for this information.

303 SRO, B48/11/1, Dean of Guild Minute Book, 1793–1839, 315, 320.

304 Cadell, 'Parish of Linlithgow', 152.

area by area assessment

pp 55–110

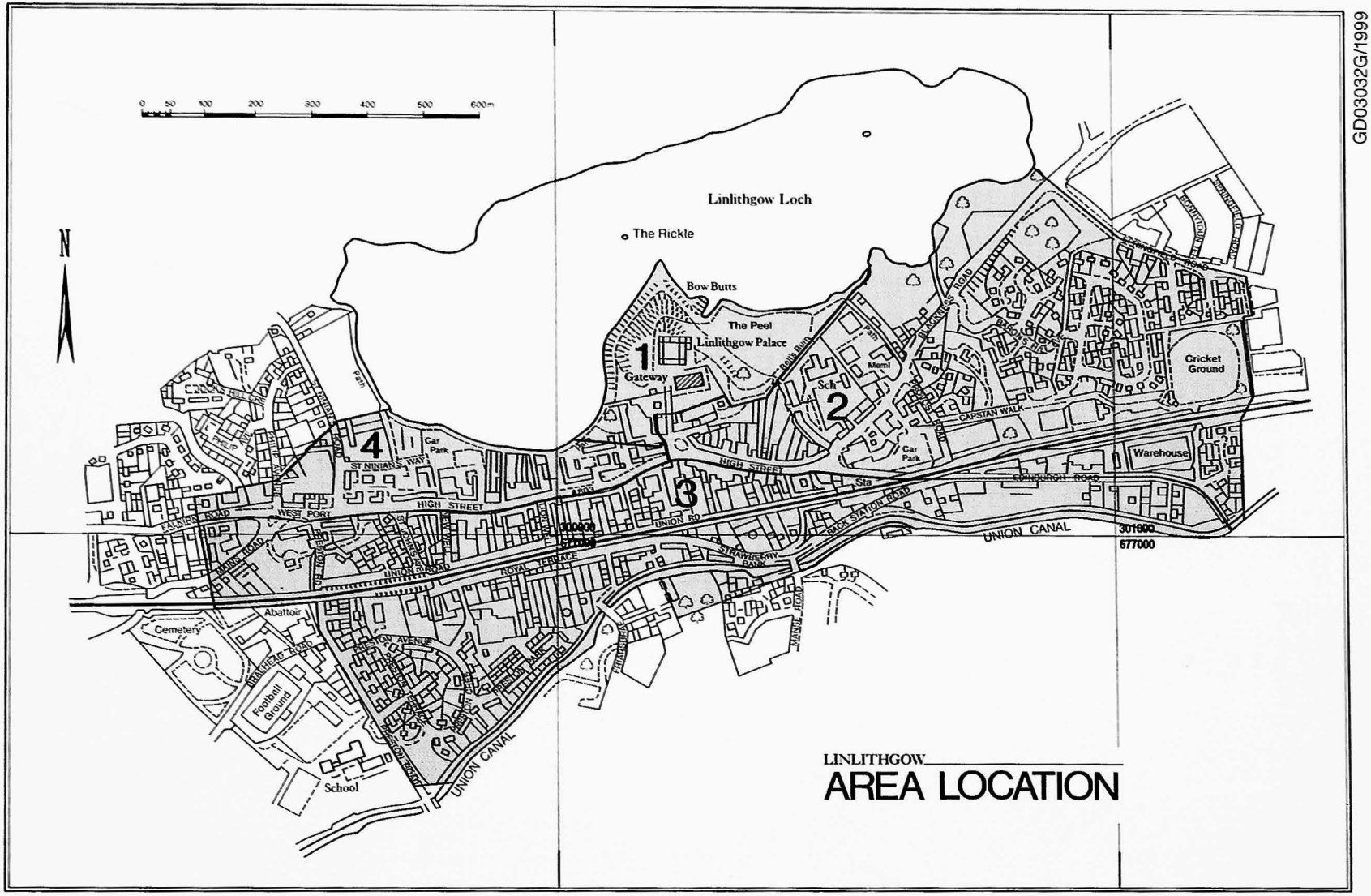

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figure 23
Area location map

introduction

The medieval core of Linlithgow has been sub-divided into four separate areas for the purposes of this study **figure 23**. The shoreline of Linlithgow Loch provides a natural boundary to both this survey and the development of the medieval town and forms the northern boundary of Areas 1 and 4. The western boundary of this survey (Areas 3 and 4) extends just beyond the site of the West Port. To the east, however (Areas 2 and 3), it extends beyond the site of the East and Low Ports to include the site of St Magdalene's Chapel. The southern boundary (Area 3) is slightly more problematical, as the insertion of first the canal, then the railway in the nineteenth century separated the town from some of its lands. Area 3 has, therefore, been extended to include both the canal and the railway within its boundary. The Carmelite friary, which lies some distance to the south of the town, is discussed within Area 3.

area 1

Linlithgow Loch/Bell's Burn/St Michael's Kirkyard (south side)/former line of Watergate **figure 24**

description

This area comprises the promontory on which the palace **A**, the peel **B** and church **C** stand. Much of Area 1 is protected by law as a Scheduled Ancient Monument **figure 31**, and the palace itself is in the care of the Scottish Ministers. Set on high ground overlooking the town, the palace **figure 25** and church **figure 14** still dominate this part of the townscape, as they have done for centuries. The extensive lawns of the peel—a royal park, with its own park police force—surround the palace, interrupted only by the many pathways that provide access to the palace and lochside. The loch edge is still marshy in many places, particularly to the east of the boathouse **D**. The tree-lined Bell's Burn, which flows south-west to north-east into the loch, marks the boundary of the peel and is separated from Low

future development

Much of this area (palace, peel and loch) is protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument and is cared for by Historic Scotland on behalf of the Scottish Ministers **figure 31**. The whole of Area 1 lies within a Conservation Area designated in 1975. Any works within the scheduled area would require Scheduled Monument Consent from Historic Scotland, and would be archaeologically monitored as part of a Properties in Care (Southern Division) contract managed by Historic Scotland.

The Linlithgow Area Local Plan (West Lothian District Council, 1994) contains no proposals for this area other than the general promotion of tourist facilities. The only proposal is for the upgrading or re-routing of the pathways within The Peel and, in particular, the approach from the bridge over Bell's Burn in the south-east corner to the east gate of the palace **V**. This was, in fact, on the line of the main entrance to the palace from the town, which led from High Street, skirting past the east end of the church and kirkyard, until the sixteenth century when the gatehouse at the top of Kirkgate was built **R**.

archaeological potential

This whole area is of great archaeological potential, both in terms of standing buildings and of buried remains. Known medieval and later sites and features contained within this area include David I's manor house, Edward I's castle, the palace and royal park, the parish church, Cromwell's fort, Watergate and Kirkgate.

One of the many archaeological problems concerning this area has been defining the limits of the numerous defensive enclosures that have been constructed around the promontory. Possible evidence of one was found in the garden of the manse **I**, a second in

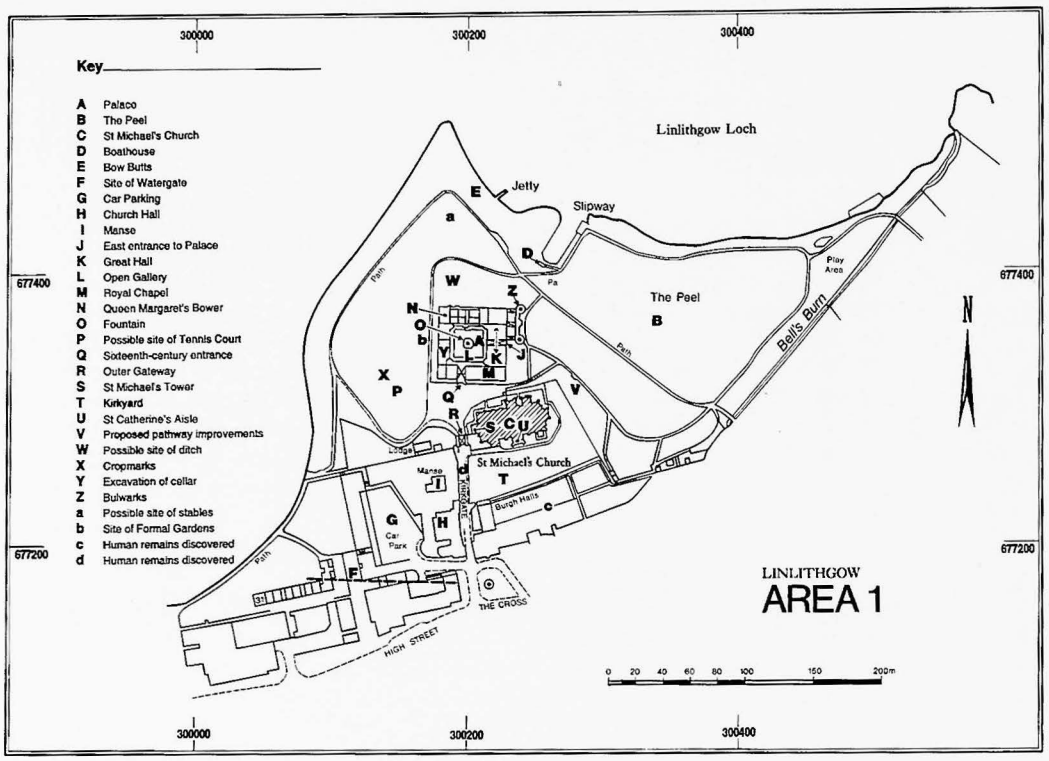

figure 24
Area 1

Port School and Laetare Youth Hostel (**area 2**) by a high stone wall.

There is very little to remind us of what the peel would have looked like. The park boundaries and any outbuildings situated within the park have now gone (although a recent geophysical survey may have located some of these, *see* pp 64–5), as have any formal garden features. The Bow Butts **E**, however, still survive. Archery was practised here, close to the very tip of the promontory, with passers-by protected by a series of earthen banks.

Only limited development has taken place within this area, and all has been confined to the south-west corner, immediately north of the former Watergate **F**. Here, split level car parking **G** and a church hall **H** and manse **I**, all built in the 1960s, have replaced part of the terraced gardens that once stood here.

the palace and peel

history

The site of Linlithgow, at a mid-point between Edinburgh and Stirling and near the only possible fording point of the River Avon for many miles, ensured that it became a key point

archaeology

front of the late-medieval gatehouse to the palace **R** and a third possible ditch was detected during a geophysical survey on the north side of the palace **W**. Present boundaries may offer some clue as to the limits of these enclosures. The boundaries of the kirkyard **figure 14** may have 'fossilised' one of these enclosures (or the existing kirkyard walls themselves were reused), the line of the former Watergate may preserve another and the wall from the late-medieval gatehouse running westwards down to the loch a possible third. Similarly, the extent of the peel is uncertain. Bell's Burn meanders naturally until it enters the park, from which point it continues on a remarkably straight line to the loch, which suggests it may have been adapted as a park boundary and perhaps artificially straightened. Once these boundaries have been established, it will prove easier to predict what lay within each enclosure and to interpret any further findings. As these were the boundaries between town and palace, their identification will enable more detailed analysis of the development of the medieval town.

Little development is anticipated in this area and, therefore, few opportunities for archaeological investigation are to be expected. The south-west corner of Area 1, however, is mostly gardens, and here development has already taken place. There may be

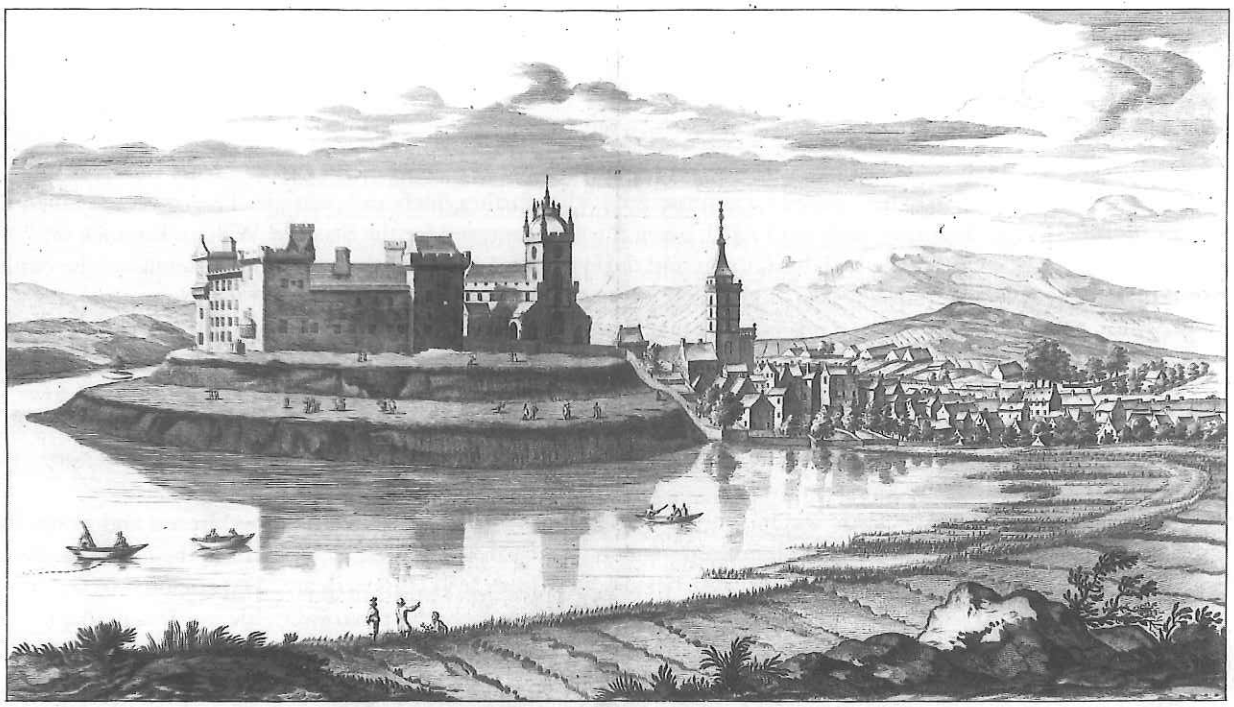

figure 25
John Slezer's *Prospect of Linlithgow Palace* 1670s

history

for both royal and other travellers between the two settlements **figure 5**. By the reign of David I, there was in existence a royal castle and manor, or grange, for the king made a grant to the abbot and canons of Holyrood of the skins of all sheep and cattle slaughtered at the castle and the demesne of Linlithgow. It is uncertain precisely where the castle was sited; but, in all probability, the royal residence was on the secure site now occupied by the palace and St Michael's Church.

The earliest description of the castle dates from the early fourteenth century, when Edward I of England stayed in the town in the winter of 1301. The 'King's chamber' had been prepared for his visit, and the presence of masons, a smith and a thatcher suggests that the chamber was of stone with a thatched roof. In that year and the following the castle was largely demolished and replaced with another that was 'mekill and stark'. It is thought that some of this structure may still remain in the north-east section of the present ruined palace. This new castle was, moreover, reinforced with a protective peel, by Edward I's Masters of Works from the Welsh campaigns, under the direction of Master James of St George. The peel, made of split tree trunks, was reinforced with a ditch in front, thus cutting off the promontory from the town. A gatehouse stood in the centre of

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more development proposals for this area, although the topography may preclude further development.

Over the years, a number of prehistoric and Roman finds have also been collected and there remains the possibility that there was settlement on this promontory before the medieval period.

prehistoric and Roman

A number of Roman finds have been made in the vicinity of the palace, and there is a long tradition of a Roman fort here. The finds include part of a Roman amphora, found during grave-digging in the churchyard **T** in 1862, and a Roman bell. The bell is thought to date from the first century AD. In 1925, two pieces of a first century AD mortarium and an amphora fragment were found during excavations immediately north of the palace. Other than stray finds, the only evidence of a Roman camp or fort is from recent aerial photographs **figure 2**. These revealed cropmarks to the west of the palace **X**. Given the long history of this site, they could be of any date, but one possible enclosure, with a rounded angle, could be Roman.

this stockading and two towers were erected at either end, rising out of the waters of the loch. The loch side was protected with a further ditch and palisade. The castle remained in English hands until 1313, when it was recaptured for the Scots by William Binnock or Bunnock, with his famous and daring ruse of blocking the gates and portcullis of the castle with his hay cart. Thereafter, parts of the castle were destroyed, on the instruction of Robert I; but it is unlikely that it was totally demolished, as reference was made to it in 1334.

David II held court in the castle in 1343. Robert II's important charter to Linlithgow was granted at the holding of a parliament in the great hall of the castle, in October 1389, indicating the standing of the royal residence. Repairs to the king's 'house' or 'manor' are also recorded in the reign of Robert III.

The castle was to suffer from fire, however. In 1411, the town was burned and again, in 1424, a great fire damaged much of the castle. In consequence, in 1425 the earlier portions of the present palace were begun. By at least 1491, this park area was enclosed by a park wall, which seems to have included both the loch and the royal residence. It is perhaps significant that from 1429 the castle was consistently termed a 'palace'. Some reconstruction work on the castle had been effected in the fourteenth century; but the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were to see a major transformation. James I set in train restoration work, which lasted until his assassination in 1437. It seems that most of the work was concentrated on what is now the east range, flanked partially with the adjacent north and south wings. It is possible that the palace was, thus, a C-plan, open to the west. The main entrance **J**, which may still be seen, but without its ramp and drawbridge, stood in the centre of the east range. It was approached by a routeway that passed to the east of St Michael's Church. Above the gateway, on the first floor, was the great hall **K**, measuring approximately 9 m by 30 m. The servery and kitchen lay beyond, in the north range and the royal apartments were probably in the south range. Little is known of the exact design of the interior, but it is recorded that sculptures, ceilings and wall plaster were painted.

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royal manor

The first evidence for settlement at Linlithgow is of a manor house in the possession of David I. A charter of 1128 x 1136 refers to a 'castle' (*see* p 5), but the nature of this residence, of which no trace survives, is unclear. It is likely to have been comprised of a large hall and chambers, possibly of timber, but was probably replaced in stone, perhaps with an adjacent range of associated buildings, such as stables and barns. The whole complex may have been enclosed within a ditch and bank, topped by a palisade. In all probability, this stood on the summit of the mound on which the palace now stands. Only the north-east corner of the palace has been basemented, so traces of this manorial complex may still survive beneath the present floor levels of much of the palace, under the cobbled central courtyard or even incorporated within the fabric of the palace itself, reused as foundations for example. This was the hope during the recent excavation of one of the cellars in the west wing **Y**, but, unfortunately, nothing predating the construction of the room itself, sometime in the fifteenth century, was recovered.

There is perhaps a greater chance that a possible outer defensive ditch may survive. Excavations in the 1960s identified a section of ditch in gardens to the west of Kirkgate **I**, and a possible ditch has also been identified during a recent geophysical survey close to the palace on the north side **W**. Neither is thought to be associated with David I's manor, but they do prove that deeply cut features, such as ditches, have survived within the palace grounds.

church

St Michael's Church **C** is largely of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date **figure 14**, the present structure replacing a church whose existence is first recorded in 1138. This church

James II appears to have seldom resided at Linlithgow, although certain repairs were undertaken not only on the fabric of the palace, but also on the park, its ditches, stables and the fish ponds and nets. His son, James III, probably resided in the palace from the early years of his reign. During his rule, more substantial building works were undertaken; and it is possible that the plan to enclose the west side of the palace was formulated during his reign.

The sixteenth century saw Linlithgow reach its pinnacle. Much of the town's importance resulted from the presence of the royal palace and, during the reign of James IV, it was transformed. The most radical refinement was the completion of the new west range, which housed apartments for the king and queen. But other sections of the palace were also renovated: the great hall was endowed with a new roof and clearstorey windows and possibly enlarged; a three-tiered transe, or open gallery **L**, was added on the north side of the south range to link the great hall and the west wing; the kitchen and associated apartments were remodelled; the south-east corner tower was renewed above ground floor level; and to the west of that, on first floor level, where royal apartments had previously been sited, a new royal chapel **M** was created. The exterior was enhanced on the east side, possibly with the intention of creating a more castellated appearance, with a turreted barbican, the remains of which may be seen today. It was in the north-west tower, now called 'Queen Margaret's bower' **N**, that Queen Margaret, who held the palace as a dower house, supposedly waited in vain for the return of James IV from the battle of Flodden. By the end of the reign of James IV, Linlithgow Palace was a sophisticated and splendid residence.

James V, born in Linlithgow Palace in April 1512, completed the refurbishment programme. In 1526, a new captain and keeper of both the palace and the park, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, had been appointed; and, eight years later, Thomas Frenssh, the mason, commenced work on the palace buildings. The royal chapel was refurbished, as were the great hall and the kitchen; and the fountain **O** in the centre court, still standing

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was dedicated in 1242 by the bishop of St Andrews, but perhaps after the original church had been refurbished, enlarged or even replaced. After a fire damaged the nave in 1424, a major building programme began. These building works were carried out between 1425 and 1532 and comprised the enlargement of the church, the present fabric of the nave and chancel dating from this period. Numerous masons' marks are to be found in the church, particularly in the nave. Further works were undertaken in the nineteenth century. The first programme, carried out between 1812–13, involved remodelling the interior, replacing the old ceiling in plaster, building galleries in the chancel and nave and the creation of a lobby to the west of the transepts. A second programme of works was undertaken between 1864–6, with the removal of the galleries, the lowering of the floor level in the nave and the building of a vestry on the site of the old sacristy. Between the two programmes, the stone crown roof of the tower **S** was deemed unsafe and demolished in 1821.

How much, if anything, survives of the earlier phases of St Michael's Church is difficult to predict. Recent excavations at Glasgow Cathedral, for example, show that earlier phases of this church did survive within and beneath the present buildings. Here, traces of the twelfth-century cathedral, including a crypt and column bases, were found along with fragments of carved stonework which provide an insight into how this church would have looked.

The enlargement of the church at Linlithgow in the fifteenth century probably means any earlier phases of the church would have been contained, or incorporated, within the present structure rather than nearer the palace or in the adjacent kirkyard **T**. The lowering of the nave floor, however, will undoubtedly have damaged any sub-surface remains that may have survived, but it is likely that existing walls have been built on top of earlier walls, reused as foundations.

today, was built around 1538. In the park, where James IV had erected lists for jousting and butts for archery practice **E**, on the loch shore to the north of the palace, a less warlike pastime was encouraged, with a tennis court to the south-west **P**, similar to that which may be seen at Falkland Palace. Possibly the greatest innovations came on the south wing: the wall was straightened and the south-west tower was enlarged to balance that at the south-east; but, more importantly, a new entrance was forged through the south wall **Q** and an outer gateway **R** was built to its south. The outer gate stands today, still emblazoned with the symbols of the four orders of chivalry to which James V belonged (*see* p 20), although the existing panels were re-carved in 1845. James V's queen, Mary of Guise-Lorraine, compared Linlithgow Palace with the finest châteaux on the Loire.

Linlithgow Palace was visited much less frequently in the reigns of Mary, queen of Scots and James VI. Indeed, the palace seems to have suffered neglect during the minority of the king, when the country was ruled by a succession of regents. The keepership of the palace was granted to Captain Andrew Lambie in 1571. With a garrison of twenty-four men, his role was to guard the palace and various important prisoners that were, from time to time, warded there.

Linlithgow was to see the return of some splendour in 1585, however, when parliament met in the great hall at the palace. The town was chosen because it was 'clene and void of all suspitioun of the said seiknes [plague] and most commodious and narrest to the burgh of Edinburgh'. The following year, the 'Lords of Council and Session, with all other members of that court, and also the Lords and other auditors of the Exchequer,

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Edward I's castle

Little is known of David I's manor until it was incorporated within a larger, defended enclosure erected by Edward I, with work starting in late 1301 and continuing into early 1302. This latter was constructed almost exclusively of earth and timber, a ditch and bank topped with a stockade (or *pele*) effectively cutting off the promontory from the town. Placed at regular intervals, or perhaps at either end of the stockade, wooden towers with a central gateway provided extra defence. The original intention may have been to build the towers and central gateway in stone, but instead they were constructed in timber, the stockade in untrimmed, split logs. The church was also enclosed within the stockade. Being of stone, it provided a useful storehouse, for which purpose it was converted. To defend against an attack from the loch, a second, slighter ditch and palisade were erected around the promontory.

palace

There are few details on the nature of the first phase of the palace **A**, construction of which began in 1425 after a fire had destroyed much of the royal manor, church and town. Examination of the building, however, suggests that it was initially C-shaped in plan, comprising the east range and the adjacent parts of the north and south ranges, and was open to the west. The main approach was not as it is today (from the Kirkgate), but through a grand gateway in the centre of the east wall **J**. The ramp and drawbridge have since gone. Above the gate was the great hall **K**, with the kitchen at its north end and the sleeping accommodation in the south range. Other than repairs, little was done to the palace until 1469, when the south range is thought to have been extended westwards, terminating at a corner tower. Building is also thought to have begun in what was to become the west range. The quadrangle was completed in 1513. Other works included the refurbishment and enlargement of many other existing rooms and the addition of a turreted barbican in front of the east wall. Further work, however, was carried out in the 1530s, when the main access was re-routed from the east side to the south side, with the addition of a new outer gateway at the top of Kirkgate **R**. Lesser works were also carried

with the clerks and offices therof' were convened at Linlithgow, so that affairs of state should be discharged. In November 1587, the Justice Court was also held in the town. The presence of such dignitaries might be taken to imply that the palace was in a good state of repair; but this seems not to have been the case. The yards, orchards and gardens had been neglected for some considerable time, but a new gardener was appointed in 1582. A year later, the master of works, Sir Robert Drummond, warned that the west quarter of the palace was 'altogidder lyk to fall down'. Some work was undertaken; and the records indicate that the king and queen were resident at Linlithgow in the 1590s. Even so, by 1599, it was reported of the palace that 'there [was] a quarter ruinous and the rest necessary to be repaired'.

The construction of the new north wing, with one of the finest Renaissance façades in Scotland, strongly suggests that King James VI had every intention of using the palace more regularly than he did, after his accession to the English throne in 1603. The work, begun in 1618 and completed in 1624, was effected after the king's one visit to Scotland, which included a brief stay at Linlithgow, but he did not return again. Charles I did, however, occupy the palace briefly in 1633, after much activity in the residence in anticipation of the royal visit: windows were repaired and cleaned; and the stables were refurbished, the walls being taken down and replaced in stone and lime.

Contemporary visitors to Linlithgow were very complimentary about the palace **figure 25**. Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of Cheshire, deemed the palace to be 'very fair' and 'built castle wise'. Jorevin de Rocheford, in the town possibly in 1661, believed the castle to be 'one of the strongest places in the kingdom'. Linlithgow was to receive less

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out at this time, including the installation of the fountain in the courtyard **O**. After periods of neglect, the north range was rebuilt between 1618 and 1624. The palace has been unroofed and uninhabited since 1746.

As with all standing buildings, there is the potential for archaeological remains to survive beneath existing floor levels and to have been incorporated within the fabric of the structure as successive phases of building and refurbishment were carried out. The palace as it stands today has seen many phases of rebuilding, but it also occupies a site with an even longer history, perhaps dating back as early as prehistory. It is clear that the promontory has been both scarped in some places and artificially built up in others. Slezer's view of the palace from the loch, dated to 1678, also shows that the palace mound had been landscaped into a series of terraces **figure 25**. The north side appears to have been built up to flatten the top of the natural mound into a terrace. This may have been done in the fifteenth century and possibly used earth from the earlier manor house. Old window levels on the north and east sides of the palace now lie almost buried, and the 'bulwarks' on the east side are similarly partially buried **Z**. The effect of this may be to preserve archaeological deposits in some places, where they have been buried, while in others they will have been scarped away.

Archaeological deposits may also survive within the palace, beneath the floor levels and within the courtyard, particularly as there are few basements. The potential for architectural features to survive, hidden behind or within later walls as rooms were altered and refurbished, is perhaps better.

finds

Over the centuries, numerous finds have been collected, during building works, and in particular when the loch edge was being reclaimed in the nineteenth century with earth from around the palace. Many of these will have been disturbed on more than one occasion, but they do provide a glimpse of daily life in the palace. Analyses of groups of these finds, most of which can be dated to between the fourteenth century and the mid eighteenth century, have been published, and the finds themselves are held either in the National Museums of Scotland or by Historic Scotland; many of them are on display in

welcome visitors in 1650, when Oliver Cromwell installed himself in the palace, with his troops encamped on the peel. It was at this stage that fortifications were erected around the palace. These probably followed the line of Edward I's 'pele'; but the banks and ditches which protected the palace and grounds were to be defended by artillery. In order to enclose the peel adequately and have a ready quarry for stone, the tolbooth was demolished, as were the hospital or almshouse (*see* p 31), all the houses in Kirkgate, and the schoolhouse.

After the Restoration in 1660, the defences erected around the palace were all to be knocked down under the supervision of the hereditary keeper of the palace; the magistrates and inhabitants of the parish were to nominate a demolition gang. Whether there was much decline in the fabric of the palace itself during the occupation and after the departure of the Cromwellian troops is unclear. John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, commented in 1668 that it was 'for the most part ruinous'; but John Slezer's engraving of 1678 shows that the palace was still roofed and it is known from their graffiti that cooks were still using the kitchens in 1685 and 1687. James, duke of Albany and York, the future James VII, also felt Linlithgow Palace a fit place to reside in 1679 and from 1680 to 1682.

There were not to be further royal visitors until the 'Forty-five. On Sunday 15 September, word arrived that Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his supporters had arrived at the West Port. Many leading Linlithgow Jacobites celebrated in the palace with the prince; wine flowed from the fountain in the courtyard, but for the last time. 13 January

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the palace. Floor tiles, pottery jugs and pots (some possibly made in Linlithgow itself by a potter known to have served the royal court in 1502, and some imported), clay tobacco pipes, window glass and cames, bottles and wine glasses, copper alloy and iron objects, including a five pronged eel fork (eels were known to have been netted from the loch), items made from bone, carved wood and stone, plasterwork and leather items are just some of many finds recovered from in and around the palace. Laing (1969), 134–45; Caldwell & Lewis (1996).

The Peel **B**

Many of the royal castles and palaces in medieval Scotland were associated with parks. The royal park at Linlithgow, known as The Peel, may take its name from the timber palisade that surrounded the park, rather than from Edward I's earthen castle. The park probably dates from the building of the palace, since the first reference to it dates to 1426. The boundary of the park, which included land around the loch, may originally have comprised a ditch and bank topped by a timber palisade, but by the late fifteenth century it was built of stone. By the sixteenth century, however, the use of the park had changed from predominantly a hunting reserve to more formal gardens with orchards, meadows and even a tennis court.

Although it remains an open space today, the park has experienced some degree of landscaping, particularly around the palace. The defences erected by Cromwell were subsequently levelled by George, third earl of Linlithgow, and, in the nineteenth century, 'mounds of earth' around the palace were used to reclaim marshy land around the loch edge. Recent aerial photographs **figure 4** and geophysical survey, however, have shown that features still lie buried beneath the present ground surface **W**. Park boundaries and divisions, stables and outbuildings, the park keeper's house, fish ponds, formal garden features, paths and drains may, therefore, still lie undetected within this area.

almshouse

An almshouse was in existence in Linlithgow before 1448, and may be the same as that which is known to have stood somewhere in the Kirkgate, probably on the west side, by at least 1578. This continued in existence until it was cleared, along with much of Kirkgate,

1746 was to see the brief return of the Jacobites under Lord George Murray. The next occupants were the government forces, first under General Hawley, and then under his replacement, the Duke of Cumberland. His arrival with reinforcements brought the army encamped in Linlithgow to over 10,000. Their departure, in early February, was to have a disastrous result. Fires lit the night before were not extinguished and the palace went up in flames.

the parish church of St Michael **figure 14 C**

A church dedicated to St Michael was in existence at Linlithgow as early as, if not before, the reign of David I. There is a firm tradition that the twelfth-century church was on the site of the present one. It is known also that there was a school in the town, first mentioned in 1187. This probably stood very close to the church and may even have been incorporated within it. The twelfth-century church was possibly replaced in 1242, when David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews, consecrated the church. Whether he was hallowing a new building or re-dedicating the old, and whether any part of the earlier structure was assimilated into the thirteenth-century building is unclear. A number of the consecration crosses are still extant, although in changed positions.

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In 1301–02, St Michael's Church was enclosed within the protective peel which reinforced Edward I of England's new castle and, for a while, functioned as the king's

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in advance of Cromwell's defensive enclosure. It is unlikely still to survive, unless it has been incorporated into the fabric of later buildings, as there has been much rebuilding here. If, however, it was sited to the north end of Kirkgate, it may survive within the garden of the new manse **I**.

Cromwellian defences

Cromwell had fortifications erected in Linlithgow between 1650 and 1651. There are few details of these works, but it is thought that the ditch and rampart enclosed the church, striking north and west from the church and following roughly the line of the Edwardian defences. Part of these defences were still visible in the mid nineteenth century, even though they had largely been removed some two centuries earlier. It is not clear how large an area these defences enclosed or whether there were outer works. Until 1974, for example, a long section of ditch, aligned north to south but turning westwards at the south end, survived on the west side of Bo'ness Road (*see* **area 2**). Shown as a sand pit on the Second Edition OS map of the town, it was subsequently landscaped in 1974. *DES* (1973), 59.

recent archaeological work

In 1966, a proposed development to the west of Kirkgate offered the first of several opportunities for an archaeological investigation of the promontory and, it was hoped, part of Edward I's castle. The excavations were carried out between November 1966 and February 1967 by the then Department of the Environment. In all, fourteen trenches were opened in what is now the garden of the new manse **I**, with the ground sloping sharply westwards down towards the loch. The average trench opened measured approximately 10 m x 1.5 m. Some trenches were combined to allow larger areas to be examined. The excavations failed to identify any definite evidence for the castle, but uncovered a number of features probably related to the burgh or to later defences.

The two halves of the site were quite different and provide a good example of the effects of terracing on any underlying archaeological remains. The east half of the site is thought to have been landscaped, and here all that survived was the very base of a ditch. On the west side of the site, down the slope, the reverse was the case. Here, the ground

garrison storehouse. The church was to suffer further from political events. The town was burned by the English in 1342. St Michael's tower **S** was under either repair or reconstruction in 1384, when payments passed through the exchequer; much of the repair work probably resulted from Edward I's occupation. In 1411, the town was burned and, again, in 1424, a great fire damaged much of the castle and church.

It seems that the church was largely rebuilt after this, although it could not have been totally destroyed in the fire of 1424, as Queen Joan worshipped in it in 1429. Moreover, in 1430, an attempt was made to have the church elevated to a collegiate church with a provost and twelve chaplains; but this measure failed, possibly because of the murder of James I, its instigator, in 1437. Rebuilding began with the nave and John Frenssh, the designer or builder or both, was buried in the north nave aisle in 1489, which is an indication of extent of progress. The choir was started some time around 1497 and work on it probably continued until 1532. The kirkyard **T** was also enlarged at this time. In 1492, an agreement was made with the burgh officials that the kirkyard might be extended into the peel. In 1540, on the completion of the 'kirk werk', a new royal charter was bestowed on the town. Amongst the benefits granted was the specific right to have a provost. The burgesses chose Henry Forrest of Magdalenes, who had been personally active in the 'kirk werk'. His tombstone may still be seen, a little to the east of St Catherine's aisle **U**.

The parish church gave a fair indication of the status of the town. On the exterior of St Michael's, twenty niches were filled with statues of the saints, and the tower was topped with a stone crown. The principal and original entrance is from the south and, to ease

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level had been built up to counteract the severe slope, effectively sealing the underlying archaeological deposits, in this case evidence for medieval pathways and possibly buildings.

An east to west aligned cobbled path, set within a *c* 2 m wide hollow, was the earliest feature recovered, and is probably all that remains of a path that once ran down to the loch from the top of Kirkgate. This area then seems to have been turned over to gardens, as cultivation soils accumulated over the cobbles. These layers were found to contain thirteenth-century pottery, which may provide a date for the abandonment of the path itself. These same soils, however, appear to have accumulated over a long period of time, as indicated by the discovery of a 'Crossraguel' penny, of late fifteenth-century date, in the upper levels.

In the late medieval period, a cobbled path had been laid, thought to be the path from the Watergate down to the loch. The Watergate **F** went out of use in 1771, when the whole area was laid out in gardens by the palace keeper. Cobbles, some set in foundation trenches, set back from this path, may represent the footings of houses.

On the east side of the site, nearer the Kirkgate, a ditch was discovered of uncertain date. It was aligned east to west, U-shaped in profile, and varied in size from *c* 7.6 m at the east end to *c* 4.6 m at the west end. It also shallowed from *c* 2.7 m to *c* 1.7 m, and did not extend down to the bottom of the slope. There was also evidence of stone revetting along the north lip of the ditch. Even taking into account the removal of what is thought to be up to 3 m of ground here, these measurements would seem too small to be Edward's ditch, and too far south to be associated with David's manor house. There were few finds to date this feature securely, and no real interpretation was offered. The most likely interpretation is that this was part of the Cromwellian defences, not the Edwardian ditch as hoped. Laing (1967), 111–47.

Edwardian ditch

Observed movement within the fabric of the north range of the palace prompted a geophysical survey to identify any sub-surface anomalies, such as ditches, that may be causing soil slippage. This was carried out in 1995, on behalf of Historic Scotland, by

communication with the palace, there was a smaller entrance on the north side, now blocked up. The magnificent interior was topped by an oak ceiling and lining the walls were altars. Some of these were supported by the incorporated trades: the cordiners, for example, maintained those dedicated to St Stephen and St Crispin; the coopers that of St Cuthbert; and the hammermen, the altar dedicated to St Eloy. St Michael's altar was the principal dedication; but others, such as those dedicated to St John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, St Bridget (St Bride), St Peter, Holy Trinity and All Saints and that to St Catherine, in the south transept, were equally revered. The altars of St Bride and Allhallow raised rentals of £10 and £6 13s 4d respectively at the time of the Reformation, which suggests they were still well endowed. It was in the south transept, that James IV supposedly saw the apparition warning him against the fatal expedition to Flodden. The bell that tolled for the town's dead after the battle still rings out and bears, in Latin, the inscription: 'The town of Linlithgow made me, I am called Blessed Mary, in the time of our august Lord James the Fourth, in the year 1490'. The font which held the holy water that baptised the infant Mary Stewart in 1542, however, did not survive long into her reign. In 1559, the Protestant Lords of the Congregation arrived in the town to 'cleanse' it of Catholicism. The font, with many statues and trappings of the altars, was smashed. The only saint's statue to survive was that of St Michael, very probably because he was the patron saint of the town, not because it proved impossible to remove, as some believe; the effigy did blow down in a storm in 1926.

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In 1620, the church functioned as a wood store and, twenty-five years later, for a short while, it housed the University of Edinburgh when the plague-stricken capital was

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GeoQuest Associates. An area of lawn, measuring approximately 0.4 ha, extending from the palace to near the shoreline, was examined using a variety of geophysical surveying techniques. The northern half of the survey area produced good evidence for either a complex of buildings (possibly stables built for the visit of Charles I in 1633) or formal gardens, both of which would register similar patterns of readings **a**. The former is probably more likely, as formal gardens are known to have been established to the west of the palace **b**. The alignment of the features detected in the surveys does not respect the palace, but rather a large ditch-like feature detected in the southern half of the survey area **W**. This large feature, aligned NW-SE, is the first possible evidence of Edward I's castle (or David I's manor) and is the likely cause of the structural movement of the north range. Noel (1995).

More recently, a watching brief was carried out to monitor a series of engineers' bore-holes excavated in areas to the north, west and east of the palace. The results showed these areas to have been extensively landscaped, but also revealed elements of a possible earthwork. *DES* (1996), 103.

An archaeological assessment in Kirkgate in 1995, just to the south of the late medieval gatehouse **R**, identified what may have been a back-filled ditch. The line of these defences may have corresponded with the southern boundary of the palace forecourt and, as late as the sixteenth century, the gatehouse here stood within a ditch crossed by a drawbridge. This boundary line, visible on Slezer's 1670 view of the town as a wall or fence, is still there today and continues down the hill into the loch. *DES* (1995), 58.

1987 excavation of west range

As part of a programme to improve visitor facilities, the southernmost of the two large cellars in the west range was to be refurbished as a function suite **Y**. In advance of a new timber floor, the interior of the cellar was excavated. The chamber itself had been built in the fifteenth century, and the existing stone floor was probably inserted in the seventeenth century. Excavation revealed that shortly after or during its construction, a mortar floor was laid in the cellar, followed by the insertion of two parallel north-south lines of wooden posts along the length of the room. These may have held roof supports or scaffolding

abandoned. By this time, restoration work was long overdue, the church having been partially emptied before the arrival of the university, with the intention of placing new pews in the interior. Seventeenth-century visitors to Linlithgow, however, were very complimentary about St Michael's. Sir William Brereton commented, in 1636, on the 'fair church'. Jorevin de Rocheford, in the town possibly in 1661, praised 'the very handsome church'. Efforts to bring about improvements in the church fabric were marred by a local schism in the church in the 1640s.

In 1650, when Oliver Cromwell installed himself in the palace, with his troops encamped on the peel, fortifications were erected. The parish church suffered: it became incorporated in the defences of the town; horses were stabled in the nave; and troops occupied the *triforium* (the gallery above the aisle). On the departure of the military, the church heritors estimated that £1,000 was needed to repair the roof and windows alone. Other work had also to be effected. The council gained permission from General Monck, commander of the government forces in the castle, that the parish church should be divided into two by a 'mid-wall'; so that the two opposing parties, the Protesters and the Resolutioners, might worship separately. Accordingly, the church was divided between the chancel, at this point the only furnished part of the church, and the nave. This wall was to remain in place until 1660, when timber was purchased for 'scaffolding for taking down the mid-wall of the church'.

The council, with so much necessary repair work after the Cromwellian occupation, could not afford to refurbish the church, although a clock was purchased in 1670/71. Funds were raised by a levy on the whole burgh; and when this proved insufficient, the remaining necessary sums were raised by selling off the right to use pews. Lofts were also erected and all faced towards the new pulpit, which stood to the south side of the church. Many of the lofts were allocated to the incorporated crafts, who received windows, along with their seats, both of which they had to maintain. The Gentleman Heritors had a loft

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at the east end and the king's pew faced the pulpit, with that of the Earl of Linlithgow to

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during the construction of the cellar itself. Some time after construction work had been completed, an earthen floor was laid down. This was replaced towards the end of the seventeenth century by a stone flagged and cobbled floor. It is not thought that this cellar functioned as anything other than a store for the palace, possibly a wine cellar. No evidence was recovered for either the manor house or Edward I's castle, although some residual fourteenth-century pottery was recovered. Caldwell & Lewis forthcoming.

palace exterior

The installation of lightning conductors around the palace prompted archaeological monitoring. Trenches were dug against the north, east and west walls of the palace. Trench 1 was dug at the external base of the east wall of the palace, close to the south-east corner, and was found to contain a substantial deposit of smashed sandstone (builders' debris), up to 1 m beneath turf and topsoil. Trench 2 was excavated at the base of the north wall of the palace, close to the north-east corner, and contained a deep deposit of midden material, including late and post-medieval pottery, overlying natural subsoil 1 m below present turf level. Trenches 3 and 4 were cut against the base of the west wall of the palace. Trench 3 was excavated only to a depth of 0.5 m, but revealed a rubble deposit over a dark, humic earth layer—possibly evidence of garden activity. Trench 4 was cut against a bank of redeposited loose rubble in a dark earth matrix, apparently dating to no later than the nineteenth century. *DES* (1995), 57.

courtyard watching brief

The insertion of new services in the palace courtyard revealed the present cobbled surface to have been bedded in material containing numerous sherds of sixteenth- and

its right. The latter also gained permission to put a roofed tomb over his 'ancient burial place', to the south side of the church, in 1684. By then, the parish church had been transformed from the pre-Reformation building, lined as it had been with its magnificent altars and rich pertinents.

In the eighteenth century, the church had other useful functions. Notices of importance were placed on its door: for example, in 1736, when the burgh officials laid down that all dogs were to be worried (*ie* strangled) following the 'damage sustained by mad dogs' and if any mad dog died it was to be buried at least three feet down. The banning of cattle from pasturing in the churchyard, in 1779, is also telling. Visitors to the town in the second half of the eighteenth century had differing views. Bishop Pococke, in 1760, wrote of the 'handsome, modern Gothic church'. Robert Burns, in 1787, however, found that it had 'a pretty good old Gothic church ...What a poor, pimping business is a Presbyterian place of worship! dirty, narrow, squalid; stuck in a corner of old popish grandeur such as Linlithgow!'

The parish church was to see unwelcome change in the nineteenth century. In 1812, after the news that the roof was liable to collapse, the heritors decided that, while the roof of the nave should be replaced, it was in future to serve merely as a hall. The congregation of somewhere between 1,200 and 1,300 were to be accommodated in the east end of the church, that is in the chancel, transepts, apse and as far west as the first pillars of the nave. In the name of supposed improvement, the magnificent oak roof and the stone chancel arch were destroyed. Even further demolition was to follow. A few years later, the tower of St Michael's was in danger of collapse. To save it, the reluctant choice was taken to remove the imperial crown from the top of the tower. In the summer of 1821, it was demolished, although the cockerel which topped the steeple may still be viewed in Linlithgow museum. Also to disappear, in 1845, was the watch house in the burial yard **T**. This had been built to protect the graves from body snatchers. Mortsafes, placed over the new graves for three weeks, may still be seen in the kirkyard.

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seventeenth-century pottery. This bedding material, however, sealed a network of modern drains. The natural sub-soil was found to have been scarped in the nineteenth or twentieth century to create a level surface, but two earlier features were identified. Both were steep-sided cuts into the natural sub-soil, one in the south-east corner, the other close to the fountain. Neither was fully excavated. One was found to contain sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pottery, the other a floor tile and small fragments of masonry. Only a small area of the palace courtyard was observed and there remains the possibility that medieval features may still survive. Turnbull (1989).

kirkyard

The kirkyard to the south of the church contains modern burials, but is likely to have been in constant use since the medieval period **figure 14**. In 1985, workmen discovered a quantity of human bones at a depth of *c* 3.5 m during the rebuilding of an east to west aligned garden boundary wall *c* 60 m to the south of the church **c**, perhaps suggesting that the kirkyard boundaries have changed over the centuries. The condition of some of the bones and the depth at which they were found suggested that these were medieval burials, and some of the pottery recovered was of late medieval or early post-medieval date. The depth from which the bones were recovered is exceptional, and suggests that they were either disturbed or had been sealed during terracing. *DES* (1985), 31.

An archaeological assessment was later carried out after road resurfacing works in 1995 had exposed small quantities of human skeletal remains in two locations in the Kirkgate. These proved to be disturbed, redeposited remains lying within the foundation trench of the cemetery wall which borders the Kirkgate on the east side, and in re-deposited soil layers *c* 0.5 m beneath the present road surface, near the doorway of 3 Kirkgate **d**. No *in situ* burials were found and there is, as yet, no evidence that the parish cemetery formerly extended beyond the present boundaries. *DES* (1995), 58.

In the 1890s, perhaps inspired by the restoration work at St Giles' in Edinburgh and Dunblane Cathedral, the people of Linlithgow decided to restore, as far as possible, their parish church to its former glory. Almost £8,000 was raised and the interior was transformed into the beautiful church of today. The tower remained unadorned, however; it was not until the 1960s that the distinctive landmark of Linlithgow—the crown of thorns—was placed atop St Michael's.

street pattern

Kirkgate may be the line of the original main street of early settlement; and a realignment of the principal thoroughfare (High Street) may have come either with burghal status and a formal laying out of tofts or with population increase. A passageway, certainly, must have existed to give access to the twelfth-century parish church and the school that may have been attached to it. It is known that the entrance to the castle from at least the fifteenth century was via a route passing to the south and east of the parish church to the grand entrance on the east range of the palace (*see* p 18). The upper part of Kirkgate was not the access route to the palace until the major alterations effected by James V (*see* p 19).

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palace park

Despite extensive landscaping within the palace park over the centuries, evidence for outlying features and artificial terracing still survives. Approximately 60 m to the south-east of the palace, aligned NW-SE and against the upper edge of the slope down, is a rectangular stone foundation (NT 0029 7732). This possible building, of unknown date, measures 10 m by 6 m and is partly covered by turf. There are also three possible artificial terraces, 30 m east of the entrance to the palace, in the slope down to the flat ground on the south side of the loch (NT 0027 7735). *DES* (1997), 83.

area 2

The Cross/Kirkgate (west side)/Burgh Halls/Bell's Burn/Linlithgow Loch/Low Port (east side)/Provost Road/Capstan Walk/Edinburgh Road **figure 26**

description

This area comprises The Cross, East High Street and the High **A** and Low **B** East Ports. At the junction of High Street and Kirkgate is The Cross, perhaps the finest stage-set of urban architecture in Scotland. The Cross Well **C figure 15**, built in 1807 as a replica of a 1628 original, stands as the centrepiece, behind which is the Townhouse **D figure 17**. Now accommodating the Burgh Halls and the Tourist Information Centre, it was built between 1668 and 1670, after the earlier tolbooth had been demolished by Cromwell's troops. Shops and cafes line the east side of The Cross. Cross House **E**, built around 1700, stands on the west side of Kirkgate, probably the oldest street in the burgh. Kirkgate climbs up the slope from The Cross to the parish church and the palace (*see* **area 1**) and is lined with tightly packed, small town-houses on the west side and the District Court and Burgh Halls set back slightly on the opposite side. The garden of the Burgh Halls **F** contains a statue of John Hope, seventh Earl of Hopetoun and the first Governor-General of Australia.

Market Lane leads off from The Cross, in front of the Townhouse, and continues as a pathway through gardens into The Peel. The path offers a good view of the rigs behind High Street, some of the best preserved in the burgh. Some of these rigs stretch from High Street to The Peel.

The north side of East High Street contains some of the oldest standing buildings in the burgh, notably Hamilton Lands **G figure 11**. The lodgings of the Hamiltons of Pardovan and Humbie, this early sixteenth-century building has been restored by the National Trust for Scotland as part of the Little Houses Scheme. A doocot is incorporated into the building and a bread oven stands to the rear. The most prominent building, however, is probably Victoria Hall **H**. Built in the late nineteenth century, it was subject to alterations in 1937 when it was converted to a cinema, and it is now a vacant property.

The area east of Bell's Burn and west of Low Port/Blackness Road is largely occupied by Low Port Primary School, the former Linlithgow Academy built in 1900 **I**, and the Low Port Centre **J**, opened in 1987. There is little street frontage along Low Port and the few buildings here are modern. Further north is Laetare Youth Hostel **K** and the late nineteenth-century St Michael's Roman Catholic Church **L**. The east side of Low Port and north of High Port is almost entirely modern, the Regent Centre **M**, comprising car parking, shops and offices, replacing the former explosives factory. East of Provost Road, a modern housing estate now occupies the site of a bonded warehouse.

future development

The whole of Area 2 is contained within the Conservation Area. There are no specific outstanding development proposals contained within the most recent Local Plan (West Lothian District Council, 1994), other than general traffic management, car parking and environmental proposals. There are, however, several areas which are likely to be subject to development proposals in the near future.

There have been several unsuccessful planning applications for Victoria Hall **H** in recent years, none of which was considered suitable given its position close to The Cross and the historic core of the burgh. This is currently a vacant property, however, and development is likely. The rigs behind High Street are some of the best preserved in the burgh. Development here is restricted but pressure is increasing and, in response, a development study was commissioned by West Lothian District Council in 1992. There are two possible developments at Low Port Primary School **I**, for redevelopment of the Annex and for an extension to the main school building.

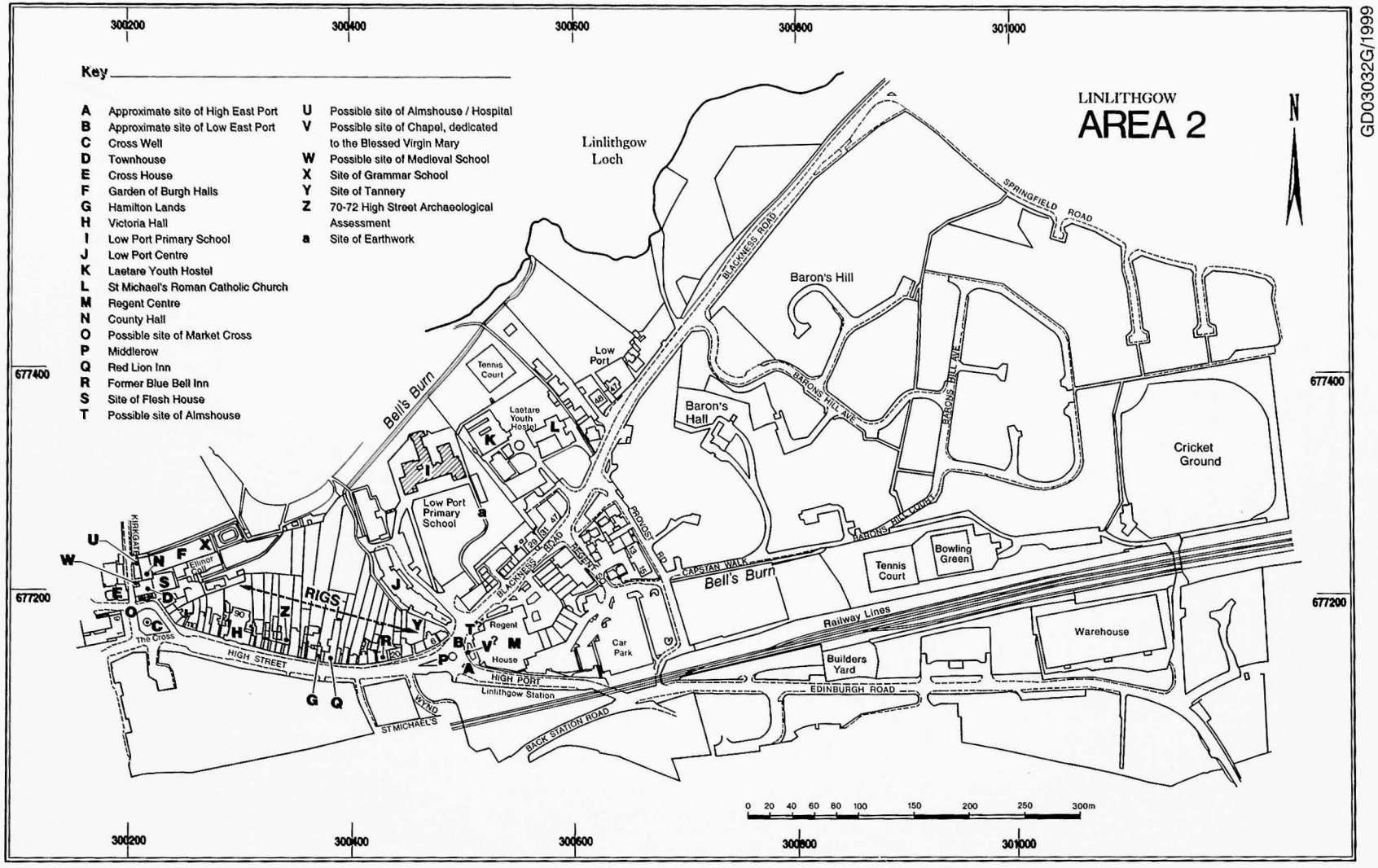

figure 26
Area 2

High **A** and Low **B** East Ports marked the official entries into the town from Edinburgh and Blackness. Nothing survives today other than a plaque on the wall of the Star and Garter Hotel (*see* **area 3**) relating that a wall ran between the two gates, behind which was the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary **V**.

the tolbooth **D**

There is evidence that a tolbooth was constructed in the year 1373. Whether this was a totally new structure or a partial replacement for an old one is unclear. It was here that the tolls were collected and the town's weights, for use at the market weighing machine, or tron, were kept. The tolbooth stood to the north of the market place and market cross, at the foot of Kirkgate **D**. By the sixteenth century, it also functioned as burgh court house, as in other towns. At this time, the weights used in towns were not standardised; however, Linlithgow's firlott was the most commonly used measure in Scotland and, in fact, became the standard. Sessions of parliament were at times held in Linlithgow, for example in 1545, when the tolbooth was the venue. This suggests that it was relatively prestigious. It is known that the tolbooth began, also, to function as the town jail, as in 1598 reference is made to a decision having been made to use the vaults of the tolbooth as a prison. The remains of executed persons were at times hung, as a warning to others, from the tolbooth.

In 1650, Oliver Cromwell installed himself in the palace, with his troops encamped on the peel. It was at this stage that fortifications were erected around the palace. These probably followed the line of Edward I's 'pele', although the banks and ditches which protected the palace and grounds were to be defended by artillery. So as to enclose the peel adequately and have a ready quarry for stone, the tolbooth was demolished, as were the hospital, or almshouse (*see* p 31), all the houses in Kirkgate, and the schoolhouse.

After the Restoration, a major piece of reconstruction work for the town was the building of a replacement tolbooth **D figure 17**. Sometime around 1661, the council petitioned the Privy Council that the town 'being destitut of a prison house ... ever since the year 1651 at which tyme not only was the prison house destroyed by the Inglish usurpers bot their toune and inhabitants were harazed and undone so that they are not yet in a capacity to rebuild any prison house by themselves without supply'. In the hope that the town would soon have a tolbooth, however, a bell was brought from Holland in 1661. The tolbooth itself was constructed between 1668 and 1670, to a design of John Milne, the king's master mason, with a double staircase giving access to the first floor and a spire was added in about 1673. Its original form may be seen prominently on Slezer's engravings of Linlithgow in *Theatrum Scotiae* **figure 16**. This new tolbooth reduced the width of Kirkgate by approximately eight feet (2.4 metres). The interior was embellished

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archaeological potential

There has been only one opportunity for any controlled archaeological work within Area 2, and few stray finds have been reported. This area has also largely escaped modern redevelopment as much of it has taken place to the east of Bell's Burn—effectively outwith the core of the medieval town—and on the sites of former factories and warehousing outside the ports. Even without archaeological evidence, the survival of so many buildings of sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date in Linlithgow, any one of which would be a rare find in most Scottish medieval towns, is a clear indication of the potential for both buried archaeological deposits and of the buildings themselves as a historical, architectural and archaeological resource **figure 31**.

The main sites and features of interest in this area are the street frontages around The Cross and East High Street, the rigs, Cross Well, High and Low Ports, and the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

with paintings by a Dutchman, who was paid £6 7s 7d for his efforts; and in 1670/71 two clocks were made, one for the tolbooth steeple and the other for the church steeple. Daniel Defoe, visiting the town in the early eighteenth century, considered Linlithgow 'a pleasant, handsome, well built town [and] the tolbooth...a good building, and not old, kept in good repair'. In 1710, when Sir Robert Sibbald's account of a visit to the town was published, he spoke of the townhouse as being 'stately', with 'a high steeple with bells and a fine clock', its top storey being used 'for publick feasts and intertainments', and the lowest for 'a weigh-house and rooms where prisoners [were] kept'.

In 1790, it was agreed that a corn and victual market was to be erected at the back of the council chambers, its third storey to function as a debtors' prison. Other alterations were soon made. In 1810, the town council took the decision to replace the stairs at the front of the townhouse with a verandah or piazza. Fire broke out in 1847, however, destroying much of the fabric, even though the town's 'water engine', or fire engine, was housed at the rear of the townhouse, beside the present County Hall. According to the town council minutes, the fire was suspected to have been caused by the concentrated rays of the sun through a window leading to 'spontaneous combustion'. The following year, rebuilding was under way; but instead of following the Milne design of 1668, the façade was still furnished with a wrought iron piazza and the tapering spire was not replaced. The townhouse retains most of these nineteenth-century features, although the wrought iron piazza was replaced in 1907 with the existing double stairway; and the County Hall **N** was added to the rear.

the market cross

The market cross was located in the main street, in the open market area, at the foot of the Kirkgate **O**. Little is known of the design of the medieval cross. In March 1598, the provost, Nicholas Cornwall of Bonhard, took out a tack on the 'eastern booth of the market cross' and, in the following month, of the western. This implies that these two booths were attached to, or part of, the market cross; the fact that Cornwall of Bonhard had to undertake to keep the market cross both painted and watertight might seem to reinforce this. The two booths were also permitted to set forth goods for sale at their doors and windows on market days. Certain market crosses are known to have had space or room under the main structure, for example in Aberdeen at a later period; and this information suggests that Linlithgow's market cross was a substantial feature. It is known to have had a unicorn on top, as instructions were given for its replacement in the preparations for the visit of Charles I in 1633. In the nineteenth century, the cross was

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standing buildings

Buildings situated in the core of the medieval burgh, on Kirkgate, The Cross and East High Street, were almost certainly constructed on the site of, or directly over, earlier buildings, a sequence possibly going back to the medieval period and continuing up to the present day. Although there have been few opportunities for archaeological examination of any of the street frontages in Linlithgow, evidence of earlier, possibly medieval, structures may be expected sealed beneath these seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century standing buildings.

The earliest buildings in the burgh would probably have been of timber, wattle and daub, perhaps with thatched roofs. At the front of properties like these would have been small, temporary stalls or booths, erected on market days, selling locally-made produce as well as providing services such as repairs to shoes, clothes and tools. Evidence for timber buildings, some as early in date as the twelfth century, and with stalls attached, has been found during excavations in Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness.

Many of the medieval buildings found during archaeological excavations in other towns were set several metres behind the present street frontage. There are many reasons

described as having been 'an octagonal erection resting on a flight of steps, and surrounded with a bartizaned wall. In the centre another building arose...The space within the bartizan afforded room for the magistrates, town council, and principal inhabitants to assemble and 'drink the healths' on the king's birthday'.

Along with the other municipal buildings, the cross suffered during the occupation of Cromwell's troops. To assist reconstruction, in 1662, the crown granted Linlithgow a free fair for three days and allowed the burgh to double the custom within the town; 'considering the great loss sustained by the burgh, and the destruction of all their public works by the attack of the usurper, viz their church, hospital, school, market cross, tolbooth, well, four mills and store houses or granarie at Blackness'. The cross, however, was not re-erected.

The Cromwellian forces were credited with leaving one benefit to the town. It is said that they brought more advanced techniques for tanning, which they taught to the Linlithgow cordiners. Certainly, from this time, leather working was on the increase in the town; and Linlithgow was eventually to have a fine reputation for the quality of its leather goods, and in particular footwear. These and other local produce and manufactures were sold at the weekly market at The Cross, both before and after the demolition of the market cross. Market day was Saturday until 1645, when it was changed to a Friday, so that the townspeople could prepare more soberly for the Sabbath. Meal was sold from a room below the school and timber at the West Port. The weekly horse markets, held from January to May, were also at the West Port. At the time of the four fairs, the numbers gathering in the town were swelled by visitors from further afield. These were held on the Thursday after Pentecost, 24 August (St Magdalene's fair), 21 September (St Matthew's fair) and 24 October.

the street pattern

In all probability, soon after Linlithgow received the formal rights of a burgh, a main street was formally laid out with burgage plots, or tofts, running in herring-bone pattern back from the street frontage. Certainly, a grant of 1150 to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth of a toft in Linlithgow, and one also to the abbot of Dunfermline, would suggest this process had already commenced. While it may be possible that the early township clustered beside the pathway leading to the presumed site of the church and royal stronghold (*see* **area 1**), it may be assumed that this newly laid-out main street followed very much the line of the present and medieval High Street, as the pathway leading to the royal residence did not offer sufficient development potential, being somewhat confined in

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why street frontages shift. The stalls or booths that once lined the medieval market place encroached out into the street in an effort to lure potential buyers. Similarly, the stairs that provided access to the upper floor of a tenement often stood tacked onto the front of the building, and over time, the building line often moved forward. Fine examples of this process can be seen in St Andrews at 19–21 North Street and 13–15 South Castle Street, where some properties have moved forward to enclose the stair-towers (often referred to as forestairs) within their fabric, while others have not, leaving the stair-tower standing forward of the main building line. The varied building line along East and West High Street suggests that both processes also occurred in Linlithgow, and buried buildings are, therefore, as likely to be found under the street or pavement as under or behind the present street frontage.

Similarly, buildings which have more than one phase of construction, such as the townhouse **D figure 17**, may also preserve earlier structural features within the fabric itself, hidden or obscured by later additions. On the ground floor, for example, these may be represented by floor surfaces, fireplaces and other features associated with the very earliest phases of occupation sealed beneath the modern floor levels. Throughout the building, more structural elements, such as blocked-up doorways, windows and cupboards, may

length. Documentary evidence, however, does not clarify whether there was a shift of alignment in the town at this time; and confirmation may be found only by archaeological research.

Documentary records give some clues to Linlithgow's street pattern in the middle ages. The town was clearly aligned along the single main street, with the short routeway leading northwards to the kirk and castle **figure 5**. The granting of apparently vacant land to one Thome Carsone and his heirs, on the south side of the main street between the tofts of William Masoun on the east and David Betysone's on the west, some time between 1374 and 1376, suggests that there were still some gap (unoccupied) sites in the town as late as this date. At the east end of the town, however, was the 'Myddilraw' (Middleraw) **P**, a block of buildings that formed an island site in the middle of the main street, which suggests that space for building was at a premium. The market area, widening out at the foot of Kirkgate, would, however, have been the most favoured location for important dwellings.

Bishop Pococke, visiting the town in 1760, wrote of the town that Linlithgow 'consists of a street'—a succinct comment on the topography. Robert Burns, in 1787, found that Linlithgow had 'the appearance of rude, decayed, idle grandeur, charmingly rural, retired situation'. In 1793, Linlithgow was described by the minister Rev James Dobie in the following manner:

> *The town consists of one street, about three quarters of a mile in length, with several lanes, and a range of gardens on the N and S. Opposite to the town-house is a vacant space, where the cross formerly stood, and the principal well still is. The street, towards the E, is broad and airy; about the middle, contracted and gloomy: as one goes westward, it again enlarges itself.*

The east end of High Street was 'broad and airy' because the Middleraw had been demolished (*see* p 30); and, although the cross also was no longer in existence (*see* p 32), congestion at the traditional market centre had a harsh visual effect. It is known, from cartographic evidence, that the town ports were also removed during the second half of the eighteenth century, which would also have added to the 'airiness' of the thoroughfare.

the town defences

In common with most other Scottish medieval towns, Linlithgow was not surrounded with strong stone walls. The loch would have provided some protection to the dwellings on the north side of the High Street, but it is uncertain precisely how much land was covered by the water of the loch in the middle ages; it may have been that all the tofts in Area 2

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also survive behind modern plasterboard. The townhouse was built in 1668–70 to replace the tolbooth, demolished by Cromwell in 1650. Entirely altered in 1807, it was again restored—with a new façade—after a fire in 1847. Blocked-up doors and windows are now clearly visible in the north and west walls, one of which has a stone bearing the following inscription: 'Doorway to debtor's prison struck out in 1792, built up 1812'.

streets

High Street is the main thoroughfare of Linlithgow, and has been since the middle ages. Kirkgate probably predates High Street, however, and the earliest settlement is likely to have clustered here, close to the royal manor house. The discovery of a stream (*see* below) may suggest early settlement was on the east side of Kirkgate, rather than on the steeper west side which has experienced considerable terracing over the centuries. Archaeological deposits do survive beneath the present surface of Kirkgate (*see* **area 1**), but on either side they are likely to have been destroyed by buildings fronting onto the street.

abutted onto the protective peel, as they did in the more recent past. This protection from the peel may have been reinforced by wooden palisading and a ditch at the foot of the burgage plots, as was the case in other areas of the town. This was not really meant to be highly defensible. Indeed, it is known that the palisading was so insubstantial that it blew down in high winds.

There were probably two main ports, or gates, controlling access to the town in the middle ages, one at the east end of the main street, the other at the west. The Low East Port **B** was possibly the original east port, giving access to Linlithgow's port of Blackness and, beyond, to Edinburgh. By the end of the middle ages, a further port, East Port or High East Port **A**, gave access to the Edinburgh Road. According to cartographic evidence of the late eighteenth century, by then this entrance to the town appears to have been the more important of the two. This would be supported by the fact that Linlithgow's close economic ties with Blackness had by then declined considerably (*see* p 35). The purpose of the medieval town ports was more as a psychological barrier than a truly defensible structure. The gates were closed at night, at curfew, or shut against outsiders when plague or other disease threatened. The ports also functioned as collection points for tolls, or market dues, from those coming to use Linlithgow's market. One of Linlithgow's ports was destroyed in 1457, when a great 'bombard' passed through, knocking it down either partially or totally, and necessitating its reconstruction; this suggests that it was not a substantial structure.

An interesting insight into the town defences may be gained from the town council minutes of October 1635. In this year, plague had broken out in the Low Countries. Commissioners were, therefore, appointed to prevent any ships from there landing plague-stricken passengers, and quarantine lodgings were prepared. It was the opinion of the council that 'vagabonds' were the most likely carriers; and since both vagabonds and beggars tended to gather at the 'yeardheadis', that is the end of the burgage plots, all were to be banished and the burgesses were to build up their walls at the end of the burgage plots. This ruling is recorded in the town council minute book and applied to all tenements from the east port to the west and to those at the 'north-west' of the burgh. 'North-west' was possibly a scribal error of the town clerk, as the plots to the north-west had a measure of natural protection from the fact that most of them were bounded by the loch. Alternatively, if this is a correct minute, it may be confirmation that the plots to the north-east did not need further protection, since they were already secure as they abutted against the peel.

Slezer's view of the town from the south **figure 16** gives a clear picture of the backlands of the properties on south High Street and access through them to the main thoroughfare. The yardheads, or 'heid dykes', were all protected with walling; although low, it appears to be more substantial than the medieval ditch and palisading. If there was walling throughout all of Area 2, it may be assumed that it, also, had been upgraded.

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High Street was cobbled for a short distance in the sixteenth century, and surfaced completely by 1860. The buildings around The Cross and on the north side of East High Street have considerable archaeological potential (*see* p 69), but the streets themselves should not be forgotten as this was the market place, where the tolbooth **D**, market cross **O** and tron would have stood—the original locations of all of these are still not certain. Similarly, The Cross Well **C figure 15** and St Michael's Well **figure 18** (*see* **area 3**), two of the many wells in the burgh, are also sited in the street and would have received water piped from streams under the wynds on the south side of High Street. Any road works, services or environmental improvements in this area which involve substantial groundworks should, therefore, be monitored.

ports

Linlithgow had two ports, the official entries into the town, guarding the entrance into the town from the east. The Low Port **B** was at the approach from Blackness and may have

The eighteenth-century town council records illustrate clearly the continuing concern of the authorities for the townscape. All of the municipal property, such as the ports, needed constant maintenance. It is known from cartographic evidence that the town ports were removed during the second half of this century, probably because of the expense of their maintenance and their outmoded usefulness.

housing

The majority of the medieval houses in the town were built of wood. In consequence, fire was a constant hazard. The town was burned by the English in 1342; and extensive damage was effected by fire in both 1411 and 1424.

By the sixteenth century, Linlithgow had reached its pinnacle. This was exemplified not only in the palace, but also in less prestigious buildings in the town. Some dwellings, for example, known to have been standing or erected in the sixteenth century, reflect not only the importance of their occupants, but also the influence of the royal works at the palace. Demolition work in central Linlithgow in the 1960s revealed many features, such as fireplaces, that attested to the late medieval affinities with the character and detail of the royal residence **figures 7** *&* **8.** An early engraving, *c* 1780, by Philip de la Motte, shows that some properties were galleried; and Pont's map delineating Linlithgow in the late sixteenth century, when enlarged, shows clearly that many houses lining the High Street were arcaded at this time **figure 9.** The Hamilton Lands **G**, built for the Hamiltons of Pardovan, at 40–48 High Street **figure 11**, give clues to domestic buildings typical of Linlithgow's sixteenth-century main thoroughfare (*see* p 20). The stone oven at the rear of the properties also dates to the sixteenth century, although it has probably received refurbishment. Near to the Cross Well and market cross was Cross House **E**, built around the turn of the century. An extension was added to the west in the mid eighteenth century and it is a fine example of quality building.

Many dwellings were not as comfortable as these significant Linlithgow houses. Clustered along the main street and the vennels that ran off them were also the homes of the poorer burgesses and indwellers. Many of these would have remained small, single-roomed thatched or turf-roofed buildings, often sitting cheek by jowl with their wealthy neighbours, although there is evidence also of tenements with forebooths, over chambers and over lofts. This picture is confirmed in the seventeenth century. Preparations for the visit of Charles I in 1633 meant that properties in the Kirkgate were renovated: the townspeople were told to replace their derelict thatching with slates, so as not to offend the eye of the monarch on his progress to the palace; and middens were to be removed from all the streets. The burgh authorities encouraged the townspeople to maintain their property adequately at other times. In 1644, for example, a list of old and derelict houses

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was drawn up with the intention of forcing their occupiers to effect repairs. Three years

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been the earlier of the two, while the High Port **A** was situated on the Edinburgh Road. Both were demolished as part of town improvements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the West Port (*see* **area 3**) was also removed to improve access. The ground level at West Port is known to have been lowered considerably, but it is not thought that the same thing happened at High and Low Ports. Road works may offer an opportunity to investigate this area, both for the survival of the ports and for evidence of Middleraw **P**, which developed between the ports, possibly where the roundabout now stands.

burgage plots

Behind the frontages of High Street were the backlands of the burgage plots. Over time, these were gradually built over as pressure for space within the town increased and the frontages were filled up (a process known as repletion). Open, undeveloped gardens, the

later, however, a number were still in so poor a condition that they were demolished. One group of properties that disappeared at this time was the Middleraw. In order to improve the street, the council purchased houses, such as the Cross House, owned by William Ritchie, and for which he was paid £100, and demolished them.

Contemporary visitors to Linlithgow, however, were very complimentary about the townscape. Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of Cheshire, commenting in 1636, confirmed the view that some of the late sixteenth-century properties were influenced by the palace: 'By the way, I observed gentlemen's (here called laird's) houses all built castle-wise'.

After the Cromwellian occupation, renovation of public buildings was undertaken. Private housing needed attention as well. It was reported that the houses on the land to the east of the market cross were falling down in 1671. It is clear that the council took care to monitor any improvement work: in 1661, Nicoll Gardiner sought permission to put a window in one of his side walls; it was given, on condition that the window was 'glassed for licht' and that the said Nicoll and his heirs and successors did not 'cast in anytime hereafter ony chaumber pottis or filth out of his said high window, upon the ... close'.

An assessment of the number of hearths in individual properties, for the purposes of taxation, gives an insight into the townscape in 1691. Of the 594 houses, most—some 60 per cent—had only a single hearth; but it is clear that many of the other homes were quite prestigious. One had as many as fourteen hearths (*see* **area 3**). A number of other properties had multiple hearths: two had eleven, two others had ten, one had nine and five had eight hearths. Compared with other towns, Linlithgow had an unusually high proportion of quality housing.

In 1793, Linlithgow was described by the minister Rev James Dobie in the following manner:

> *Many of the houses have, it must be owned, a mean aspect, and exhibit striking symptoms of decay. Several, however, have lately been rebuilt, and other operations of a similar kind are now going forward; so that, in process of time, the whole may be expected to assume a modern and more elegant appearance.*

The nineteenth century was to bring change. Many old properties disappeared, to be replaced by modern buildings. The Victorian railway station still stands prominently above the east end of the High Street (*see* **area 3**) and local hotels found a ready market from the passengers alighting from the trains. The Red Lion Inn **Q** and the Blue Bell Inn **R** were two of these. New buildings and suburbs on the townscape were powerful indications that Linlithgow was a prospering town.

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property boundaries of which often 'fossilised' those of earlier medieval burgage plots, are rapidly disappearing in most Scottish towns. A number of these fortunately still survive in Linlithgow, most notably in Areas 2 and 3.

Evidence of burgage plots does still survive buried beneath modern buildings, car parks and private gardens, even after the plot boundaries have long since disappeared. They are an extremely valuable source of information to the urban historian and archaeologist, as they often document the activities and conditions of everyday life in a medieval town. For this reason, all development in them should be monitored. Excavations in other medieval towns in Scotland, such as Perth, Aberdeen and St Andrews, have revealed middens, rubbish pits, cess pits and vegetable plots as common features of medieval backlands, alongside craft workshops and industrial features such as kilns. A series of three excavations at Canal Street in Perth, for example, showed that the boundaries of these plots were not rigid but, in fact, the very opposite. They appear to have been shifted regularly, revealing a fascinating sequence of continually changing plot boundaries and

water supply

Sir Robert Sibbald's account of a visit to the town, published in 1710, spoke of the fountain in the middle of the square raising the water 'a full spears height, which [fell] down in several pipes with a pleasant murmuring' **C figure 15**. For Daniel Defoe, Linlithgow in the early eighteenth century was 'a pleasant, handsome, well built town' which was 'serv'd with water by one very large bason, or fountain, to which the water is brought from the same spring which serv'd the royal palace'. The town was well endowed, in spite of Defoe's comments on a single supply of water. The loch had been the usual source, water being drawn for domestic purposes and baking and brewing until as late as 1638. Use of the loch probably stopped only when local industries and human waste began seriously to pollute it.

Wells and water butts were the other supply of water. Cross Well **C** was the most important well, standing as it did in the very heart of the town. Lead piping supplied the well from as early as 1629. The Cross Well was praised by contemporary visitors to Linlithgow; Brereton called it 'a dainty conduit'. It was rebuilt after the Cromwellian occupation, in 1658 (*see* p 37) by James Thomson, mason. A few years later, Jorevin de Rocheford praised 'the very handsome church at one end of the market-place, in the centre of which [was] a fountain in a basin that received waters'.

It was essential that the Cross Well be kept in good repair; and, in 1774, the council decided to rebuild it 'of new'. In 1794, an iron railing was put round it, replacing a ruinous stone rail. In 1807, it was 'reedified', but according to its original design. Still standing, it no longer has its original function. In 1889, Linlithgow received a piped public water supply from Cockleroi Reservoir. Some of the carved stones from the original well were discovered in 1997, and are in the care of West Lothian Council.

local industry and occupational structure

In the middle ages, a number of local people probably found employment on the major reconstruction work of both the palace and church. The records give evidence of other occupations being followed in the town. A significant support system for the maintenance of the royal household and attendant court would have been necessary. Masons, wrights, slaters and general workmen all assisted in the maintenance of the palace fabric; and small goods, rushes, horses, pottery, bread, ale and strawberries were all purchased from local people. Money was paid to a skinner in the town for providing hawking gloves for James IV. James V also had shirts and sarks sewn for him in the town, and harnessing made for his horses. The existence of a yard in the town, called 'Mader-yard', suggests

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properties being amalgamated and sub-divided throughout the medieval period. The end of the burgage plots was sometimes marked by small walls, wooden fences or ditches.

The Linlithgow Riggs Development Potential Study highlighted the special nature of the rigs in Area 2, as these must have backed on to the palace grounds in the medieval period. The report recommended that no development here should be permitted to destroy this spatial relationship between royal and burghal occupation, of which the rig walls are physical, tangible evidence. Development here is possible, however, but is likely to be small-scale and to be contained within individual rigs.

crafts and industry

An exhibition recounting the industrial history of the town can be seen at the Linlithgow Story, Annet House (*see* **area 3**). Of the many crafts and industries in Linlithgow that would have supplied goods and services to the palace, most activities would leave little structural evidence in the archaeological record. Certain types of industry are often concentrated in parts of towns for many centuries, often close to a source of water, for

that dyeing was in process in the town. Set back a little, behind the tolbooth, was the town's 'fleshhouse' or shambles **S**, which would have served to employ a number of local fleshers and other men.

Into early modern times, many of the townsmen and women must have had close contact with the palace through employment or provision of goods. In 1514, for example, barley was distributed to some of the Linlithgow women to process into ale for the royal household. The Linlithgow wright who received payment for work effected on the palace, and one Alexander Ryddoche, a Linlithgow smith who made an iron window pane, are merely two examples of the employment of local men. Probably much of the cloth sent to Linlithgow to make into clothing, in 1539, would have been worked by Linlithgow seamstresses and tailors. The payment of the sizeable sum of £35 to Marion Henrysone, a widow, for certain debts owed to her would suggest services to the palace. One Thomas Kellis supplied the palace with balls used by Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley for the game of 'catchpule' or tennis. Unskilled work was also essential. Robert Gray, a cadger who was paid £6 for carrying coffers, was one of many who were rewarded for menial tasks.

By the sixteenth century there were eight incorporated trades in the town: the hammermen (metal workers), the wrights (wood workers), baxters (bakers), coopers, weavers, tailors, cloth fullers (waulkers) and the cordiners (leather workers). The tanners, who plied their craft beside the plentiful supply of water in the loch, belonged to the cordiner craft, for their deacon in 1506 was John Henderson, a tanner. The presence of three cloth related incorporations would suggest that the textile industry was an important one in the town, although they lost ground after the fifteenth century. In the mid sixteenth century, the fleshers replaced the cloth finishers as the eighth incorporated trade. Many of the townspeople would have found employment in trades that were not incorporated, such as coal and metal mining and quarrying. A mine was being actively worked near to the town in 1540, although it was worked out by 1558. Others would have been involved in carrying and carting goods to and from the massive stone-walled warehouse at Blackness on the shore, beside the pier which the incorporated trades built and maintained. Here, they stored their goods before transportation for export and raw materials awaiting removal to Linlithgow.

By 1613, however, the provost and bailies of the town argued that it was 'a verie poore burgh, without trade or handling, and [had] little or no commoun good quhairby thay may beir out and sustene the commoun burdyns of the said toun'. This may have been an exaggeration, as the town was placing a complaint against Thomas Foullis, master of the royal mills, for diverting water from its accustomed course to feed the king's mill, thereby depriving the town's mill and rendering it 'altogidder inutile and unprofitable unto thame, to the grite hurte, wraik and inconvenient of the said burgh'.

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power, fire prevention or waste disposal. Bell's Burn, which flows through Area 2, would have provided a convenient source of water, and some industry may be expected in the rigs here. The best evidence for these activities comes, in fact, from the contents of rubbish pits and middens where, in the right conditions, organic materials such as leather, wood and textiles, both the waste and finished products, can survive. Rubbish pits and middens are commonly found in the backlands of burgage plots and are often the sole source of evidence for crafts such as weaving (loomweights), shoemaking (leather off-cuts), coopering (wood shavings) and hornworking (horn cores and antler off-cuts).

Evidence for some industrial processes, such as malting and tanning, stands a better chance of survival. These processes require tanks or vats and kilns, all of which were sunk below ground level, and later backfilled rather than demolished. A medieval malting operation, comprising a watertight, clay-lined vat for germinating the barley and a kiln for drying, was found in the backlands of Canal Street in Perth, while a tanning works has more recently been discovered adjacent to the castle at St Andrews. A late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century tannery has also been found recently in Crieff. Here, four large wooden tanks were found, still packed full of the oak bark used to cure the leather. Most

The Cromwellian occupation also had a serious effect on the craftsmen of the town. Their four mills and store houses or granary at Blackness were all destroyed and had to be replaced. The flesh and meal markets had also to be set up again. Three tenements were converted into the fleshmarket, or shambles. These were disponed to the burgh in 1667, 1672 and 1694 respectively **S**. In 1679, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge and the rout of the Covenanters, a number of prisoners found themselves housed in Linlithgow's flesh market, awaiting transportation to Edinburgh. Some suggest that as many as 1,200 were confined in the small space and, but for the kindness of the local schoolmaster, James Kirkwood, who personally supplied clothing and food, many would not have been able to continue to the capital.

The Cromwellian forces were credited with leaving one benefit to the town. It is said that they brought more advanced techniques for tanning which this they taught to the Linlithgow cordiners. Certainly, from this time, leather working was on the increase in the town; and Linlithgow was to eventually have a fine reputation for the quality of its leather goods, and in particular footwear. The other incorporated trades, by now, were the baxters, coopers, fleshers, smiths, tailors, weavers and wrights. But a number of other occupations were pursued in the town: carters, dyers, horse dealers, meal makers, masons and gardeners were common sights, while much of the important task of ale making devolved to the women. The local produce and manufactures were sold at the weekly market at The Cross.

The Registers of Sasines for the first half of the eighteenth century give a clear impression of a bustling town, with not merely dwellings and working premises on the frontages of the burgage plots, but also much activity in the backlands. There were barking pots and kilns on the north side of the High Street. Still standing in the backlands is a stone oven **G**, a reminder of the dangers of fire in the late medieval period, when it was wise to place ovens outside wooden housing (*see* p 38). Some of the townsfolk living in this area of Linlithgow might also have found work in the bleachfields (*see* **area** 4).

The meal market was upgraded to a fleshmarket in 1788, with shading and roofing and divisions into stalls, a big improvement on the open shambles at The Cross. New corn and barley mills were built; in 1790 it was agreed that a corn and victual market was to be erected at the back of the council chambers, the third storey of which functioned as a debtors' prison. By 1793, however, manufacturing of leather was still the most important

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of the tanneries in Linlithgow were concentrated close to the loch (*see* **area 4**). There was, however, one tannery at the east end of the town, on the west bank of Bell's Burn **Y**. Two of the tannery buildings are thought to survive and may be subject to re-development in the future as they are in a state of neglect.

previous archaeological work

The only opportunity for archaeological work in Area 2 was in response to a proposed extension to the existing property at 70–72 High Street **Z** in 1994. The house itself was of the nineteenth century and seemed to occupy two plots on the High Street. The extension involved the demolition of three brick sheds, and was to encroach onto an area of overgrown garden. The thresholds of nearby buildings indicated that the seventeenth-century ground level was around a metre below present pavement level. The absence of cellars, both here and elsewhere in High Street, suggested that structural remains could be preserved here. In total, two test-pits were dug to a depth of 1.2 m, one close to the east boundary wall, the other to the west wall. The boundary walls were found to have incorporated earlier, bonded masonry, which suggests that these boundaries may be considerably older than the nineteenth century (*see also* Annet House, **area 3**). The garden was found to have been established over a distinct layer of demolition rubble, with traces of some stonework still *in situ*.

industry in the town, employing seventeen tanners, eighteen curriers and thirteen tawers, as well as their servants and apprentices. Most of the hides and skins were of sheep, lamb and cattle, but the pelts of other animals were also processed. Between July 1790 and July 1793, 6,116 seal skins and fourteen hog and dog were tanned. Cured leather supplied two tambour factories in the town. Twenty-four people were involved in woollen cloth manufacture; there was one carpet weaver; and a number of stocking weavers. A calico producing business was introduced in 1786, employing about 200, but this number had halved by the 1790s. The works stood on the Avon, near to the bleachfield, which had, by now, been moved out of the town. A flint mill stood nearby. The town bakers, the corn mills, the three breweries in the town and four distilleries in the parish not only gave employment, but also supplied the needs of the town and parish beyond. The town's produce was sold at the weekly Friday market; and there were six fairs, the most important being St Magdalene's, held on 2 August. All of these provided work for the inhabitants in this part of the town.

In the nineteenth century, new industries were introduced into the town. Paper making took advantage of the waters of the Avon; and just as the river had powered mills from medieval times, so in the nineteenth century, paper mills were established on its banks. Lochmill stood on the site of a medieval meal mill, which later became a printfield (*see* p 44) and, nearby, Avonmill, also on the site of a printfield, used the dam built by the printfield company to run its water wheel. Glue making, originally sited near the present Edinburgh Road, but removed with the construction of the railway, was established at Gowanstank. One of the old industries continued to flourish; leather and shoe making were still important facets of Linlithgow life. The tanneries and the glue works, however, gave Linlithgow a reputation amongst rail travellers as 'the place that was smelt before it was seen'; but they provided a livelihood for the local people.

chapels and almshouses

An almshouse stood outside the town limits, near to where the Low Port (*see* p 16) later stood **T**. Later known as Balderston's Barn, it may have been a leper house. Another almshouse was in existence in the town before 1448. It was located on the east side of the Kirkgate, to the south of the cemetery **U**. By 1496, a newly constructed chapel stood in the

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During conversion works at the townhouse **D** in 1995 **figure 17**, an underground stream was reported. As this was not part of an archaeological investigation, there are no records as such, but it would seem to have run from the palace area down the east side of Kirkgate towards The Cross.

features outside the ports

The chapel and hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary **V**, with its burial ground, lay outwith the east port of the burgh. On the east side of the chapel were lands named 'Fare-you-well Yard'. The site of Middleraw **P**, which may include the present mini-roundabout at the junction of High Port and Low Port, would have lain within the ports. The chapel and hospital is more likely to have lain further east, probably under the present Regent Centre. As the latter was built on the site of the Nobel Explosives factory, it is unlikely anything earlier would have survived.

Similarly, not far from here but slightly further east, stood the Magdalene Cross, where the town fairs were once held. It was reputed to have been sited halfway between St Magdalene's Hospital and High Port. This area has been intensively developed for industry and by the railway, and it is unlikely, therefore, that much could have survived. The site of St Magdalene's Hospital is now occupied by a distillery **figure 21**, recently partially converted into flats (*see* **area 3**). Another part of the former distillery, known as the West Barns, is also due for conversion.

area of 'Myddilraw' **P**. Attached to it was an almshouse; and the chaplain was supported from rentals of property to the south side of the market place. Both were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary **V**.

Little is known of these medieval chapels and almshouses or their fate at the Reformation. The almshouse in the Kirkgate proved a useful alternative building for the school; in 1630, the scholars were removed 'into the hospitallis hous in the kirkgaite', that is, the almshouse (*see* p 16). It was not to survive for too long, however. So as to enclose the peel adequately and have a ready quarry for stone during the Cromwellian occupation, the almshouse, along with the tolbooth, all the houses in Kirkgate and the schoolhouse, was demolished.

In the 1640s, the group of properties along the Middleraw disappeared. In order to improve the street, the council purchased houses, such as the Cross House, and demolished them. Any remnants of the chapel and almshouse dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary would have disappeared.

the school

The first reference to a school in the town is in 1187. It probably stood very close to the church, if not actually attached to it (*see* **area 1**). The medieval school is known to have stood a little behind the tolbooth, with access from the east side of Kirkgate **W**. This was probably, in origin, the song school attached to St Michael's Church, the main purpose of which was the training of choristers.

A new school was erected in 1625, at the back of the tolbooth; but such extensive repair work was necessary, in 1630, because of the 'weakness of the roof and walls', that the scholars were removed 'into the hospitallis hous in the kirkgaite', that is, the almshouse (*see* p 16). During the Cromwellian occupation, to adequately enclose the peel and have a ready quarry for stone, the school was demolished. By 17 February 1651, however, the council had made the decision to set up a song school for the teaching of music, and this was to be held in the Session House. Interestingly, seven years later, an enlightened project was approved: to establish a school 'to instruct young ones of the feminine sex'. Also, it was reported to the town council in 1658 that progress was being made with the building of a new grammar school **X**. Sir Robert Sibbald's account of a visit to the town, published in 1710, spoke of the Grammar School, 'a large building fitted for teaching of the Scholars, and for lodgeing of some of the sons of the Gentrie'. Although largely superseded by the new Academy **I** in the nineteenth century, the old school retained a place of affection in the minds of the townspeople; in 1902, it burned down.

history

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archaeology

Another feature which lay outwith the ports was a curious linear earthwork postulated as remnants of Cromwell's defences **a**. It was recorded in 1973 just before it was landscaped away. It was 6.7 m wide and 3 m deep, with a V-shaped profile. This same feature is visible on nineteenth-century maps and, on the second edition Ordnance Survey map of 1897, it was described as a sand pit. The area is now occupied by the playing fields of Low Port Primary School. The ditch is likely to have been backfilled and may, therefore, still survive beneath the grass. If it was part of Cromwell's defences, it must have been a forward position protecting the town from the Blackness approach.

area 3

Linlithgow Primary School/railway line/Preston Road/ Union Canal (south side)/Canal House and Museum/Union Canal (south side)/St Magdalene's Distillery/High Street (south frontage)
figures 27 & 28

description

The largest of the four areas, Area 3 incorporates the whole of the south side of the burgh, from West Port to East Port, and extends as far south as the canal. West of The Cross, West High Street has a much simpler, but more haphazard, building line than East High Street, which has suffered more from nineteenth-century rebuilding. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century buildings are still preserved along West High Street, and one at least is possibly earlier (West Port House **A**). This now looks rather out of place, standing as it does at some height above the present road level (which was lowered between 1790–1830) and so far from the core of the town. Two of the longest established businesses in the town are situated along this stretch of High Street: Oliphants, the baker (no 216, north frontage of High Street), trading since 1756, and Morrison's shoe shop (south frontage), which opened in 1919, selling shoes made in its factory situated almost directly opposite where the health centre now stands.

The West Port area suffers from traffic problems, and any features of interest here are largely overpowered by widened roads, traffic islands and railings. Between Brae Court housing development **B** and County Buildings **C** are some of the best preserved rigs in the town. One of these, at the back of Annet House **D**, has recently been restored by the Linlithgow Heritage Trust and is open to the public. Further west, the rigs have gradually

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future proposals

The most recent Local Plan (West Lothian District Council, 1994) contains no outstanding proposals for development within this area other than traffic management, car parking and environmental improvement measures at West Port, and is likely to have a greater impact on Area 4 than on this area. The whole of Area 3 lies within the town's conservation area, and the Union Canal is a Scheduled Ancient Monument. Any development of the latter would require Scheduled Monument Consent from Historic Scotland.

There are, however, several areas likely to be developed in the near future. Development of the rigs between St John's Avenue and County Buildings is restricted, but three sites have been earmarked for individual houses on the Union Road frontage **Y**. Linlithgow Primary School, West Port **Z**, may also be subject to redevelopment in the future, as will the bus depot **G**. Finally, Learmonth Gardens, which contains the doocot **M**, might also be the subject of environmental improvements.

archaeological potential

There have been few opportunities to carry out any archaeological work in this area, although a few stray finds have been reported. Area 3 contains a number of the oldest standing buildings in the town, however, and some of the best preserved rigs. The archaeological potential for both buried remains and standing buildings is, therefore, high and any further development should be monitored **figure 30**. Medieval or later features within Area 3 include West Port House, a number of well preserved rigs, a sixteenth-century doocot **M**, the site of the chapel of St Magdalene **I**, the site of the town house of the Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem **K**, and the nineteenth-century Union Canal and railway.

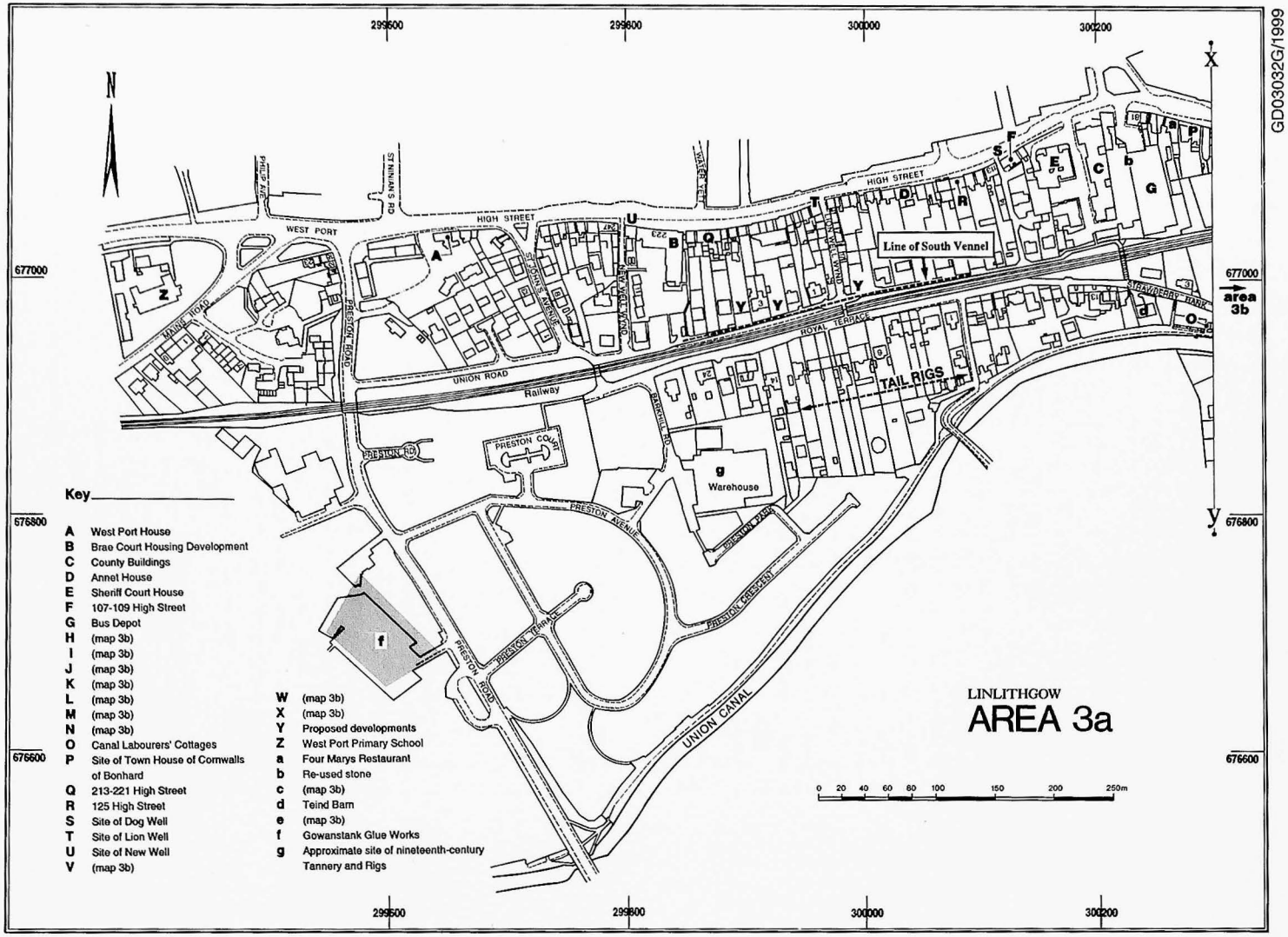

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figure 27
Area 3a

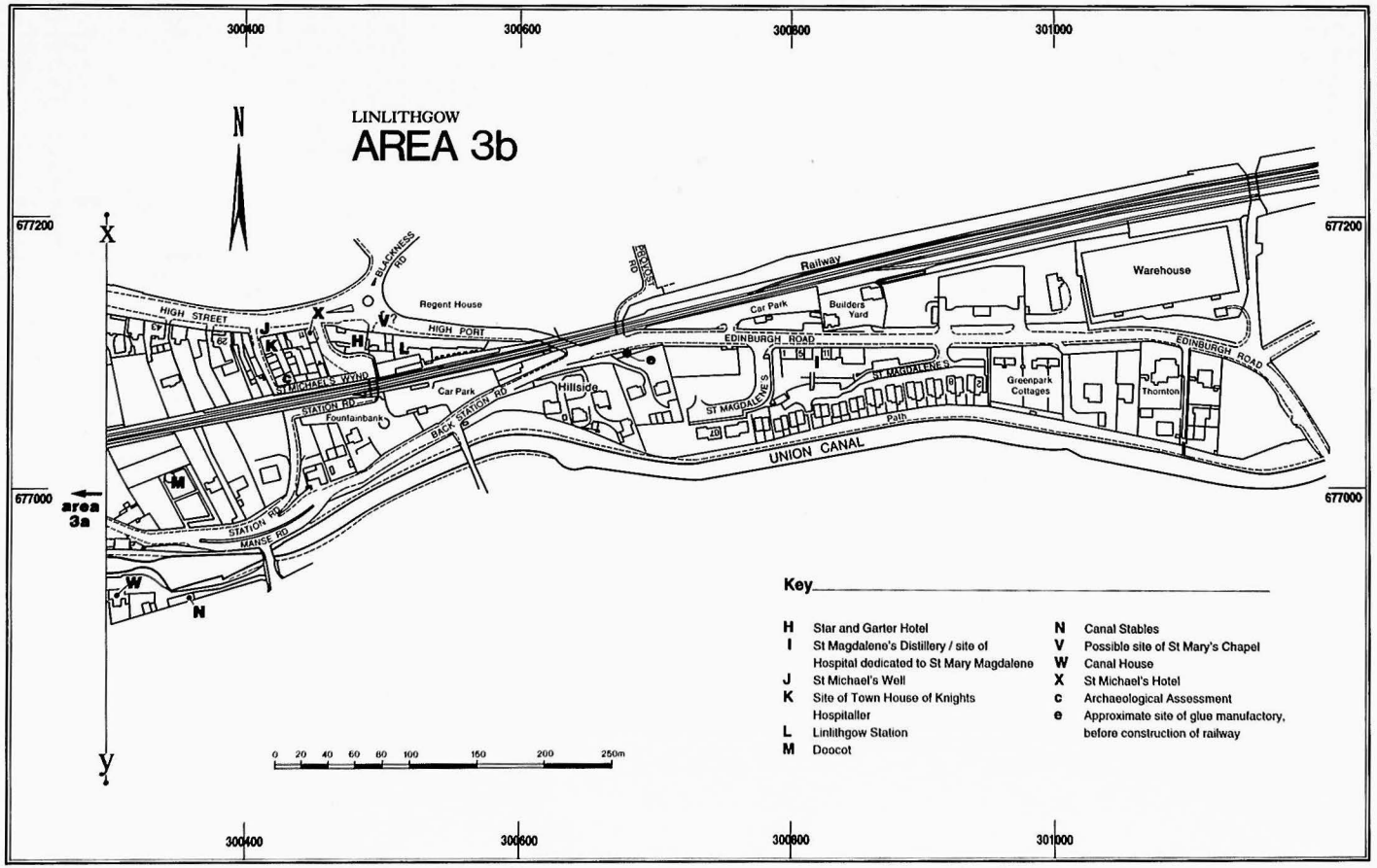

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figure 28
Area 3b

been built over. Behind these rigs is one of the most interesting features of this area. The insertion of the railway here appears to have cut through part of the rigs and required the building of a new embankment wall and new rig walls a few feet apart. The result is Union Road, a narrow road at the best of times, but which almost runs out of space at the top of Lion Well Wynd. Doorways, fronting onto Union Road, can still be seen in the rig walls.

The atmospherically named wynds (Dog Well Wynd and Lion Well Wynd, for example), thought to follow the lines of the numerous streams that poured down from the hills to the south, break up the almost one kilometre length of High Street into more interesting blocks. Initially providing access from High Street to the back lane behind the rigs (South Vennel), most have since been developed. Lion Well Wynd, opened in 1750, is perhaps the most attractive, with its tightly packed nineteenth-century houses; New Well Wynd, on the other hand, is largely 1950s housing on the east side, stepped to compensate for the steep climb.

South of The Cross, the townscape is dominated by the County Buildings **C** and Sheriff Court House **E**. The former was built in 1935, the latter in 1863. A plaque on the courthouse commemorates the assassination here of Regent Moray in 1570. Slightly further west, and at the corner of Dog Well Wynd, the pantile roofed 107–109 High Street is possibly eighteenth-century in date **F**.

West of the bus depot **G**, another stretch of rigs survives as far east as St Michael's Wynd. Around High Port (*see* **area 2**), the medieval character of the townscape has largely been lost. The insertion of the railway (cutting the rigs in half here), the railway station and the re-routing of St Michael's Wynd have served to create a jumble of buildings, roads, wynds and car parks. There are some interesting buildings around this eastern part of the town: the three-storey, eighteenth-century Star and Garter Hotel **H** on High Port, St Magdalene's Distillery **I figure 21**, the west part built in *c* 1880 and other sections a little earlier, now partially converted into flats, and some tightly-packed groups of buildings on

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streets

The wynds within this area—New Well Wynd, Dog Well Wynd, Lion Well Wynd and St Michael's Wynd—are mostly eighteenth century in date and are thought to mark the line of streams running down from the hills to the south. These wynds are believed to have been opened up when it was felt less important to limit points of access into the town. They have since been developed as streets, but may seal evidence of occupation within the earlier medieval rigs. In particular, they may still preserve the piped water channels which fed the numerous wells sited at the mouths of the wynds in the nineteenth century.

standing buildings

Buildings situated in the core of the medieval burgh, on East and West High Street, were almost certainly constructed on the site of, or directly over, earlier buildings, a sequence possibly going back to the medieval period and continuing up to the present day. Although there have been few opportunities for an archaeological examination of any of the street frontages in Linlithgow, evidence of earlier, possibly medieval, structures may be expected sealed beneath these seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century standing buildings.

The earliest buildings in the burgh would probably have been of timber, wattle and daub, perhaps with thatched roofs. At the front of properties like these would have been small, temporary stalls, or booths, erected on market days, selling locally made produce as well as providing services such as repairs to shoes, clothes and tools. Evidence for timber buildings, some as early in date as the twelfth century, and with stalls attached, has been found during excavations in Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness.

St Michael's Wynd, for example. The nineteenth-century development behind St Michael's Well **J figure 18** deprived the town of one of its most famous buildings **figure 12**. This was the late medieval townhouse of the Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem **K**, whose headquarters in Scotland were at nearby Torphichen (*see* p 20).

High Port, one of the three main entries into the town, climbs up the hill under the railway towards St Magdalene's Distillery **I figure 21**. Branching off it, Back Station Road leads to Linlithgow Station **L**, one of the few surviving first-generation Edinburgh to Glasgow railway stations.

Much of the development to the south of the railway and north of the canal is associated with Royal Terrace. Mostly nineteenth-century in date, and built after the arrival of the railway, the houses here vary tremendously in both size and styling. A sweeping bend in the course of the canal, to the south of the railway line, is again largely filled with villas, some very recent. Amongst them, however, is the well-preserved sixteenth-century doocot in Learmonth Gardens **M**.

The Union Canal provides a convenient boundary to this survey area **figure 20**. Opened in 1822, it linked Edinburgh with Glasgow via the Forth and Clyde Canal near Falkirk. It was officially closed in 1965, but there are now plans to re-open both canals as the Millennium Link Project. The former stables **N**, on the south bank, have been converted to a canal museum and the former labourers' cottages on the north bank have also been renovated **O**.

the street pattern

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At the rear of the burgage plots on the south side of the High Street was a back lane, called South Vennel **figure 16**. Free 'ische and entrie' (exit and entry) was essential not only to the lane, but beyond to the tailriggs where barns and barn yards were sited. Access to the South Vennel, or back lane, at the yardheads was maintained, for those with

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Many of the medieval buildings discovered during archaeological excavations were found several metres behind the present street frontage. There are many reasons why street frontages shift. The stalls or booths that once lined the medieval market place encroached out into the street in an effort to lure potential buyers. Similarly, the stairs that provided access to the upper floor of a tenement often stood tacked onto the front of the building and, over time, the building line often moved forward. Fine examples of this process can be seen in St Andrews at 19–21 North Street and 13–15 South Castle Street, where some properties have moved forward to enclose the stair-towers (often referred to as forestairs) within their fabric, while others have not, leaving the stair-tower standing forward of the main building line. The varied building line along East and West High Street, particularly West High Street, suggests these processes were also occurring in Linlithgow, and buried buildings are, therefore, as likely to be found under the street or pavement as under or behind the present street frontage.

Similarly, buildings which have more than one phase of construction, such as West Port House, may conceal evidence of earlier building works **A figure 10**. This building lies some distance from the core of the medieval town and is a fine example of a country laird's house set on the edge of a country town, as distinct from a town house (*see* p 20). Built around 1600, it comprises a plain rubble-built L-plan house, now three storeys high, having been lowered and undergone various other alterations in the eighteenth century. It is possible that the block facing the street is older, and traces of this earlier building can be seen on the north side, for example built-up windows and a circular shot-hole. As with many of the older buildings along the south side of West High Street that have undergone several phases of building or alteration, earlier architectural features may be concealed by later phases of building—blocked-up cupboards and doors and windows, for example, as well as features sealed beneath the present floor level. Any further alterations to this listed building, and others on High Street, should be monitored.

properties on the frontages, by a number of small vennels, as well as the public pathways at St Michael's Wynd (or Easter Wynd) and Dog Well Wynd. Dog Well Wynd was originally not an official thoroughfare, but was used by the townspeople for quick access through a derelict property to the back lane behind the properties on south High Street. In 1692, the owner threatened to close the pathway and, in consequence, the council acquired the property and secured access for the townspeople. Sir Robert Sibbald's account of a visit to the town, published in 1710, commented on the 'large street reaching from one end of the Toun to the other, which [was] adorned on each side with fair buildings, from which divers lanes [stretched] out, which [opened] a passage into several pleasant gardens, abounding with fruit and useful pot-herbs'. Other public wynds were opened up to give general access, two of the most notable being the Lion Well Wynd and New Well Wynd. The latter came into use in 1795, after the purchase by the town of tenements and two tailriggs, and their subsequent demolition.

the town defences

In common with most other Scottish medieval towns, Linlithgow was not surrounded with strong stone walls. To effect a minimum of safety from unwelcome intruders, the townsfolk erected a wooden palisading and dug a ditch at the foot of the burgage plots. This was not really meant to be highly defensible. Indeed, it is known that the palisading was so insubstantial that it blew down in high winds. The townspeople also punctuated the ditch and fencing with small gates, giving access to the burgh crofts, where crops were grown and animals were grazed.

An interesting insight may be gained from the town council minutes of October 1635. It was the opinion of the council that 'vagabonds' were the most likely carriers of plague, which had broken out in the Low Countries in this year. Since both vagabonds and beggars tended to gather at the 'yeardheadis', that is the end of the burgage plots, all were

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A number of the buildings in Linlithgow are also known to have been arcaded, a good example of which can be seen inside the Four Marys restaurant **a**. Here, the building line has moved forward into High Street, preserving, within the present building, the arcade, which has been dated to the late sixteenth century.

town house of the Knights Hospitaller **figure 12**

The so-called 'Mint', considered to be the town house of the Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem, was built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and demolished in the late nineteenth century **K**. Its lay-out incorporated a two-storeyed hall wing extending along one side of an inner courtyard; adjoining the south-east end of the hall block there was a self-contained, five-storeyed tower-house. The tower-house may have been the residence of the superior. Little is now known of the purpose served by the other apartments, especially in the block fronting the street, where there may have been booths or shops and additional chambers. Whether remnants of this building could have survived the nineteenth-century development for which it was pulled down is difficult to predict. It is possible that some deeply cut foundations may have survived or that masonry was re-used in the later building works. In fact, a fragment of the late medieval building is thought to have been incorporated into the building at the corner of St Michael's Wynd **K**. Any alterations or refurbishments to the buildings in this area may offer an opportunity to discover whether other fragments survive.

St Magdalene's Hospital

The hospital of St Mary Magdalene is first mentioned in 1335 **I**. According to a charter of 1528, this was a hospital for the poor, with a chapel and cemetery, but it may even have

to be banished and the burgesses were to build up their walls at the end of the burgage plots. Slezer's view of the town from the south gives a clear picture of the backlands of the properties on south High Street and access through them to the main thoroughfare. The yardheads, or 'heid dykes', were all protected with walling; and, although low, it appears to be more substantial than the medieval ditch and palisading **figure 16**.

housing

The majority of the medieval houses in the town were built of wood. In consequence, fire was a constant hazard. The town was burned by the English in 1342; and extensive damage was caused by fire in both 1411 and 1424.

The palace was transformed in the sixteenth century (*see* **area 1**), while the townscape was enhanced with lesser, but still prestigious buildings. Some dwellings, for example, known to have been standing or erected in the sixteenth century reflect not only the importance of their occupants, but also the influence of the royal works at the palace **figures 7 & 8**. Demolition work in central Linlithgow in the 1960s revealed many features, such as fireplaces, that attested to the late medieval affinities with the character and detail of the royal residence.

The Cornwalls of Bonhard were a distinguished local family of which one member, Alexander, was said to have been one of the six knights dressed in like clothing to the king, in order to confuse the enemy at the Battle of Flodden, where he was killed. The family had a town house on the site of 57–61 High Street **P**. The Cornwall coat of arms and the inscription 'Ve Big Ye Se Varly 1527' ('We Build You See Warily 1527'), which used to decorate the front of the property, may now be seen on the wall above the back of the pend to no 59. Further west along the High Street, on the site of the present Sheriff Court House, stood Archbishop Hamilton's house **E**. This was one of the important dwelling houses to the south of the High Street known to have had the long rig to the rear

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been a leper hospital. The site is now occupied by one of the warehouses of the St Magdalene's Distillery **figure 21**, and is unlikely to have survived the impact of such a building. Some carved stones did come to light during refurbishment works and these are now in the care of West Lothian Council in Linlithgow. Nearby stood the Magdalene Cross, where the town fairs were once held. It was reputed to have been sited halfway between St Magdalene's Hospital and High Port. This area has been intensively developed for industry and by the railway, so it is therefore unlikely that anything could have survived.

burgage plots

Behind the frontages of High Street were the backlands of the burgage plots. Over time, these were gradually built over as pressure for space within the town increased and the frontages were filled up (a process known as repletion). Open, undeveloped gardens, where property boundaries often 'fossilised' those of earlier medieval burgage plots, are rapidly disappearing in most Scottish towns. A number of these fortunately still survives in Linlithgow, and some of the best are preserved within Area 3 **figures 27 & 28**.

Perhaps the best preserved is at Annet House **D**. Here, the plot extends continuously from High Street to Union Road, and has been restored for display to the public by the Linlithgow Heritage Trust. The most distinctive feature of the plots along the south side of High Street is the degree of terracing that has been carried out to provide more level ground. In places, the process of terracing will have destroyed any underlying archaeological deposits, while in others, where soil was being dumped, it will have sealed and preserved them. There are four distinct terraces at Annet House and, although it varies from plot to plot, by virtue of the steep slope, most of the plots will have been terraced to some degree.

offering a back gate to the burgh lands beyond; for it was from this house that James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh shot Regent Moray, in 1570, and made his escape through the backlands of the property. An early engraving, *c* 1780, by Philip de la Motte, shows this to have been a galleried house, and it is thought that it was from a balcony that James Hamilton shot Moray (*see* p 20). Pont's map delineating Linlithgow in the late sixteenth century, when enlarged, shows clearly that many houses lining the High Street were arcaded at this time **figure 9**.

A standing house at the West Port is a reminder of some of the quality dwellings in the town. Completed in 1600, for James Hamilton of Silvertonhill, the frontage may be earlier. West Port House **A** now, however, stands above the roadway, which was lowered sometime between 1790 and 1830 (*see* p 20). A building of some importance in the town was unfortunately demolished in the late nineteenth century. It was probably the town house of the Knights Hospitaller of Torphichen **K**, who held a number of tenements and land in the town **figure 12**. There is also a local tradition that it functioned at one point as the royal mint. Other suggestions are that it was either an almshouse or a leper house. Whatever its origins, it was clearly a fine dwelling. With a block of buildings fronting the street, an archway led to an interior courtyard. Beside the archway was a square tower, with crow-stepped gables, and at the south end of the courtyard stood another tower of five storeys. Many features of the house, particularly the hall fireplace, on the west side of the range, and oriel windows, bore a close resemblance to those of the palace.

Sir William Brereton, in 1636, confirmed the view that some of the late sixteenth-century properties were influenced by the palace. He added, 'By the way, I observed gentlemen's (here called lairds) houses built all castle-wise'. The burgh authorities encouraged the townspeople to maintain their property adequately. In 1644, for example, a list of old and derelict houses was drawn up with the intention of forcing repair work. Three years later, however, a number were still in so poor a condition that they were demolished. In 1661, Nicoll Gardiner sought permission to put a window in one of his side walls; it was given, on condition that the window was 'glassed for licht' and that the said Nicoll and his heirs and successors did not 'cast in anytime hereafter

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ony chaumber pottis or filth out of his said high window, upon the said...close'.

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archaeology

Annet House is also important in that a study of the fabric of the boundary walls, commissioned by West Lothian Council, identified that parts were, in fact, medieval. New development within the rigs is restricted, and probably only individual houses are likely to be built here. Any archaeological investigation that precedes development here should, therefore, also incorporate the recording of boundary walls. A re-used perforated stone can also be seen built into the rig wall adjacent to the County Buildings **b**. O'Sullivan (1993).

Evidence of burgage plots does still survive buried beneath modern buildings, car parks and private gardens, even after the plot boundaries have long since disappeared. They are an extremely valuable source of information to the urban historian and archaeologist, as they often document the activities and conditions of everyday life in a medieval town. For this reason, all development in them should be monitored. Excavations in other medieval towns in Scotland, such as Perth, Aberdeen and St Andrews, have revealed middens, rubbish pits, cess pits and vegetable plots as common features of medieval backlands, alongside craft workshops and industrial features such as kilns. A series of three excavations at Canal Street, in Perth, for example, showed that the boundaries of these plots were not rigid but that they appear to have been shifted regularly, revealing a fascinating sequence of continually shifting plot boundaries and properties being amalgamated and sub-divided throughout the medieval period. The end of the burgage plots was sometimes marked by small walls, wooden fences or ditches, and beyond that there may have been a back lane. There was a wall and back lane behind the rigs on the south side of High Street, known as South Vennel, but it is unlikely that this would have survived both the cutting of the railway and the creation of Royal Terrace.

A disagreement between neighbours gives an interesting insight into properties on the High Street. In 1666, one James Henderson gained permission from King Charles II to extend the forework of his property on the south side of the street, at a site near to the 'middle of the burgh', which suggests it was close to the market cross area (Area 2). Although this might not appear to have been a wise extension, given that it was so near to the most congested part of the town, he was merely to extend as far forward as the building line of his neighbour, William Drummond of Hawthornden, on his east, and the outshot or turnpike staircase of Provost Robert Stewart on his west—both prestigious neighbours. The provost and bailies showed more concern for the public wellbeing, however, when it was not their own property involved; they illegally prevented the extension. The matter was remitted to the dean of guild, the officer in charge of monitoring and controlling building matters. This practice of protruding forestairs or booths onto the thoroughfare led, in many cases, to a subsequent claim to move the entire frontage of the building forward into the street. Occasional properties, however, sat back within the toft, such as one sited at 213–221 High Street **Q**.

An assessment of the number of hearths in individual properties, for the purposes of taxation, gives an insight into the townscape in 1691. Of the 594 houses most, some 60 per cent, had only a single hearth; but it is clear that many of the other homes were quite prestigious. That of Drummond of Hawthornden appears to have been the largest, with fourteen hearths. There were, however, a number of other properties with multiple hearths: two had eleven, two others had ten, one— Rickertoune's lodging—had nine and five had eight hearths; most of these were sited on the south side of the High Street, with their long rigs running back from the dwellings. The Bonhards' lodging had six hearths, and the West Port House, three. Compared with other towns, Linlithgow had an unusually high proportion of prestigious housing.

The Registers of Sasines for the first half of the eighteenth century give a clear impression of a bustling town, with not merely dwellings and working premises on the frontages of the burgage plots, but also much activity in the backlands. One toft, for example, on the south side of the High Street, housed a dwelling, yard, stables, kiln, malt barns, tanning pits 'and others'. Still standing in a backland is a dovecot **M**, possibly originating in the sixteenth century and belonging to the family of Ross of Halkhead: this

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crafts and industry

An exhibition recounting the industrial history of the town can be seen at the *Linlithgow Story*, in Annet House. Of the many crafts and industries in Linlithgow that would have supplied goods and services to the palace, most activities would leave little structural evidence in the archaeological record. Certain types of industry are often concentrated in specific parts of towns for many centuries, often close to a source of water, for power or waste disposal, or away from built-up areas to reduce fire risk. The best evidence for these activities comes, in fact, from the contents of rubbish pits and middens where, in the right conditions, organic materials such as leather, wood and textiles, both the waste and finished products, can survive. Rubbish pits and middens are commonly found in the backlands of burgage plots and are often the sole source of evidence for crafts such as weaving (loomweights), shoemaking (leather off-cuts), coopering (wood shavings) and hornworking (horn cores and antler off-cuts).

Some industrial processes, such as malting and tanning, stand a better chance of survival as they require tanks or vats and kilns, all of which were sunk below ground level, and later backfilled rather than demolished. A medieval malting operation, comprising a watertight, clay-lined vat for germinating the barley and a kiln for drying, was found in the backlands of Canal Street in Perth, while a tanning works has more recently been discovered adjacent to the castle at St Andrews. A late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century tannery has also been found recently in Crieff. Here, four large wooden tanks were found still packed full of the oak bark used to cure the leather.

was a means, for the wealthier members of society, of varying the diet with fresh pigeon. The tanners had a horse mill for treating and breaking bark and a kiln for drying it in a backland. The incorporation of shoemakers had property on the south side of the High Street, at what is now no 125 **R**, which has since been restored (*see* p 38). When, in 1747, the incorporation of dyers was granted sasine of property, the busy nature of backland life becomes clear: they were granted half of a corn barn and stack yard with a malt barn and kiln and some land on the south side of the High Street, bounded by property lying to the north (on the street frontage) and to the east. Annet House **D**, a merchant's house which is now restored and converted into a museum and heritage centre, gives some clues to eighteenth-century housing and their large rigs to the rear.

In the 1790s, however, the local minister was not wholeheartedly approving of the town's housing: 'Many of the houses have, it must be owned, a mean aspect, and exhibit striking symptoms of decay. Several, however, have lately been rebuilt, and other operations of a similar kind are now going forward; so that, in process of time, the whole may be expected to assume a modern and more elegant appearance'. One which perhaps did not deserve criticism was the town house of the Boyds, now the Star and Garter Hotel **H**, but retaining many classic eighteenth-century features (*see* p 38).

The nineteenth century saw a number of new properties in the town. Substantial villas to the south and east of the town, such as Nether Parkley, Clarendon and Bonnytoun House, were built; the town council decided to build a new manse on the glebe to the south of the town; and, although perhaps less imposing, new developments, such as Royal Terrace, were indicative of the comfort of life for many in Linlithgow. Old properties disappeared, to be replaced, for example, by the Sheriff Court House **E**, built on the site of the house from which Regent Moray was shot (*see* p 20). The old Hospitallers House **K** (*see* p 20) also had to make way for progress; it was demolished in 1885.

water supply

Daniel Defoe found the early eighteenth-century Linlithgow to be 'a pleasant, handsome, well built town' which was 'serv'd with water by one very large bason, or fountain, to which the water is brought from the same spring which serv'd the royal palace'. The town was well endowed, in spite of Defoe's comments on a single supply of water. The loch had been the usual source, water being drawn for domestic purposes and baking and brewing until as late as 1638. Use of the loch probably stopped only when local industries and human waste began seriously to pollute it.

history

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archaeology

The streams that ran off the hill to the south of the town and which are now marked by the wynds would have provided water for activities such as tanning, brewing and malting, and evidence for these industries may be found within the rigs here.

previous archaeological work

There has been very little archaeological work carried out in this part of the town to date. Several proposals for development within the rigs and bus depot **G** may offer further opportunities.

The best opportunity to date was in 1977. In a gap site at 223–243 High Street, in advance of the Brae Court housing development **B**, a trench 2 m by over 20 m was excavated at right angles to the High Street, with another measuring 2 m by 7 m along the inner pavement edge. This site had lain empty since the 1930s when the original seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses were demolished to build a new cinema which never materialised. The only structural remains uncovered were those of the demolished house and yards. A disturbed pit containing pottery sherds and fragments of metalwork of an early eighteenth-century date or earlier was also discovered. The earliest find recovered was a sixteenth-century jetton by Hans Krauwinckel of Nuremberg. *DES* (1977), 38.

Wells and water butts were the other supply of water. The Dog Well **S**, which probably dated to the 1640s, was near to the Cross Burn, by which it was supplied. In 1673, it was moved two feet, as it was causing damp in the north-west gable of a house that Bailie Robert Bell had received permission, in 1643, to bring ten feet forward into the street—another example of encroachment on the thoroughfare. In 1766, one James Henderson laid a pipe to his own property from the Dog Well, but this was lifted on his death, seventeen years later. The Lion Well **T** was a little further west still. It had been erected by public subscription, was taken over by the town in 1766 and rebuilt in 1803. Near to the West Port was the New Well **U**, which had been erected in 1691. In 1765, it was dry and in need of repair, as the lead pipes serving it were broken; a decision was taken to build a new reservoir for it in 1774. It is still standing. Extant, also, is the oldest public well supplying the street—St Michael's Well, with its inscription 'Saint Michael is kinde to straingers', to the east of The Cross **J figure 18**. Originally, this stood on St Michael's, or as it was sometimes termed, Easter Wynd, but, in 1719, the council agreed that the supply should be brought down to the High Street in lead pipes and the present well was built in 1720. In 1773, its reservoir was enlarged to improve the supply. It was moved again in 1802, a little to the south-east, to 'improve that part of the street adjoining to the Easter Wynd'. The town council minute books show that maintenance of the water supply was one of the priorities; there are constant references to their repair and maintenance.

There were also private wells, such as the Lady Well. In 1660, the council had come to an agreement with James Hamilton of Westport that water should be brought through his land to supply the town. Eighty years later, however, the Lady Well was often found to be dry, as Captain Walter Hamilton of Westport had diverted the channel for his own advantage. There was another well at the rear of the Knights Hospitaller's building **K**. In the yard of the old chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a very old well, known either as St Mary's or Fairy Well **V**. This was thought to have been a votive well; as there had been an almshouse associated with the chapel, the spring may have had a curative reputation. Linlithgow was renowned for its wells, the early eighteenth-century saying being 'Glasgow for bells, Linlithgow for wells'.

In 1889, Linlithgow received a piped public water supply from Cockleroi Reservoir.

local industry and occupational structure

history

In the middle ages, a number of local people probably found employment on the major reconstruction work of both the palace and church; and a significant support system for

archaeology

A proposal to build three houses at St Michael's Wynd offered an opportunity to investigate an area close to the site of the town house of the Knights Hospitaller **c figure 12,** which was demolished in the late nineteenth century. The five trial trenches opened up revealed remains of late Victorian buildings and deposits containing a few residual, late medieval pottery sherds. A George III penny was recovered from the foundation trench of one building. *DES* (1991), 51.

doocot

A sixteenth-century circular dovecot is preserved within Learmonth Gardens **M**, a site which may be improved in the future. Rubble-built, with three string-courses, and topped by a modern cap, the entrance is in the north side. The bird entrances, now closed up, were between the middle and top string-courses. The building has been slightly restored but is otherwise in good condition and is listed. This dovecot may have been built at the end of the rig owned by the Barons Ross of Halkhead, whose house would have fronted onto High Street. The gardens were given to the burgh in 1916 and, given that they have escaped development, evidence of the former rigs here may be preserved beneath the present ground surface.

the maintenance of the royal household and attendant court would have been necessary. Into early modern times, many of the townsmen and women must have had close contact with the palace through employment or provision of goods. By the sixteenth century there were eight incorporated trades in the town: the hammermen (metal workers), the wrights (wood workers), baxters (bakers), coopers, weavers, tailors, cloth fullers (waulkers) and the cordiners (leather workers); in the mid sixteenth century, the fleshers replaced the cloth finishers as the eighth incorporated trade. Many of the townspeople would have found employment in trades that were not incorporated, such as coal and metal mining and quarrying. Others would have been involved in carrying and carting goods to and from the massive stone-walled warehouse at Blackness, on the shore beside the pier, which the incorporated trades built and maintained. Here, they stored their goods before transportation for export and raw materials awaiting removal to Linlithgow.

From the time of the Cromwellian occupation, leather working was on the increase in the town; Linlithgow was to eventually have a fine reputation for the quality of its leather goods, in particular footwear. As well as the incorporated trades, a number of other occupations were pursued in the town: carters, dyers, horse dealers, meal makers, masons and gardeners were common sights, while much of the important task of ale making devolved to the women. The local produce and manufactures were sold at the weekly market at The Cross.

The Registers of Sasines for the first half of the eighteenth century give a clear impression of a bustling town, with not merely dwellings and working premises on the frontages of the burgage plots, but also much activity in the backlands, particularly on the south side of the High Street, in the long burgage plots (*see* above, housing). Some of the townsfolk living in this area of Linlithgow might also have found work in the bleachfields (*see* **area 4**).

In the nineteenth century, new industries were introduced into the town. Paper making took advantage of the waters of the Avon; and just as the river had powered mills from medieval times, so, in the nineteenth century, paper mills were established on its banks. Lochmill stood on the site of a medieval meal mill, which later became a printfield (*see* p 44), and nearby, Avonmill, also on the site of a printfield, used the dam built by the printfield company to run its water wheel. Glue making, originally sited near the present

history

Edinburgh Road **e**, but removed with the construction of the railway, was established at

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archaeology

canal **figure 20**

The Union Canal is protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument. Any development here would require Scheduled Monument Consent from Historic Scotland. There are many other features associated with the canal, such as bridges and aqueducts, towpaths and locks, all of which will be of considerable interest to industrial archaeologists.

stray finds

One of only a few stray finds reported from this area is the dug-out canoe, or log boat, discovered during excavations for the foundations of the Sheriff Court House **E** in 1863. Many of these boats are medieval in date, rather than prehistoric, but without testing by scientific dating techniques its age can only be guessed. The find spot is probably evidence of a stream that once drained into the loch. The boat was transferred to the National Museums of Scotland, but its present location is unknown.

The only other find was that of a medieval coin hoard found in 1789 in an old building near High Street (exact location unknown), then owned by a cabinet-maker named Kenmore. Few details are recorded other than that the hoard included a great many gold and silver coins of, among others, James I–VI and Henry IV of England. Twenty of the coins were gold, the rest silver. Lindsay (1845), 263.

Gowanstank on the site of the present St Joseph's Primary School **f**. One of the old industries also continued to flourish: leather and shoe making were still important facets of Linlithgow life. The tanneries **g** and the glue works, however, gave Linlithgow a reputation amongst rail travellers as 'the place that was smelt before it was seen'; but they provided a livelihood for the local people.

religious houses

Near to the town, in an acre of land, there was a hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene **i**. Its chaplain was supported from rentals of town tenements. Originally possibly dependent on St Andrews Priory, there is a first reference to it in 1335, when Edward III claimed to appoint a warden. In origin this hospital may have been for lepers, as references to payments to the lazar house, as distinct to the almshouse, of Linlithgow are recorded in the mid fifteenth century. Its position outside the town would also support this theory, leper houses always being placed at a safe distance from the townspeople. According to a charter of 1528, it was classified as a poor hospital and had a cemetery for the inmates. Nearby stood the cross of the Blessed Mary Magdalene.

Outside the town, to the south, was a house of Carmelites, sometimes called the White Friars. Some claim that it was erected in the late thirteenth century, but such claims seem to be spurious. There is firm evidence for its existence by 1401, with an indenture between Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith and the provincial of the Carmelites. The former had granted to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Linlithgow and the brethren of the Carmelite order, who were to celebrate divine service there, land for the construction of conventual buildings and a garden. The house appears to have been established on the site of an existing chapel, probably built in the thirteenth century, which was used as the nave of the priory church. The extensive glass finds that have been recovered from the site suggest that the windows were glazed; archaeological evidence has also confirmed that the lime plaster on the walls was painted and that the chancel was slabbed in yellow sandstone of local origin. The lands of the priory extended down the hill on which the convent was built, up to the rear of the burgage plots on the south side of the High Street.

history

The Carmelite friary appears not to have suffered wholesale desecration at the time of the Reformation. This may have been because there was a close working relationship

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archaeology

Carmelite friary **figure 6**

The Carmelite friary at Linlithgow lies outside of Area 3, but is discussed below. The main complex, excavated between 1983 and 1984, would have lain within a larger precinct, the boundaries of which are unknown. Any further development in the area should therefore be monitored.

Religious houses, such as friaries, nunneries and abbeys, are a common feature of medieval towns, and provide a useful guide to their prosperity. Some towns, like Perth, Aberdeen, Berwick and Edinburgh, contained houses of several orders—Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian, for example. Their location is also a good indication of the extent and development of a medieval town, as they were often sited close to the town's boundaries. The Carmelite friary at Linlithgow (NT 0034 7653) lies some 350 m outside (south) of the burgh. One of twelve such foundations in Scotland, it was partially excavated under rescue conditions between 1983–4, in advance of a proposed housing development. Founded in 1401 by Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, excavations had already taken place here in 1900 and again in 1953. The owner of the field in which the friary stood investigated the site in 1905, revealing its ground plan and a building thought to be the church. Further excavations were carried out in 1953, when trenches were dug across known walls to obtain a fuller ground plan, and to fix the position of the church. The building was generally in poor condition, and only at one point did it survive as anything other than a series of wall foundations. A search for the

between the burgh and the Carmelites (*see* p 28). Even after the 'cleansing' of 1559, the friars were playing a part in town life (*see* p 27). It was not, in fact, until some ten years after the Reformation that the Carmelite priory and lands passed into lay hands.

the canal **figure 20**

The nineteenth century was to bring great changes to Linlithgow's accessibility. One of the most important innovations was the construction of the Union Canal between 1818 and 1822. Originally intended to link with Linlithgow Loch, the engineer, James Baird, persuaded the Union Canal Company to go ahead with a contour canal, following the course of the hillside behind the town. This obviated the need for locks, as the canal ran at the same level along the thirty-one and a half miles from Edinburgh to Falkirk. During the construction Baird stayed at the Canal House at the Manse Basin (*see* p 41) **W**; it was from here that the 'navvies' who laboured on the canal were paid every Saturday.

Although the main purpose of the canal had been to provide coal from the Lanarkshire pits for Edinburgh, it also brought benefits to Linlithgow. Barge transport proved to be quicker and more comfortable than stage coaches; the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with fresh horses every eight miles, took a mere eight hours. This was a vast improvement on the first stage coach from Edinburgh to Glasgow, passing through Linlithgow from 1678, which took two days, although a hundred years later, the 'Diligence', drawn by six horses, had speeded up to ten hours. Not only did Linlithgow now have closer links with the two cities, but communication with its neighbours, such as

history

Polmont, Laurieston and Falkirk on the Glasgow route and Philpstoun, Winchburgh and

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archaeology

west and south ranges of conventual buildings located traces of the southern range, and two areas of rough cobbling which might have represented part of a cloister walk. It was not possible to excavate much within the church, but at the east end of the choir the angle of a small, external tower was recovered. Behind the altar, in a mass of mortar and slate, was a fragment of lead and many fragments of stained glass. There was a grave to the north of the altar and one other at the east end of the nave.

The 1983–4 season revealed four broad phases of activity on the site: prehistoric occupation, probably Neolithic in date (*see* p 11); medieval use of the site from the thirteenth century until the construction of the friary in the first half of fifteenth century; construction and occupation of the friary complex in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and, finally, the destruction of the friary in the second half of the sixteenth century and subsequent re-use of the site.

The earliest medieval use of the site was represented by a number of truncated ditches which have been interpreted as property boundaries. The friary was found to have been constructed on the site of an existing chapel which had been incorporated into the new structure as the nave. The chapel, measuring *c* 20 m by 8 m, may have been in existence by the late thirteenth century, and saw continual use to the end of the fourteenth century. The old east wall of the chapel had been reduced in height and a doorway inserted. Burials were found both inside and around the outside of the church. Whilst the church was being built, it seems a masons' lodge or temporary accommodation for the friars was erected. A building, possibly a bell-tower or a mortuary chapel, was then added to the west end of the church *c* 1430. A priest's house, associated with the chapel, stood to the west of the chapel. A latrine, housed within a small timber building and flushed by an overflow channel from a well, continued in use as part of the friary, while the priest's house went out of use.

The east range, thought to comprise sacristy, chapter house and parlour room, had been built on top of earlier graves during the second half of the fifteenth century. This single building occupied an area of *c* 17 m by 7 m, and was divided into four rooms. In one of these, believed to be the chapter-house, painted mortar wall facings survived, as did impressions of flooring joints. The south range was probably also built some time towards the end of the fifteenth century. Only partially investigated, it seems to have been a single-

figure 29
Aerial view of Linlithgow 1990

archaeology

storey building, divided into three rooms, with the refectory in the centre. It was severely damaged by stone robbing, but was apparently built against the south-west corner of the east range.

The west range may have been for guests, administration and storage, but this area was not extensively investigated. Finds from the site, a large and varied assemblage of which much is securely dated by association with coins, included glass (both coloured and decorated) and painted lime plaster. Fragments of pottery and shells contained paint and pigments, perhaps for use in wall and panel paintings and manuscript illumination.

In total, 207 burials were excavated, but there was evidence for 227 individuals. Relating to pre-friary, friary and post-friary periods of occupation, these were recovered from various areas over the site and included adults (both males and females) and children. Analysis showed 58 per cent of this population failed to live beyond eighteen years of age, and 63 per cent of these died before the age of six. Of the adults, 53 per cent died relatively young (between eighteen and twenty-five years), only a quarter lived to middle age and few reached old age.

Much of the friary complex appears to have survived relatively intact until the late 1560s, with parts of the south and east ranges in continual use until that time. Soon after this, however, the ranges were systematically demolished and quarried for building materials. In 1624 the land on which the friary stood was sold. Stones (1989), *passim.*

teind barn and well **d**

The teind barn, or tithe barn, where a tenth (teind) part of the produce from the friary lands was paid as a church tax, is traditionally thought to have been erected by the Carmelite friars on the site of the present 18–20 Strawberry Bank **d**, to the north of the friary complex. The cottages, demolished in the 1970s, were of eighteenth-century date, but a stone inscribed '1584 HD' was inset in the west end wall. The date stone now lies in the garden of no 17. Only one teind barn has ever been excavated in Scotland, at Kebister in Shetland. This late medieval, two-storey, stone-built barn would have stored the butter, oil and cloth given in rent before they were sold on for cash. The income from

Broxburn to the east, was simpler. Local industry was also now endowed with a new water supply. St Magdalene's Distillery, for example, an imposing group of buildings which is still standing (*see* p 43), was in an ideal position to draw its water from the canal.

the railway **figure 29**

The importance of the canal was largely superseded by the arrival of the railway. Initial concerns about access over the railway line to the south of the town raised suggestions of archways, footbridges and tunnels, some of which remain. Most worries were overcome with the prospects of the many advantages. Not only was the town now even more accessible, the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow taking a mere two and a half hours, but this new form of transport was also to have an impact on the townscape. The Victorian railway station **L** still stands prominently above the east end of the High Street, and local hotels found a ready market from the passengers alighting from the trains. The Star and Garter stood close by the railway station and was converted from a dwelling house in 1847 **H**, but demand for accommodation meant others opened. St Michael's Hotel **X** is still to be seen at the foot of St Michael's Wynd and, across the road, was the Red Lion Inn and Blue Bell Inn (*see* **area 2**) The town council placed Linlithgow on a difficult financial footing by attempting to force the railway to pay toll for the loads that it carried, just as the barges had done; lengthy litigation merely resulted in the House of Lords finding for the railway company and the town facing possible bankruptcy, a situation from which it took years to recover.

history

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archaeology

Kebister went to the archdeacon of Shetland, whose armorial stone occupied a prominent position above the single door in the 17 m long barn. Yeoman (1995), 119–20.

The well used by the friary is located on Friars' Brae. By the nineteenth century, the well had been covered by flagstones and its water piped to the Cross Well (*see* **area 2**). The well is currently situated in a public park and covered by a stone arch.

There are documentary references to two other friaries in Linlithgow, but both appear to be errors. Two documents, of 1294 and 1348, referring to the Blackfriars (Dominicans) of Linlithgow, are not thought to be genuine. Further references, however, of 1451 and 1453, relate 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 Linlithqw'. The existence of a Dominican House here, perhaps only for a brief period, cannot be ruled out, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that these references are errors for the White Friars (Carmelites) of Linlithgow. Cowan & Easson (1976), 122–3.

Similarly, in 1503, royal donations to Augustinian friars in Linlithgow were recorded. Again, there is no evidence to show that they settled here, but soon after this date, there was an attempt to place friars at nearby Manuel. *Ibid*, 141.

area 4

The Cross/former Watergate/Linlithgow Loch/Lochend House/St Ninian's at Craigmailen/ High Street (south frontage) **figure 30**

description

Virtually all of the new development within Linlithgow is contained within this area, much of it carried out in the 1960s (The Vennel and West Port). Fronting onto The Cross is The Vennel **A**, winner of a Saltire Award. This 1967 redevelopment comprises some ninety houses in three groups with shops, library, car parking areas and garages, and extends almost uninterrupted from The Cross to St Ninian's Road, a distance of more than half a kilometre. Although it offers glimpses of the loch behind, its open aspect destroys the typical enclosure of High Street and, in contrast with the south side of High Street, the impact of vennels and wynds entering onto a busy thoroughfare is lost. There are, however, small pockets of more traditional architecture, on either side of Whitten Lane for example. Here, some of the plots extend from High Street to the loch, whilst others have been sub-divided.

A pathway skirts continuously around the south edge of the loch from The Peel, and enters onto an extensive grassed area at the south end of Water Yett, one of the few vennels to survive. Popular with picnickers, and even more with the wildlife, this area is prone to flooding, but offers good views across the loch and of the town. Around St Ninian's Way, some of the old stone boundary walls still survive **B**. Not all the clearance in this area is recent, and some of these properties must have been cleared in advance of the construction of Lochend House **C** in the nineteenth century. Over time, its grounds have

future development

The West Port site allocated for special needs housing in the most recent Local Plan (West Lothian District Council, 1994) has since been archaeologically investigated and building completed **D**. The local plan also proposes West Port for traffic management, car parking and environmental improvement works, and road works here may be possible. As the West Port, one of the main entries into the medieval town, stood here, this site is of archaeological importance. A second site lies immediately to the west of the new sheltered housing. This site, which has already been archaeologically assessed, is currently vacant and ready for development. A third site, which lies to the north of St Ninian's Way and stretches to the loch side **B**, has recently been converted to a car park. The lines of three former property boundaries are retained in a stone wall and hedge lines adjoining the car park.

archaeological potential

There has been one opportunity to carry out archaeological work in this area and, together with the few stray finds that have been reported, this information provides the only guide to the archaeological potential of this area. Medieval and later sites and features within Area 4, however, include High Street, the main medieval thoroughfare; several vennels that ran from High Street to the loch, many of which have since been lost; the West Port, one of the three main entries into the town; burgage plots; and some of the industry associated with the town, particularly tanning.

Most of this area was cleared for redevelopment in the 1950s and 1960s, and there is little to remind us of its medieval past. A few burgage plots still survive around Whitten Lane, and also by the loch side, to the north of St Ninian's Way. Archaeological deposits are unlikely to have survived the scale of redevelopment which this area has seen in recent years. Much of what was pulled down in advance of the construction of The Vennel and

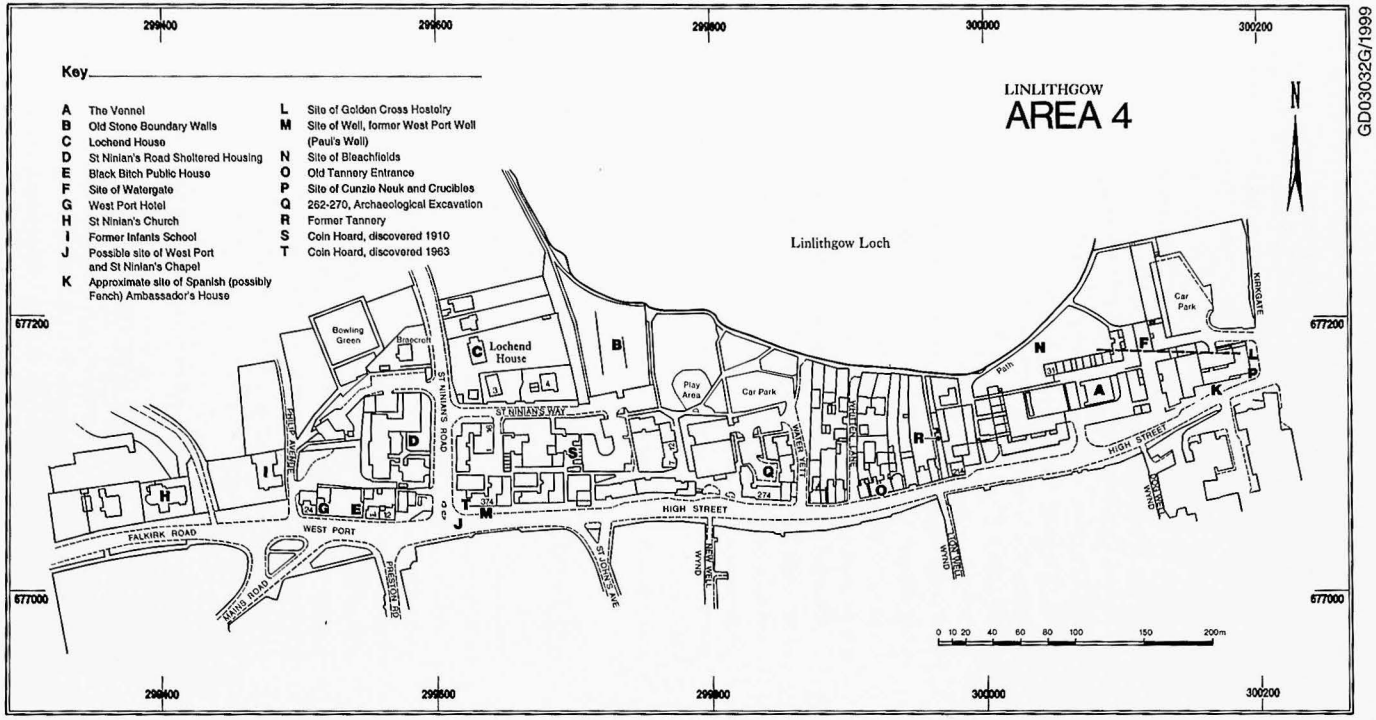

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figure 30
Area 4

also been sub-divided for development. West of St Ninian's Road, there has been further development, the largest of which is the sheltered housing on the west side of St Ninian's Road **D**. The shops at the junction of St Ninian's Road and West Port are also modern and, further west, several rearward extensions have been added to the existing shops and pubs. The latter include the Black Bitch **E** and West Port Hotel **G**, which now overlook roads, traffic islands and railings. Two buildings of interest at the west end of Area 4 are St Ninian's Church **H**, built in 1874, and the adjacent hall **I**, built as an infant school in 1869.

One of the longest established businesses in the town is situated along this stretch of High Street: Oliphant's, the baker (*no* 216, north frontage of High Street), trading since 1756.

the street pattern

history

In all probability, soon after Linlithgow received the formal rights of a burgh, a main street was formally laid out, with burgage plots, or tofts, running in herring-bone pattern back from the street frontage. Certainly, grants of tofts to the abbeys of Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline in 1150 would suggest that this process had commenced. While it may be possible that the early township clustered beside the pathway leading to the presumed site of the church and royal stronghold (*see* **area 1**), it may be assumed that this newly laid out main street followed very much the line of the present and medieval High Street, as the pathway leading to the royal residence did not offer sufficient development potential, being somewhat confined in length. Documentary evidence, however, does not clarify whether there was a shift of alignment in the town at this time; confirmation may be found only by archaeological research.

archaeology

West Port was of nineteenth-century origin, but earlier buildings had survived in this area, notably the French and Spanish Ambassadors' Houses **K figure 13**, the Golden Cross hostelry **L** and Cunzie Neuk **P**. From the one opportunity for archaeological investigation possible in this area, medieval levels were seen to have survived nineteenth-century building, but whether they could have survived modern redevelopment on the scale of The Vennel and West Port is doubtful. Pockets of archaeology are likely to remain here and there within The Vennel and West Port, but are difficult to predict. The gardens around Whitten Lane and the grassed area north of St Ninian's Way, mostly in use as car parking and play areas, are likely to have preserved archaeological levels, and any further development here should be monitored.

streets

High Street, in existence since the middle ages, was cobbled for a short distance in the sixteenth century and surfaced completely by 1860. Many of the numerous wells for which Linlithgow was famous were sited on the south side of High Street, at the mouth of the vennels and wynds to which they gave their name (*see* **area 3**). Several wells are known, and these will have received water piped from streams under the wynds on the south side of High Street. Any road works, services or environmental improvements which involve substantial groundworks should therefore be monitored.

At the west end of the town stood the West Port **J**, one of the three official entries into the town. This area was cleared in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and it is unlikely that the port would have survived. The scale of the ground reduction can be gauged from the height West Port House now stands above the present road level (*see* **area 3**).

St Ninian's Chapel is thought to have stood near the West Port **J**. One of the earliest references to this structure is in the time of Edward I. No trace of it remained by 1845. A watching brief was undertaken in 1989 to the rear of West Port House (*see* **area 3**), a site

The records give clues to Linlithgow's street pattern in the middle ages. The town was clearly aligned along the single main street, with the short routeway leading northwards to the kirk and to the castle. The granting of, apparently vacant, land to one Thome Carsone and his heirs, on the south side of the main street between the tofts of William Masuon on the east and David Betysone's on the west, some time between 1374 and 1376 suggests that there were still some gap (unoccupied) sites in the town as late as this date.

A number of closes and vennels ran from the main street, giving access to the loch. Oliphant's Vennel was one of these, although its exact position has changed over the centuries, a fact that has earned it the local name of 'The Shifting Vennel'. Running westwards from Kirkgate to the loch was the Watergate **F**.

the town defences

In common with most other Scottish medieval towns, Linlithgow was not surrounded with strong stone walls. The loch would have provided a certain amount of protection to the dwellings on the north side of the High Street **figure 25**. This protection may have been reinforced by wooden palisading and a ditch at the foot of the burgage plots, as was the case in other areas of the town. This was not really meant to be highly defensible. Indeed, it is known that the palisading was so insubstantial that it blew down in high winds.

There were probably two main ports, or gates, into the town in the middle ages, one at the east end of the main street, the other at the west **J**, controlling access. The purpose of the town ports was more a psychological barrier than a truly defensible structure. The gates were closed at night, at curfew, or shut against outsiders when plague or other disease threatened. The ports also functioned as collection points for tolls, or market dues, from those coming to use Linlithgow's market. One of the ports was destroyed in 1457, when a great 'bombard' passed through, and had to be reconstructed. This suggests they were not substantial structures.

An interesting insight into the town defences may be gained from the town council minutes of October 1635. It was the opinion of the council that 'vagabonds' were the

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thought to be close to the site of St Ninian's Chapel. The observation of foundation trenches and associated works during the building of two houses in the former garden of West Port House **figure 10** established the remains of dwellings and a cobbled floor, of a probable eighteenth-century date. Pottery collected from the deposits also proved to be no earlier than the eighteenth century.

standing buildings

Buildings situated in the core of the medieval burgh were almost certainly constructed on the site of, or directly over, earlier buildings, a sequence possibly going back to the medieval period and continuing up to the present day. Although there have been few opportunities to archaeologically examine any of the street frontages in Linlithgow, evidence of earlier, possibly medieval, structures may be expected sealed beneath the few nineteenth-century standing buildings on High Street between Water Yett and The Vennel. Many of the new buildings on the north side of High Street are, in fact, set back from the medieval street frontage, which probably lies beneath present pavement or street level. Any road works, environmental improvements or new services may offer an opportunity to assess whether archaeological deposits have survived here.

The earliest buildings in the burgh would probably have been of timber and wattle and daub, perhaps with thatched roofs. At the front of properties such as these would have been small, temporary stalls, or booths, erected on market days, selling locally-made produce as well as providing services, such as repairs to shoes, clothes and tools. Evidence

most likely carriers of plague, which had broken out in this year in the Low Countries. Since both vagabonds and beggars tended to gather at the 'yeardheadis', that is, the end of the burgage plots, all were to be banished and the burgesses were to build up their walls at the end of the burgage plots. This ruling applied to all tenements from the east port to the west and to those at the 'north-west' of the burgh. 'North-west' was possibly a scribal error of the town clerk, as the plots to the north-west had a measure of protection from the fact that most of them were bounded by the loch; some, however, had no such measure of security **figure 19**.

Slezer's view of the town from the south **figure 16** gives a clear picture of the backlands of the properties on south High Street and access through them to the main thoroughfare. The yardheads, or 'heid dykes', were all protected with walling; and, although low, it appears to be more substantial than the medieval ditch and palisading. If there was walling in Area 4, it may be assumed that it, also, had been upgraded.

The eighteenth-century town council records illustrate clearly the continuing concern of the authorities for the townscape. All of the municipal property, such as the ports, needed constant maintenance. It is known from cartographic evidence that the town ports were removed during the second half of this century, probably because of the expense of their maintenance and the fact that they were by then outmoded.

housing

The majority of the medieval houses in the town were built of wood. In consequence, fire was a constant hazard. The town was burned by the English in 1342; extensive damage was effected by fire in both 1411 and 1424.

By the sixteenth century, Linlithgow had reached its pinnacle. This was exemplified not only in the palace, but also in less prestigious buildings. Some dwellings, for example, known to have been standing or erected in the sixteenth century, reflect not only the importance of their occupants, but also the influence of the royal works at the palace. Demolition work in central Linlithgow in the 1960s revealed many features, such as fireplaces, that attested to the late medieval affinities with the character and detail of the royal residence. An early engraving, *c* 1780, by Philip de la Motte, shows that some

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for timber buildings, some as early in date as the twelfth century, and with stalls attached, have been found during excavations in Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness and, if opportunities arise in the future in Linlithgow, possibly here as well.

Many of the medieval buildings found during archaeological excavations were found several metres behind the present street frontage. There are many reasons why street frontages shift. The stalls or booths that once lined the medieval market place encroached out into the street in an effort to lure potential buyers. Similarly, the stairs that provided access to the upper floor of a tenement often stood tacked onto the front of the building and, over time, the building line often moved forward. Fine examples of this process can be seen in St Andrews at 19–21 North Street and 13–15 South Castle Street, where some properties have moved forward to enclose the stair-towers (often referred to as forestairs) within their fabric, while others have not, leaving the stair-tower standing forward of the main building line. The varied building line along West High Street suggests that this was also the case in Linlithgow, and buried buildings are, therefore, as likely to be found under the street or pavement as under or behind the present street frontage.

burgage plots

Behind the frontages of High Street were the backlands of the burgage plots. Over time, these were gradually built over as pressure for space within the town increased and the frontages were filled up (a process known as repletion). Open, undeveloped gardens, the property boundaries of which often 'fossilised' those of earlier medieval burgage plots, are

properties were galleried; and Pont's map delineating Linlithgow in the late sixteenth century, when enlarged, shows clearly that many houses lining the High Street were arcaded at this time **figure 9**. In Queen Mary's reign (1542–85), both the Spanish and French ambassadors reputedly had prestigious properties in the town **K figure 13.** They stood four storeys high and were situated across the road from Archbishop Hamilton's house. (There is an element of dispute as to which property was that of which ambassador; and, indeed, as to whether they both had properties here.) Only recently demolished to make way for flats, they were substantial buildings of stone and slate.

Many Linlithgow dwellings were not as comfortable as these significant houses. Clustered along the main street and the vennels that ran off them were also the homes of the poorer burgesses and indwellers. Many of these would have remained small, single-roomed thatched or turf-roofed buildings, often sitting cheek by jowl with their wealthy neighbours. There is evidence also of tenements with fore booths, over chambers and over lofts.

This picture is confirmed in the seventeenth century. An assessment of the number of hearths in individual properties, for the purposes of taxation, gives a telling insight into the townscape in 1691. Of the 594 houses, some 60 per cent, had only a single hearth; but it is clear that many of the homes were quite prestigious. One had fourteen hearths (*see* **area 3**). There were, however, a number of other properties with multiple hearths: two had eleven, two others had ten, one had nine and five had eight hearths. Compared with other towns, Linlithgow had an unusually high proportion of quality housing.

An important landmark stood to the west of The Cross—the Golden Cross hostelry **L.** It was here that Robert Burns became a member of the local masonic lodge in 1787. Now replaced by modern flats, all that remains is a plaque displaying the coat of arms of Dean of Guild, James Crawford, who once lived there (*see* p 38).

The nineteenth century was to bring change. Many old properties disappeared, to be replaced by modern buildings. New buildings and suburbs on the townscape were

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powerful symbols that Linlithgow was a prospering town. This area of Linlithgow,

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rapidly disappearing in most Scottish towns. A number of these fortunately still survive in Linlithgow, most notably in Areas 2 and 3, but a small number of plots still survives in Area 4, in the central and north-western corner.

Evidence of burgage plots does still survive buried beneath modern buildings, car parks and private gardens, even after the plot boundaries have long since disappeared. They are an extremely valuable source of information to the urban historian and archaeologist, as they often document the activities and conditions of everyday life in a medieval town. For this reason, all development in them should be monitored. Excavations in other medieval towns in Scotland, such as Perth, Aberdeen and St Andrews, have revealed middens, rubbish pits, cess pits and vegetable plots as common features of medieval backlands, alongside craft workshops and industrial features such as kilns. A series of three excavations at Canal Street in Perth, for example, showed that the boundaries of these plots were not rigid but that they appear to have been shifted regularly, revealing a fascinating sequence of continually shifting plot boundaries and properties being amalgamated and sub-divided throughout the medieval period. The end of the burgage plots was sometimes marked by small walls, wooden fences or ditches, and beyond that may have been a back lane. Whether there were physical boundaries by the loch edge is not clear. Even today, this area is prone to flooding, which suggests that there may not have been any formal boundaries here, perhaps just a path or track, although some walling seems to have been used to prevent flooding.

crafts and industry

An exhibition recounting the industrial history of the town can be seen at the Linlithgow Story in Annet House (*see* **area 3**). Of the many crafts and industries in Linlithgow that

however, was transformed in the twentieth century; and little of the attractive old housing now remains here.

water supply

Linlithgow, in spite of Daniel Defoe's comments on a single supply (*see* p 36), was well endowed with water. The loch had been the usual source, water being drawn for domestic purposes and baking and brewing until as late as 1638. Use of the loch probably stopped only when local industries and human waste began seriously to pollute it.

Wells and water butts were the other supply of water. Linlithgow was renowned for its wells, the early eighteenth-century saying being 'Glasgow for bells, Linlithgow for wells'. Despite there being a number in other parts of the town (*see* **areas 1, 2 & 3**), the town decided to sink another in 1775, at the West Port. Called Paul's Well **M**, when it was built in 1776 it was a draw-well with a bucket, but it was furnished with a wooden pump in 1778.

In 1889, Linlithgow received a piped public water supply from Cockleroi Reservoir.

local industry and occupational structure

In the middle ages, a number of local people probably found employment on the major reconstruction work of both the palace and church; and a significant support system for the maintenance of the royal household and attendant court would have been necessary. Into early modern times, many of the townsmen and women must have had close contact with the palace through employment or provision of goods. By the sixteenth century there were eight incorporated trades in the town: the hammermen (metal workers), the wrights (wood workers), baxters (bakers), coopers, weavers, tailors, cloth fullers (waulkers) and the cordiners (leather workers); in the mid sixteenth century, the fleshers replaced the cloth finishers as the eighth incorporated trade. Many of the townspeople would have found

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employment in trades that were not incorporated, such as coal and metal mining and

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would have supplied goods and services to the palace, most activities would leave little structural evidence in the archaeological record. Certain types of industry are often concentrated in specific parts of towns for many centuries, often close to a source of water for power or waste disposal, or away from built-up areas to reduce a fire risk. The best evidence for these activities comes, in fact, from the contents of rubbish pits and middens where, in the right conditions, organic materials such as leather, wood and textiles (both the waste and finished products) can survive. Rubbish pits and middens are commonly found in the backlands of burgage plots and are often our sole source of evidence for crafts such as weaving (loomweights), shoemaking (leather off-cuts), coopering (wood shavings) and hornworking (horn cores and antler off-cuts).

Some industrial processes, such as malting and tanning, stand a better chance of survival as they require tanks or vats and kilns, all of which were sunk below ground level, and later backfilled rather than demolished. A medieval malting operation, comprising a watertight, clay-lined vat for germinating the barley and a kiln for drying, was found in the backlands of Canal Street in Perth, while a tanning works has more recently been discovered adjacent to the castle at St Andrews. A late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century tannery has also been found recently in Crieff. Here, four large wooden tanks were found still packed full of the oak bark used to cure the leather. Given the number of tanneries concentrated by the loch (*see* below), similar features may still survive within Area 4.

There has been only one opportunity to carry out any controlled archaeological work on the north side of High Street, west of The Cross. A clearance site was excavated at 262–270 High Street in 1974 **Q**. Here, contemporary property boundaries preserved the arrangement of the narrow rigs running back from High Street almost to the shores of Linlithgow Loch. On the street frontage, no traces of any buildings earlier than the

quarrying. Others would have been involved in carrying and carting goods to and from the massive stone-walled warehouse at Blackness, on the shore beside the pier, which the incorporated trades built and maintained.

From the time of the Cromwellian occupation, leather working was on the increase in the town. As well as the incorporated trades, a number of other occupations were pursued. Carters, dyers, horse dealers, meal makers, masons and gardeners were common sights, while much of the important task of ale making devolved to the women. The local produce and manufactures were sold at the weekly market at The Cross.

The Registers of Sasines for the first half of the eighteenth century give a clear impression of a bustling town, with not merely dwellings and working premises on the frontages of the burgage plots, but also much activity in the backlands. There were barking pots and kilns an the north side of the High Street. Some of the townsfolk living in this area of Linlithgow might also have found work in the bleachfields on the shore of the loch **N**. Daniel Defoe, visiting the town early in the eighteenth century, reported that

> *the whole green fronting the lough or lake, was cover'd with linnen-cloth, it being the bleaching season, and, I believe a thousand women and children, and not less, tending and managing the bleaching business…At Lithgow there is a very great linnen manufacture, as there is at Glasgow; and the water of the lough, or lake here, is esteem'd with the best in Scotland for bleaching or whitening of linnen cloth: so that a great deal of linnen, made in other parts of the country, is brought either to be bleach'd or whiten'd.*

By 1793, however, manufacturing of leather was still the most important industry in the town, employing seventeen tanners, eighteen curriers and thirteen tawers, as well as their servants and apprentices. Most of the hides and skins were sheep, lamb and cattle, but the pelts of other animals were also processed. Between July 1790 and July 1793, 6,116 seal

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demolished nineteenth-century tenements survived. A floor, however, was found to contain fragments of re-used masonry. More promisingly, cut into the natural sand subsoil beneath the tenement walls, were several late medieval pits. In the backlands, to the rear of the tenement, a series of intersecting pits was found, some of which were thought to be connected with the tanning industry. *DES* (1974), 67.

This side of High Street was closely associated with the tanning industry, and several tanneries were sited here to take advantage of the loch, both as a source of water and for waste disposal. The last of these closed in the mid 1950s, but the building still remains and is now occupied by Oliphant's Bakery **R**. The cobbled entrance to another of the former tanneries, complete with metal runners for the carts, also survives at 232 High Street **O figure 22**. Tanning is traditionally thought to have been introduced to Linlithgow by Cromwell's soldiers in the seventeenth century. Documentary records, however, indicate that tanning was being carried out in the town in the middle ages, suggesting that Cromwell's soldiers merely introduced better techniques. The pits found during the archaeological investigation at 262–270 High Street could be of medieval date, and demonstrate the potential for the discovery of other tanneries on this side of High Street.

stray finds

There have been several stray finds from this area, including two coin hoards. The first of these was discovered in 1910 at 354 High Street **S**. In total, 194 coins were found in a leather bag approximately 1.2 m below the ground surface of the garden. Two of the coins were silver. The hoard included coins of Henry VIII, James IV, James V, Mary, and Francis and Mary. It was probably buried soon after 1559, the latest date on the coins. Macdonald (1910), 352.

skins and fourteen hog and dog were tanned. Cured leather supplied two tambour factories in the town.

New industries were introduced into the town in the nineteenth century. Paper making took advantage of the waters of the Avon; just as the river had powered mills from medieval times so, in the nineteenth century, paper mills were established on its banks. Lochmill stood on the site of a medieval meal mill, which later became a printfield (*see* p 44), and nearby, Avonmill, also on the site of a printfield, used the dam built by the printfield company to run its water wheel. Glue making was established at Gowanstank (*see* **area 3**). One of the old industries continued to flourish: leather and shoe making were still important facets of Linlithgow life. Tanners' yards still used the water of the loch; and although the tanning sheds to the north of the High Street have now disappeared from the backlands, an old cobbled entrance, furnished with iron runners to take the weight of the wagons loaded with skins, is one of the remnants of this important part of the life of Linlithgow in the nineteenth century **O figure 22**. The tanneries and the glue works, however, gave Linlithgow a reputation amongst rail travellers as 'the place that was smelt before it was seen'; but they provided a livelihood for the local people.

chapels

There was a medieval chapel at the western entrance to the town, dedicated to St Ninian **J**. It was ruinous some time prior to the Reformation, and is documented as 'waste' by the early 1560s. A charter of 1562 disposing of it suggests that it had been in ruins for many years. It was then described as a 'ruinous house...situated at the West Port in the middle of the street, bounded by the lands of James Hamilton on the north, and the Common Highway on the south and east, with a piece of waste ground on which a smithy had been erected called Thomas Robert's forge, and also partly occupied by the kilnpot stede or place on the east side of the forge'.

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A second coin hoard was found at 376 High Street in 1963 **T**. The coins, nearly 400 in total, were discovered beneath the house when it was demolished. Buried about 1530, the hoard consisted mainly of coins of James IV and V, with thirty pennies, and eleven silver coins varying from Edward III of England to three of James V. *DES* (1963), 51.

During alteration works in the nineteenth century in an area now occupied by The Vennel **P**, two 'ancient' crucibles were discovered. According to a nineteenth-century recorder of the finds, groats of James I were minted here, the crucibles possibly being for melting measured amounts of precious and base metals to produce the alloys of which the coins were made. This, along with the belief that name of the 'Cunzie Neuk' (a building that used to stand on the site) meant 'Coining House', perhaps led to the unproven local tradition that a mint operated in this area. Lindsay (1845), 27.

the archaeological potential of Linlithgow a summary **figure 31**

an overview

On present evidence, there is good potential for archaeological deposits to survive within the medieval core of Linlithgow, but the extent to which they may survive is difficult to predict. Even without archaeological evidence, the survival of so many buildings of sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date in Linlithgow, any one of which would be a rare find in most Scottish medieval towns, is a clear indication of the potential for both buried archaeological remains and of the buildings themselves as an important historical, architectural and archaeological resource. Similarly, Linlithgow also possesses several groups of well preserved rigs on both sides of High Street, another diminishing resource in most medieval towns, which again bodes well for the archaeological potential of the burgh.

Routine monitoring and excavations in many other Scottish towns, especially Perth and Aberdeen, but also in some smaller burghs, have demonstrated that medieval and later archaeological remains often survive beneath the modern town. Therefore, the site of any proposed ground disturbance or development along the main street frontages in the historic section of Linlithgow must be accorded a high archaeological priority; and arrangements must be made for the site to be assessed, monitored and, if necessary, excavated in advance of any development scheme. Similarly, any proposed ground disturbance of the surviving streets and wynds themselves (for instance, for essential repairs, access to services, or environmental improvements) should also be monitored routinely, because the remains of important features of the medieval townscape may be sealed beneath them—such as the original sites of the market cross, tolbooth, tron, ports and some of the wells—of which no archaeological evidence has yet been found.

To date, little archaeological work has been undertaken within Linlithgow. Thus, the conclusions and recommendations expressed here should be regarded as provisional. This Survey will require periodic review in the light of results from any future campaigns of archaeological fieldwork (assessment, monitoring and excavation), and from other types of sub-surface investigation.

It is important to stress that the Survey was limited to the core of historic (medieval) Linlithgow. There is a recognised, although unquantifiable, potential for the discovery of prehistoric and early historic archaeological remains, both within and outwith the confines of the historic burgh, as demonstrated by the discovery of important Neolithic remains beneath the Carmelite priory. The potential for pre-burghal archaeological evidence is not assessed in **figure 31**.

Finally, the potential for archaeological features and deposits to be preserved both beneath the floors and within the structures of historic standing buildings in Linlithgow (*see* pp 111–15) must not be forgotten. The archaeological potential of Linlithgow's standing buildings is *not* shown on **figure 31**, but the potential of individual buildings is considered in the next section.

Turning to the specific areas of Linlithgow (as identified in this Survey), previous archaeological work and documentary and cartographic evidence have demonstrated the archaeological potential of all four areas (Areas 1, 2, 3 and 4). It should be borne in mind, however, that the limits of the medieval burgh remain uncertain.

figure 31 distinguishes between areas of known potential (shaded green) and unknown potential (shaded lighter green). *All green areas should be treated as potentially archaeologically sensitive. Areas designated red are Scheduled Ancient Monuments* and are protected under statute by Historic Scotland. Effectively redeveloped areas (shaded blue) are probably archaeologically sterile.

area 1

This area comprises the palace, church and the peel and has considerable archaeological potential. Virtually all of this area is protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument, the

boundary of the scheduled area excluding only the church, kirkyard and the car park and gardens to the west of Kirkgate **figure 31**.

The whole of Area 1 lies within the town's designated Conservation Area, the palace grounds are part of a royal park, and the palace itself is a Property in Care of the Scottish Ministers, managed by Historic Scotland on their behalf. This area is of great historical, architectural and archaeological importance and is well protected as such. Development here is unlikely, although works to improve tourist facilities are always ongoing. Any such works will require Scheduled Monument Consent, the archaeological implications of which are managed by Historic Scotland.

There are a number of archaeological problems still to be resolved for this area, the most obvious being the nature and extent of the various phases of occupation on the promontory, both prior to and contemporary with the construction and occupation of the palace in the fifteenth century. The Edwardian and Cromwellian defences, for example, may extend either into the unscheduled part of Area 1 or into Area 2. The former has been subject to much terracing over the centuries and archaeological deposits here seem to be better preserved on the lower slopes, where they have been effectively sealed, whereas they have been largely truncated on the flatter, east side. Archaeological deposits are also known to survive beneath Kirkgate itself.

area 2

This area lies within the town's designated Conservation Area. The principal features include the medieval market place (with cross, tolbooth and tron), townhouse, rigs, the sites of the High and Low Ports, the wells and the site of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The boundaries of the kirkyard may mark approximately the course of the Edwardian or Cromwellian defences, which could, therefore, extend into the gardens that now occupy this area. These gardens lie within the scheduled area of the palace and the peel **figure 31**. Any development or works here would require Scheduled Monument Consent from Historic Scotland.

The medieval core of Area 2 probably extends as far east as Bell's Burn. The rigs within this area, some of the best preserved in the burgh, are extremely important as an archaeological resource. The spatial relationship between these rigs and the royal park attached to the palace makes this area particularly important for our understanding of the development of medieval Linlithgow. This area should be regarded as of high archaeological potential; any proposals for redevelopment here must contain an appropriate scheme of archaeological investigation.

By the early nineteenth century, the west side of Low Port (east of Bell's Burn) had been developed as a frontage, but it is not clear whether medieval settlement had extended this far east. There are now large gaps in the frontage here, which is largely modern. There are few known outlying features here, although the possible Cromwellian earthwork, now occupied by the playing fields of Low Port Primary School, is one exception. The block of land between Low Port and High Port, which lay near to the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary is more usual. This area has been extensively redeveloped and should probably be regarded as archaeologically sterile.

area 3

Area 3 comprises the whole of the south side of the medieval burgh, and lies within the town's designated Conservation Area. The principal features within this, the largest of the four areas covered by this survey, include the site of the town house of the Knights Hospitaller, rigs, wynds, the sites of wells, the site of St Ninian's Chapel, the canal and the railway. The archaeological potential of Area 3 is likely to be concentrated to the north of the railway, to the east of New Well Wynd and to the west of St Michael's Wynd **figure 31**.

There has been some redevelopment for housing at the west end of this area, but between New Well Wynd and County Buildings are some of the best preserved rigs in the town. The boundary walls of one rig are thought to have retained earlier, medieval walls. Development within these rigs is restricted, but the building of individual houses is not, and there are several rigs which are likely to be developed in the near future. This is an area of archaeological importance and any proposals must incorporate an appropriate scheme of archaeological investigation.

The cutting of the railway, and the subsequent development of Royal Terrace, will have had a damaging effect on the archaeological potential of this area. The only area south of the railway where the tail end of the rigs may still survive is around Learmonth Gardens, which occupies a loop in the course of the canal. The canal itself is protected as a Scheduled Ancient Monument, and any development here would require Scheduled Monument Consent from Historic Scotland **figure 31**.

At the west end of the burgh, the lowering of West Port in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the development of the Falkirk Road/Mains Road/Preston Road/St Ninian's Road junction is likely to have destroyed any evidence of the West Port. The gardens in and around West Port House, or those to the west of Preston Road, may still preserve archaeological deposits. The town plan of the east end of Area 3, east of St Michael's Wynd, was similarly affected in the nineteenth century, when the town house of the Knights Hospitaller was demolished. Pockets of archaeological deposits may still survive, between the buildings.

area 4

Area 4 lies within the town's designated Conservation Area. The principal features contained within this area include the sites of the French and Spanish Ambassadors' Houses, rigs, wells and tanneries and the site of the West Port and St Ninian's Chapel.

Of the four areas that comprise this study, this area has experienced the most redevelopment **figure 31**. In contrast with Areas 1, 2 and 3, the archaeological potential of Area 4 is likely to be restricted to just two small areas—between Water Yett and The Vennel, and a second area to the north of St Ninian's Way. There may also be small pockets of archaeological deposits to the north of The Vennel, an area currently grassed over. The building line of The Vennel and West Port is significantly different from that which it replaced, set back as it is from High Street. There remains, therefore, the possibility that earlier buildings may be preserved beneath the present pavement level here.

The Vennel and West Port developments will have effectively destroyed any evidence of the late medieval buildings, including the French and Spanish Ambassador's Houses, and the rigs on which they were built. Between Water Yett and the west side of The Vennel, however, the rigs are still preserved in an area that lies between the two developments. A few of the rigs here extend from High Street to the loch, but most have been sub-divided. One of the last remaining tanneries, now Oliphant's Bakery, is also preserved within this block.

The area to the north of St Ninian's Way has also escaped redevelopment, and a former boundary wall is still visible here. Close to the loch side, this area is prone to flooding, so further housing developments are not likely. As so little of the north side of High Street remains undisturbed, however, an appropriate scheme of archaeological investigation is essential for any further development here, as this area appears to contain the last remaining evidence for the former medieval rigs on the north-west side of High Street.

The lowering of the West Port in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is likely to have destroyed any surviving traces of the West Port or St Ninian's Chapel.

historic buildings and their archaeological potential

There is much still standing in Linlithgow to serve as a reminder of the town's important historic past; and Slezer's two late seventeenth-century views of the town are a fine indication of the setting of still extant buildings and of the morphology of the burgh then and now **figures 16 & 25**. Dominating the town are the *ruins of the royal palace* **figure 25** and the *parish church of St Michael.* Both have strong links with the burgh's origins. For an account of the history of the palace, *see* pp 56–63, and for the history of the parish church *see* pp 63–8; the archaeological potential of both buildings is discussed on pp 108–9.

Although the church and palace are the dominant buildings on the townscape, there are many others, perhaps less prestigious, but each with something to say of the town's historic past. Some dwellings, for example, known to have been standing or erected in the sixteenth century, reflect not only the importance of their occupants, but also the influence of the royal works at the palace. Demolition work in central Linlithgow in the 1960s revealed many features, such as fireplaces, that attested to the late medieval affinities with the character and detail of the royal residence. A little of this inheritance still remains.

The survival of so many buildings of sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century date in Linlithgow, any one of which would be a rare find in most Scottish medieval towns, is a clear indication of the potential for both buried archaeological deposits and of the buildings themselves as an important historical, architectural and archaeological resource. Complementing the wealth of standing buildings in the town, a recent survey carried out by schoolchildren for the Linlithgow Civic Trust also identified over eighty separate street carvings in metal and stone in sixty-eight locations around the town. The results have been published as a handbook, and demonstrate the potential of Linlithgow's standing buildings as an educational resource, too.

Buildings situated in the core of the medieval burgh, on Kirkgate, The Cross and East High Street, were almost certainly constructed on the site of, or directly over, earlier buildings, a sequence possibly going back to the medieval period and continuing up to the present day. Although there have been few opportunities for archaeological examination of any of the street frontages in Linlithgow, evidence of earlier, possibly medieval, structures may be expected sealed beneath the frontages. The earliest buildings in the burgh would probably have been of timber, wattle and daub, perhaps with thatched roofs. At the front of properties like these would have been small, temporary stalls, or booths, erected on market days, selling locally-made produce as well as providing services such as repairs to shoes, clothes and tools. Evidence for timber buildings, some as early in date as the twelfth century, and with stalls attached, has been found during excavations in Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness.

Many of the medieval buildings found during archaeological excavations in other towns were found several metres behind the present street frontage. There are many reasons why street frontages shift. The stalls or booths that once lined the medieval market place encroached out into the street in an effort to lure potential buyers. Similarly, the stairs that provided access to the upper floor of a tenement often stood tacked onto the front of the building and, over time, the building line often moved forward. Fine examples of this process can be seen in St Andrews at 19–21 North Street and 13–15 South Castle Street, where some properties have moved forward to enclose the stair-towers (often referred to as forestairs) within their fabric, while others have not, leaving the stair-tower standing forward of the main building line. The varied building line along East and West High Street, particularly the south side of West High Street, suggests that both processes also occurred in Linlithgow; buried buildings are, therefore, as likely to be found under the street or pavement as under or behind the present street frontage.

In other Scottish towns, archaeological excavations have revealed street frontages as promising for the preservation of archaeological deposits, in spite of the fact that cellarage may also have destroyed evidence. Recent excavations in Perth, Dunfermline and Arbroath have also shown that the width and alignment of the main streets in the burghs have changed over the centuries. Earlier cobbled street surfaces and contemporary buildings may be preserved up to three or four metres behind the line of the modern

street frontage. This was certainly the case at 80–86 High Street, Perth, where the medieval street lay some four metres further back from the present High Street. At the Abbot House in Dunfermline, recent excavations uncovered a whole section of the medieval street inside the standing building, sealed below its floor. Up to six phases of street surfaces were revealed, each separated by thick dumps of midden, containing broken pottery, leather, animal bone and oyster shells. Here, archaeology clearly demonstrated how dramatically street frontages can shift over time, and the potential for archaeological deposits to be buried below later buildings.

Similarly, buildings which have more than one phase of construction, such as the townhouse and West Port House (*see* below), may also preserve earlier structural features within the fabric itself, hidden or obscured by later additions. On the ground floors, for example, these may be represented by floor surfaces, fireplaces and other features associated with the very earliest phases of occupation—in this case the seventeenth century—sealed beneath the modern floor levels. Throughout the building, more structural elements, such as blocked-up doorways, windows and cupboards, may also survive behind modern plasterboard.

The *Hamilton Lands* **figure 11** at 40–48 High Street, built for the Hamiltons of Pardovan, give clues to domestic buildings typical of Linlithgow's sixteenth-century main thoroughfare (*see* p 20), with crowstepped gables and, at Nos 44–48, a flight hole for pigeons. 40–42 is stone-slated and has a round arched pend leading to its backlands, which are now developed. The two houses are joined by a stair with its own pantiled roof. 44–48 is pantiled, with a narrower pend leading to a sixteenth-century *stone oven* at the rear of the property. Although this has probably been much renovated, it is a reminder of the importance of avoiding fire risk when so much housing was totally or partially of wood. Also, a strong visual comment on the importance of backlands is the circular beehive-shaped *doocot*, with its 370 nest holes, which housed an alternative food supply for the family of Ross of Halkhead. A standing house at the West Port, *West Port House* **figure 10**, is a reminder of some of the quality dwellings in the town, with its L-plan and stair turret in the corner. Completed in 1600 for James Hamilton of Silvertonhill, parts of the building, including the frontage, may be earlier. Now, however, it stands above the roadway, which was lowered sometime between 1790 and 1830 (*see* p 20). It is possible that the block facing the street is older, and traces of this earlier building can be seen on the north side, for example built-up windows and a circular shot-hole. As with many of the older buildings along the south side of West High Street that have undergone several phases of building or alteration, earlier architectural features may be concealed by later phases of building—blocked-up cupboards and doors and windows, for example, as well as features sealed beneath the present floor level.

The Cornwalls of Bonhard were a distinguished local family, who had a town house on the site of 57–61 High Street. The *Cornwall coat of arms* and the inscription 'Ve Big Ye Se Varly 1527' ('We Build You See Warily 1527'), which used to decorate the front of the property, may now be seen on the wall above the back of the pend to *no* 59.

To the west of the town stands *Linlithgow Bridge*. Built in the mid seventeenth century, it is a bridge of a single segmental arch without ribs. Although it has since been widened on either side, it retains much of its original character; and is testimony to the importance of this crossing over the Avon, on the significant route from Edinburgh to Stirling.

Linlithgow's *townhouse* **figure 17**, fronting onto the market place at the foot of Kirkgate, was constructed in 1668–70 by John Smith, to a design of John Milne, master mason to Kings Charles I and II. It stands on the site of the old tolbooth, demolished on the instructions of Oliver Cromwell. With a double staircase giving access to the first floor and a spire added in about 1673, its original form may be seen prominently on Slezer's engravings of Linlithgow in *Theatrum Scotiae* **figure 16**. This new tolbooth reduced the width of Kirkgate by approximately eight feet (2.4 metres). The interior was embellished with paintings by a Dutchman, who was paid £6 7s 7d for his efforts, and in 1670/71 two clocks were made, one for the tolbooth steeple and the other for the church steeple.

In 1790, it was agreed that a corn and victual market was to be erected at the back of the council chambers; the third storey functioned as a debtors' prison. Other alterations were soon made. In 1810, the town council took the decision to replace the stairs at the front of the townhouse with a verandah, or piazza. Fire broke out in 1847, however, destroying much of the fabric, even though the town's 'water engine', or fire engine, was housed immediately adjacently, beside the county hall at the rear of the townhouse. According to the town council minutes, the fire was suspected to have been caused by the concentrated rays of the sun through a window leading to 'spontaneous combustion'. The following year, rebuilding was under way, but instead of following the Milne design of 1668, the façade was still furnished with a wrought iron piazza and the tapering spire was not replaced. The townhouse retains most of these nineteenth-century features, although the wrought iron piazza was replaced in 1907 with the existing double stairway; and the County Hall was added to the rear.

Near to the townhouse is *Cross House*, built at the beginning of the eighteenth century. An extension was added to the west in the mid eighteenth century. Built of rubble and harled and painted, it has crowstepped gables and raised painted margins to the windows and sandstone margins to the windows of the extension. Another important landmark stood to the west of the Cross—the Golden Cross hostelry. It was here that Robert Burns became a member of the local masonic lodge in 1787. Now replaced by modern flats, all that remains is a plaque displaying the *coat of arms of Dean of Guild, James Crawford*, who once lived there. Standing round the corner, the early eighteenth-century properties on the west side of Kirkgate, *Nos 2 and 3 Kirkgate*, are reminders that not all town dwellings were large and high.

In front of the townhouse stands the *Cross Well* **figure 15**. Linlithgow was renowned for its wells, the early eighteenth-century saying being 'Glasgow for bells, Linlithgow for wells'. Cross Well was the most important well in the town, standing as it did in the very heart of Linlithgow. Lead piping supplied the well from as early as 1629. Contemporary visitors to Linlithgow were very complimentary about the townscape. Sir William Brereton commented, in 1636, on the 'dainty conduit in the middle of the street [the Cross Well]'. It was rebuilt after the Cromwellian occupation, in 1658 (*see* p 37), by James Thomson, mason. It was essential that the Cross Well be kept in good repair, and in 1774 the council decided to rebuild it 'of new'. In 1794, an iron railing was put round it, replacing a ruinous stone rail. In 1807, it was 'reedified', but according to its seventeenth-century appearance. It was to need further repair work in 1972, after being hit by a runaway lorry, but it still retains its original design and shows the 'black bitch' of Linlithgow looking, unusually, to the right. In 1997, carved figures from the original well were discovered. These are in the care of West Lothian Council.

Extant, also, is the oldest public well supplying the street—*St Michael's Well* **figure 18**, with its inscription 'Saint Michael is kinde to straingers', to the east of The Cross. Originally, this stood on St Michael's Wynd or, as it was sometimes termed, Easter Wynd; but in 1719, the council agreed that the supply should be brought down to the High Street in lead pipes and the present well was built in 1720. In 1773, its reservoir was enlarged to improve the supply. It was moved again in 1802, a little to the south-east, to 'improve that part of the street adjoining to the Easter Wynd'. Unfortunately, as a result of an accident, it no longer has its water spout, but the figure of St Michael, removed from an earlier Cross Well, is displayed prominently. Near to the West Port is the *New Well*. This latter was erected in 1691. In 1765, it was dry and in need of repair, as the lead pipes serving it were broken; a decision was taken to build a new reservoir for it in 1774. All are reminders of the importance of public wells before the arrival of a fully piped water supply to the town.

Two properties on the south side of High Street reflect the quality building of the eighteenth/early nineteenth century. The incorporation of shoemakers had a house at what is now *Nos 123–127 High Street*. This has been restored, with, for example, a red modern pantiled roof, but retains many of the original features and the carved armorial plaque of the cordiners on its façade. Nearby, at 143 High Street, a merchant's house, *Annet House*, also restored, and converted into a museum and heritage centre, gives some

clues to eighteenth-century housing and their large rigs to the rear. The rig wall probably partially predates the present building; nineteenth-century features, such as a cistern and ice-house, may be viewed. Further east, at 65–67 High Street, *The Four Marys* public house has its original eighteenth-century block and arcading visible, but recessed behind nineteenth-century additions. Inside is the upper part of a sixteenth-century round arched doorpiece set into a wall.

263–265 and 293 High Street also give insights into eighteenth-century Linlithgow. *No 50 High Street* was once an inn. A three-storeyed building, it has a grey slate roof and raised margins and a lintel course above its second-floor windows, reminiscent of its mid eighteenth-century construction. Next door, at *52–54 High Street*, Livingston's Restaurant has formed an entrance out of what was a segmental-arch carriage pend to the rear of the property.

The nineteenth century was to bring great changes to Linlithgow. One of the most important innovations was the construction of the *Union Canal* **figure 20** from 1818 to 1822. Originally intended to link with Linlithgow Loch, the engineer, James Baird, persuaded the Union Canal Company to go ahead with a contour canal, following the course of the hillside behind the town. This obviated the need for locks, as the canal ran at the same level along the thirty-one and a half miles from Edinburgh to Falkirk. During the construction Baird stayed at the (still standing) *Canal House* at the *Manse Basin* **figure 20** (*see* p 41); it was from here that the 'navvies', who laboured on the canal, were paid every Saturday.

Although the main purpose of the canal had been to provide coal from the Lanarkshire pits for Edinburgh, it brought benefits to Linlithgow also. Barge transport proved to be quicker and more comfortable than stage coaches. By utilising the link with the Forth and Clyde Canal at Falkirk, the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with fresh horses every eight miles, took a mere eight hours; this was a vast improvement on the first stage coach from Edinburgh to Glasgow, passing through Linlithgow from 1678, which took two days, although a hundred years later the 'Diligence', drawn by six horses, had speeded up to ten hours. Not only did Linlithgow now have closer links with the two cities, but communication with its neighbours, such as Polmont, Laurieston and Falkirk on the Glasgow route and Philpstoun, Winchburgh and Broxburn to the east, was simpler. The *stables* at Manse Basin are now a Canal Museum and tea room. The presence of the canal also now endowed local industry with a new water supply. *St Magdalene's Distillery* **figure 21**, for example, an imposing group of buildings still standing on the site of the old cattle market, was in an ideal position to draw its cooling water (although not that used in the whisky itself) from the canal. The distillery was built on the site of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, first mentioned in 1335. According to a charter of 1528, this was a hospital for the poor, with a chapel and cemetery, but it may even have been a leper hospital. The site is now occupied by one of the warehouses of the distillery; it is unlikely to have survived the impact of such a building.

The importance of the canal was to be largely superseded with the arrival of the railway in 1842. Initial concerns over access over the railway line to the south of the town raised suggestions of archways, footbridges and tunnels, some of which were constructed and still remain. Most worries were overcome with the prospects of the many advantages. Not only was the town now even more accessible, the journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow taking a mere two and a half hours, but this new form of transport was also to have an impact on the townscape. The Victorian *railway station*, one of the best preserved original through stations completed by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Company, still stands prominently above the east end of the High Street. Local hotels found a ready market in the passengers alighting from the trains. The *Star and Garter* stood close by the railway station. Built in the eighteenth century for the Boyd family, it was converted from a dwelling house in 1847. Retaining much of its original character, it is three-storeyed, with corniced doorpiece and a decorative fanlight. Demand for accommodation also meant other hotels opened: *St Michael's Hotel*, built in 1886, a somewhat flamboyant baronial style three-storeyed building, is still to be seen at the foot of St Michael's Wynd. Standing

features to the rear are reminders that *St Michael's Wynd* was one of the early vennels in the town.

The nineteenth century saw a number of new properties in the town. Substantial villas to the south of the town, such as *Nether Parkley*, *Clarendon* and *Bonnytoun House* were built; the town council decided to build a new *manse* on the glebe to the south of the town; and, although possibly less imposing, new developments, such as *Royal Terrace*, were indicative of the comfort of life for many in Linlithgow. Old properties disappeared, to be replaced, for example, by the *Sheriff Court House*, built on the site of the house from which Regent Moray was shot (*see* p 20). The block of buildings between St Michael's Wynd and the railway station, developed in the nineteenth century, deprived Linlithgow of one of its most famous buildings. The town house of the Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem was built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and was demolished in 1885 (*see* **area 3**). Whether remnants of this building could have survived the nineteenth-century development for which it was pulled down is uncertain. It is possible that some deeply-cut foundations may have survived or that masonry was re-used in later building works. In fact, a fragment of the late medieval building is thought to have been incorporated into the building at the corner of St Michael's Wynd.

Many of the traditions of Linlithgow, however, continued. Leather and shoe making were still important facets of Linlithgow life. Tanners' yards still used the water of the loch. Oliphant's Bakery, on the north side of West High Street, is the last surviving example of the many tannery buildings that were once concentrated along the loch side (*see* **area 4**). Medieval tanning pits are common finds in the backlands of the rigs, and it is possible that buildings such as Oliphant's Bakery were established over earlier, possibly medieval, tanneries. The stone tanks of a tannery are preserved beneath the floor of a converted tannery on Barkhill Road. Similarly, an old *cobbled entrance* **figure 22** at 232 High Street, furnished with iron runners to take the weight of the wagons loaded with skins, is another remnant of this important part of the life of Linlithgow in the nineteenth century.

Many of these historic buildings have been listed and all lie within the town's Conservation Area. It should not be forgotten that proposals for change of use may necessitate internal works, such as new floors, heating systems or damp proofing. Any of these works could damage or destroy archaeological evidence and should, therefore, be carefully monitored.

suggested avenues for further work

pp 117–119

Linlithgow is particularly blessed with a wealth of documentary resource material relating to its historic past. The bibliography and endnotes to the section on the archaeological and historical background will give some indication of the many sources used for this Survey. For a report such as this, unfortunately, it is possible to touch only the tip of the iceberg. More man-hours would have permitted further research into the sixteenth-century protocol books and town records on deposit at Scottish Record Office, as well as into seventeenth-century records, such as the Barony Book of Records. The Regality Book of Bo'ness, 1669–1692, and the Bo'ness Register of Deeds, 1669–1722, would probably have thrown some light on the economic state of Linlithgow at the end of the seventeenth century. Although the Beveridge Papers and the Henderson Papers, both on deposit at Scottish Record Office, have been used for this Survey, they merit much greater analysis than time would allow.

Sources in the West Lothian District Library Headquarters' Local History section at Marjoribanks Street, Bathgate, were also tapped, but, again, with insufficient time to fully analyse them. Many of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century records may be consulted here; as well as local newspapers which can give fascinating insights into the town's life.

In consequence, a number of themes have been merely touched upon. Although, for example, much is known about the palace and its formal state rooms, less information is available on the more mundane aspects of royal residences. Where precisely were the

archaeological objectives for the future

Preparation of the Linlithgow Burgh Survey has highlighted a number of directions for future archaeological work. These can be broadly divided into management objectives, priorities for future fieldwork, and other areas which merit further research. Any such list cannot be exhaustive, but it should cover the main areas of concern in the foreseeable future.

management objectives

1 Wherever possible, it is important to monitor the impact of any development (in its broadest sense) on the potential archaeological resource (the **light and dark green areas** on **figure 31**). This will require the routine provision of site-specific, desk-based assessments, through to watching briefs, trial excavations and, where necessary, controlled excavation, post-excavation analysis and publication. Over time, the cumulative results will 'calibrate' this assessment of the archaeological potential of the burgh, providing evidence about the burgh's origins, and its physical, economic and social development through the centuries.

2 Developments should similarly be monitored to shed more light on the prehistory of the Linlithgow area.

3 The degree and nature of cellarage along the main streets, notably East and West High Street, The Cross and Kirkgate were not systematically examined during the preparation of this report. More accurate information would be most useful to managers/curators of the archaeological resource in assessing the archaeological potential of these and other main street frontages in the burgh.

4 Engineers' boreholes offer a convenient glimpse of the depth and nature of sub-surface deposits, man-made or not, ancient and modern. It would be useful if the results obtained from engineers' boreholes in and around the core of the historic burgh could be gradually collected and collated. Borehole results, especially those in

royal stables; how many horses were housed in them; did the grooms live with them; and who were they? Further research might also bring more precise answers to the problems of the town defences. Were the burgage plots in the north-east of the town protected by the peel, or did they need further security measures? And did the tofts in the north-west all have walling as well as the protection of the loch in the middle ages?

Possibly these questions cannot be answered by documentary research alone; but other research areas, in later periods, would certainly benefit from a more in-depth study. The documentation for the eighteenth century is full. It is clear that a precise picture of the wells and their source supplies and connecting pipes, for example, could be gained from further research. This would be worthwhile for a town renowned for its healthy springs and wells.

The nineteenth century could be given little attention here in a town with such a long historic past. Many avenues of further research could be followed up, and the documentary sources exist for a full analysis. The increasing industrialisation of the town,

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the hands of private contractors, have proved difficult to access, and it might be worth considering mechanisms by which such information could more easily (and preferably routinely) be made available to managers/curators of the archaeological resource.

5 Opportunities should continue to be taken to increase public awareness of the potential archaeological interest of Linlithgow, both generally and within and beneath historic standing buildings.

6 Periodic review and updating of this Survey would be desirable to take account of the results of any future archaeological work, and of the comprehensive collection and collation of other types of sub-surface investigations, such as engineers' boreholes, and the systematic survey of cellarage on the main street frontages. In particular, the colour-coded map **figure 31** should be revised and re-issued at regular intervals.

priorities for future fieldwork

Although a limited amount of archaeological work, all rescue-oriented, has now been undertaken within the medieval core of the town, the priorities for future archaeological fieldwork within the burgh remain fairly rudimentary. The following priorities should be borne in mind during preparations of future project designs.

1 Investigate the possible evidence for crannogs within Linlithgow Loch.

2 Identify any pre-burghal activity. Linlithgow was clearly a favoured place, for an early Scottish kings' residence to be here, and there may be evidence for a settlement, perhaps on Kirkgate, which pre-dates the formal founding of the burgh.

3 Recover any evidence for the royal manor built by David I, and for Edward I of England's castle. The palace occupies a promontory which has been built on and adapted throughout history, and possibly even prehistory.

4 Recover a ground plan for the medieval parish church partially burnt down in 1424, and of earlier structures.

5 Establish the boundaries of the royal park and identify any features within it. Evidence for fish ponds, orchards, gardens, paths and drains, even a tennis court, may be preserved within The Peel.

for example, with its leather manufacturing, glue works, paper making, distilleries and the mills on the Avon, could be charted, not only through the town's archives, but also the records of the businesses involved in these pursuits. None of these latter has been touched. Parish council minutes, parochial board records, poor house committee minutes and school board records all merit a close analysis for a greater understanding of the town at this time.

In the 1960s, the decision was made to remove much of the property in the north-west of the town. Some records were kept, both documentary and photographic, of the quality of the built inheritance that was being destroyed in the name of modernisation. There was not time, in this Survey, to make a very close analysis of this documentary and photographic evidence in the keeping of both RCAHMS and West Lothian Council; but this recently organised archive would merit a close study alongside the vast documentary evidence contemporary with the lost buildings. It would probably give a detailed insight into the built environment of historic Linlithgow.

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6 Define the limits of the medieval burgh and the character and date of any burgh boundaries.

7 Identify any sequence of planning in the layout and expansion of the burgh and in the infill within the burgage plots, and determine any variation in street alignment and width.

8 Locate important features of the medieval townscape—the earliest tolbooth, ports, market cross, tron and wells for example—of which there is little archaeological evidence.

9 Assess the nature of the burgage plots in the burgh: their size and layout, the nature of their boundaries, their function and development over time. In particular, the nature of the relationship between the plots and the loch side (there is evidence for walls at the end of these plots to prevent flooding) and the peel would be of interest.

10 Identify the sites of the chapels of St Magdalene, The Blessed Virgin Mary and St Ninian. Only the main complex of the Carmelite friary was examined; other features may survive within its precinct, the extent of which is not known.

11 Recover any evidence for medieval and post-medieval craftworking and industry: tanning, leatherworking, weaving and milling, for example. One tannery survived until recently on the north side of West High Street, and another, on Barkhill Road, still has stone tanks under the floor. These would be of interest to industrial archaeologists.

12 Identify the nature and extent of Cromwell's defences.

areas for further archaeological research

1 A reconstruction of the layout, extent and physical setting of the medieval burgh would be useful for our understanding of the development of Linlithgow. This would be particularly useful when assessing the impact of future development and in presenting the current state of knowledge.

street names

pp 121–124

Back Station Road

Area 3
Running south-west from High Port, this street is shown in the Ordnance Survey second edition map of 1897 as an easterly section of Union Road and is likely to share the same recent date.

Barkhill Road

Area 3
Although in a relatively recently developed area of town, this street's name is a reminder of the importance of tanning to Linlithgow's industrial history. The name may signify an area of dumping, outwith the medieval town, of the large amounts of waste bark left after the tanning process, or possibly a wooded hill, as a source of the bark itself.

Baronshill

Area 2
Other spellings for this hill include Bernis, Barns and Barons. The word probably denotes a barn, possibly a tithe barn belonging to the nearby St Magdalene's Hospital.

Blackness Road

Area 2
This road was one of the two access routes into the town running to the two eastern ports or entrances. The road terminated at the Low East Port, and a vennel ran southwards to the Edinburgh Road.

Bo'ness Road/St Ninian's Road

Area 2
The Bo'ness Road approached the town's West Port from the north, before being split by St Ninian's Chapel and burial ground and joining the High Street at two points near the port. The road appears now as St Ninian's Road, a residential area.

Dog Well Wynd

Area 3
For most of the seventeenth century this was not a public thoroughfare, but a convenient point of access to South Vennel, through a derelict property in the High Street frontage. In 1692, the owner threatened closure of the path and the ground was formally acquired by the burgh. There may also have been an equivalent wynd leading off the north side of the High Street to a bleaching green by the loch, with the same name.

High Port

Area 2
There were two ports at the east end of late medieval Linlithgow. High Port was the southerly of the two, and was situated on the approach from Edinburgh.

Friars' Brae

Area 3
One of several roads in the vicinity of the site of the Carmelite Friary, which preserve a sense of history in their name. All, however, are part of the town's Victorian expansion. Originally, the name applied to the present-day Manse Road which runs parallel to the east, built in 1804. The name was probably changed as it was thought inappropriate for a road leading to a new Presbyterian manse.

High Street

Areas 2 & 4

The main market street of the town follows a straggling line running east–west and roughly mirroring the shoreline of Linlithgow Loch. Some frontages were developed in the market area (around The Cross) by the end of the thirteenth century, while much of the High Street proper had been developed by the mid to late fifteenth century. The High Street was wider in the medieval period, but by the sixteenth century buildings had begun to narrow the thoroughfare, encroaching on the old road. This trend of encroachment continued alongside the siting of new properties in the backland areas of the street. Throughout the medieval period the state of the road itself was primitive, muddy in the wet, and dusty during dry weather. The road was first cobbled for a short distance in the sixteenth century, and by 1860 the whole street was surfaced.

Kirkgate

Areas 1 & 2

The Kirkgate, or Kirk Gait, is a steep, cobbled street, connecting the palace gatehouse, built by James V, to The Cross (the town's market place). It has remained virtually unchanged since the sixteenth century, except for an encroachment in the seventeenth century, when the construction of the townhouse reduced the width by some 2.4 m. Much of the stone robbed by Cromwell's army to create fortifications in 1650–51 is thought to have been quarried from houses which stood on the Kirkgate, when many of the buildings were levelled.

Lion Well Wynd

Area 3

One of a number of wynds running south from High Street, Lion Well Wynd was opened in 1750. It also provided access to South Vennel, the back lane behind the rigs. As the name suggests, it was associated with one of Linlithgow's many wells, which once bore the head of a lion.

Middleraw

Area 2

Middleraw, Middlerow or Midrow was an island of housing within High Street, between High Port and Low Port.

New Well Wynd

Area 3

Formed in 1795, providing access from High Street to South Vennel, it is named after a well, which still stands.

Oliphant's Vennel

Area 4

This street, which no longer exists, was created in the sixteenth century and ran north from High Street down to the loch. Its route is noted as changing over time as the building line on High Street changed, and for this reason it is locally also known as 'The Shifting Vennel'.

Philip Avenue

Area 4

Leading north off from West Port, this modern road is named after a former provost of the town. The road ends at Jock's Hill, originally an area of run-rig farmland, until the nineteenth century when it was incorporated into the Earl of Dalhousie's land.

Preston Road

Area 3
Leading southwards off West Port, this road derives its name from the Preston Estate and Preston House which lie a short distance to the south. Previously the road had been known as Bathgate or Kipps Road.

Royal Terrace

Area 3
Royal Terrace lies in the Victorian conservation area between the railway and the canal. The substantial stone-built villas here were built on the tail end of the rigs that stretched back from High Street.

St John's Avenue

Area 3
St John's Avenue is a modern insertion into the rigs on the south side of High Street. A brewery and a group of houses called Bein Castle Brae were demolished in advance of this development.

St Michael's Wynd

Area 3
This vennel can be traced back to the sixteenth century and is perhaps the earliest of the four well wynds (the others being Lion Well, New Well and Dog Well) running south from High Street, between the rigs to the back lane (South Vennel). It was also called Easter Wynd and was diverted between 1838 and 1842 due to the construction of the railway embankment, which cut off the south end of the wynd. The well from which the name derives incorporates a carved depiction of a winged St Michael and an inscription: 'Saint Michael is kinde to straingers', dated 1720. It stands on High Street.

St Ninian's Road

Area 2
see Bo'ness Road

South Vennel

Area 3
The main east–west thoroughfare in the south of the town, it lay to the rear of the old rigs that ran back from High Street. This street was largely destroyed by the construction of the railway in the nineteenth century.

Station Road

Area 3
This road was constructed at the same time as the railway station as a replacement for St Michael's or Easter Wynd, which was to be bisected by the new development. The second edition OS map of 1897 shows the new, diverted thoroughfare still referred to by the older name.

Strawberry Bank

Area 3
This street lies within the Victorian development to the south of the town. There were, however, earlier buildings here—nos 18 and 20 Strawberry Bank were of eighteenth-century date and are thought to have been built on the site of the tithe barn of the Carmelite Friary.

Tanners' Wynd

Area 3
This wynd, on the south side of High Street, records the importance of tanning in Linlithgow's industrial history.

The Vennel

Area 4

The name means a narrow alley between properties and, until the 1950s, it referred to a passage opposite Dog Well Wynd which led down to the loch side. This whole area was redeveloped in the 1960s, but retained the name.

Union Road

Area 3

Union Road runs east to west across the tail end of the rigs that ran back from High Street. It was built as a replacement for South Vennel when the railway was inserted here in the 1840s.

Watergate

Areas 1 & 4

The old Watergate, first recorded in the sixteenth century, ran westwards from the Kirkgate, possibly following the southern line of Edward I of England's castle ditch, down to the loch side. The fortifications erected by the army of Cromwell (1650–51) may also have followed this same line. Watergate was effectively closed by the erection of a building across its entrance and the laying out of gardens around 1771. A new Watergate was subsequently opened, slightly to the north. Water Yett is a name that has since been applied to a vennel leading north off High Street, and now lies within the 1960s West Port housing development.

Whitten Lane

Area 4

One of the vennels on the north side of High Street, this throughfare is not shown on the second edition Ordnance Survey map of 1897.

aerial photography — A technique used to identify archaeological sites. *see also* cropmark

amphora — A large two-handled container used to transport liquids such as wine and olive oil.

artefacts — Objects made by human workmanship.

backlands — The area to the rear of the burgage plot behind the dwelling house on the frontage. Originally intended for growing produce and keeping animals; it was also the site of wells and midden heaps. Eventually housed working premises of craftsmen and poorer members of burgh society.

bailies — Burgh officers who performed routine administration.

baxters — Bakers.

Beaker — A distinctive type of prehistoric pottery.

boundaries — *see* burgage plot

burgage plot — A division of land, often of regular size, having been measured out by liners, allocated to a burgess. Once built on, it contained the burgage house on the frontage (*see* frontage) and a backland (*see* backlands). In time, with pressure for space, the plots were often subdivided—a process known as repletion. Plots were bounded by ditches, wattle fences or stone walls.

burgess — A person who enjoys the privileges and responsibilities of the freedom of the burgh.

Carboniferous — A geological period, around 280–350 million years ago, during which limestones, sandstones, shales and coal seams were laid down.

came — A frame for window glass, usually of lead.

cists — Stone-lined graves.

close — *see* vennel

cordiners — Leather workers.

craft — A trade.

crannog — A timber-framed structure built on artificial foundations in water, or occasionally on a natural island.

cropmark — Crops which grow over buried archaeological sites ripen at differing rates and show up as marks on aerial photographs.

cross-slab — A sculptured stone bearing a cross in relief.

documentary sources — Written evidence, primary sources being the original documents.

façade — The finished face of a building.

frontage — The front part of burgage plot nearest the street, on which the dwelling was usually built.

gap sites — Burgage plots not built up or 'biggit'; in a modern context, undeveloped space between two buildings.

geophysical survey — A technique used in archaeology to detect buried features.

guild — An organisation or fraternity for mutual support, whether economic, religious or social.

gully — A shallow ditch, often used to define the boundary of a burgage plot in medieval towns.

hinterland — The rural area around a burgh, to which the burgh looked for economic and agricultural support; the hinterland was likewise dependent on the burgh market.

hoard — A collection of material deposited in the ground, often buried for safe-keeping but never recovered.

indwellers — Unprivileged, non-burgess dwellers in a town.

infilled — Vacant and later developed.

in situ — An archaeological term describing layers of soil or features undisturbed by later activity.

mark, merk — 13s 4d, two-thirds of £ Scots.

midden — Rubbish heap consisting of mainly food debris and other waste products, often found in the backlands of medieval properties.

mortaria — Large bowls used for the preparation of food, often with grit added to roughen and strengthen.

natural — Undisturbed sub-soil or bedrock.

Neolithic — The period of prehistory between the Mesolithic and the Bronze Age, *c* 4000–2000 BC; also known as the New Stone Age.

palisade — A protective timber fence.

prehistory — The period of human history before the advent of writing.

radiocarbon dating — A technique used in archaeology to date organic materials.

rampart — An artificial earthen or stone bank.

repletion — *see* burgage plot

rescue — A term used in archaeology for an excavation carried out in advance of a development.

rig	*see* burgage plot
scarped	Cut into to form a slope.
sherd	A fragment of pottery.
tawer	A maker of white leather.
terracing	Cutting into a slope to level the ground surface.
toft	*see* burgage plot
tolbooth	The most important secular building; meeting place of burgh council; collection post for market tolls; often housed town gaol.
tolls	Payments for use of burgh market.
townhouse	Principal modern civic building.
triforium	A gallery or arcade over an aisle.
tron	Public weigh-beam.
urban nucleus	Original site(s) from which town developed.
vennel	Alley; narrow lane.

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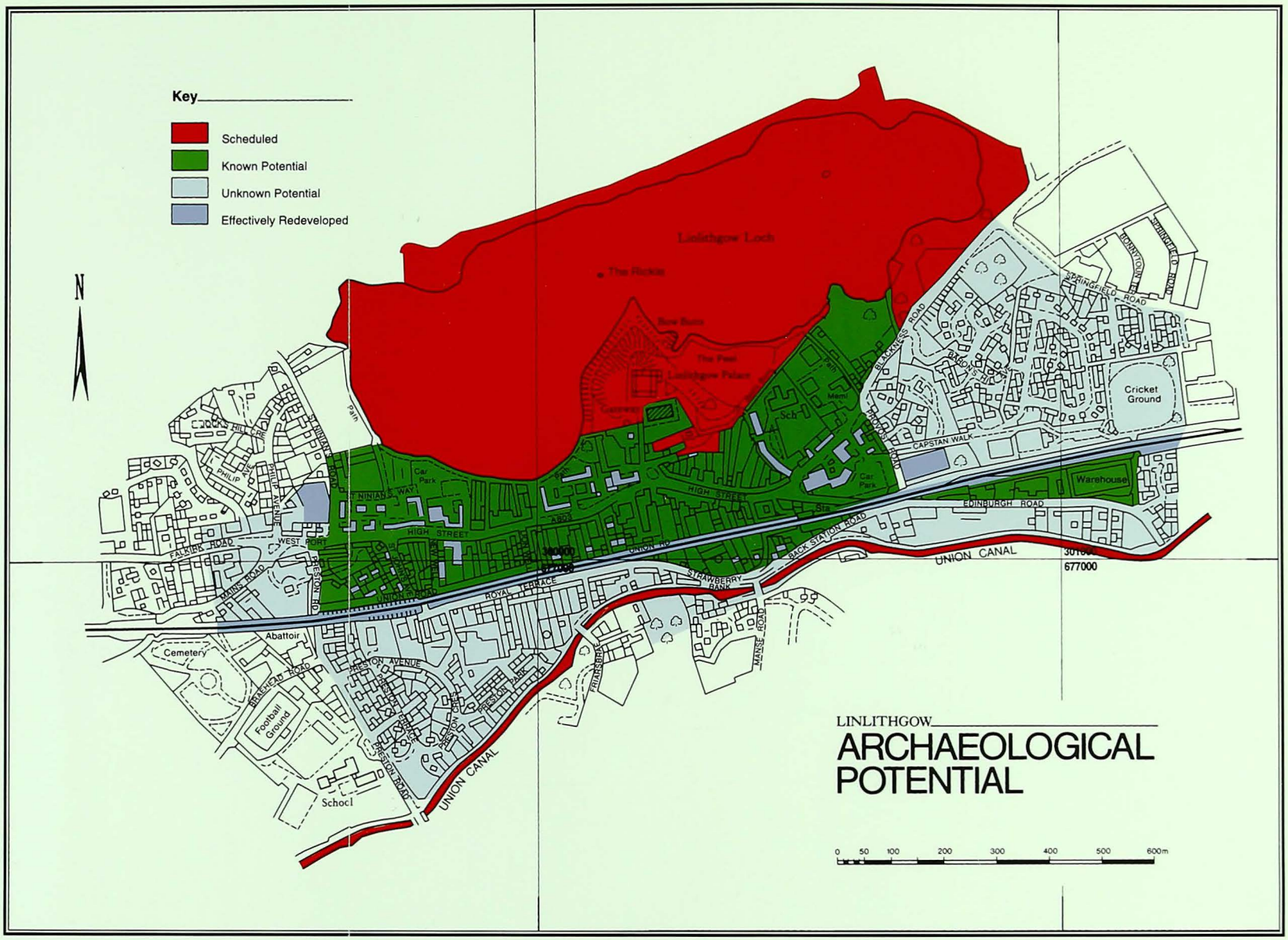


figure 31
The archaeological potential of Linlithgow

Historic Linlithgow

The Royal Burgh of Linlithgow, on the edge of Linlithgow Loch, was a prosperous medieval town. At its heart were the royal palace and the adjacent church of St Michael of Linlithgow, which still dominate the townscape today.

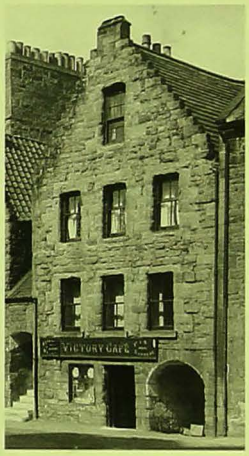
The burgh remained at the hub of events until the Union of the Crowns in 1603, when the royal court moved to London. Linlithgow's importance declined after this, but the town's fortunes improved again in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the establishment of a range of industries including tanning, shoe-making, linen and paper-making and dyeing.

Historic Linlithgow traces the fortunes of the town, describing its history and archaeology, its historic buildings, and the origins of its street names.

This book is part of the **Scottish burgh survey**—a series designed to identify which areas of Scotland's historic burghs are of archaeological interest.

ISBN 1 84017 013 1

ISSN 1358 0272



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TUCKWELL PRESS

CENTRE FOR SCOTTISH URBAN HISTORY
Department of Scottish History
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