as, in its uncultivated state, and exposed to the vigorous attacks of the Caledonians, then crowded among their hills, it was formidable, and not worth the retaining. This accounts for the only remains they left in it being of the military kind. Inscriptions, baths, and roads, are works of peaceable times, and permanent establishments.

I scarcely believe the Romans penetrated into every glen and forest in the Highlands of Caledonia. In that case, their route would have been marked by fortified camps, as in the country of the Silures and Ordovices. To the north of the Grampians these have, as yet, been only found along the sea coasts. Perhaps, when a more accurate search is made, others may be discovered, at some distance from the shores; but I am persuaded they will not be many, as the Romans principally occupied the Lowlands of the Provincia Vespasiana. This inquiry is an object that I hope will not be neglected.

This Memoir is respectfully submitted to the Society of Antiquaries. And though they should judge that the proof of the Roman progress into Caledonia is not complete, they will observe that there is a great degree of evidence in support of it,—greater than perhaps many Scotsmen will allow. But it may gratify national pride, that if Caledonia was conquered, it was by the conquerors of the world; and that even they quickly relinquished the possession, and yielded, to the valour of the inhabitants, the precarious rule of a wild and uncultivated country.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

PALACE AND CHURCH OF LINLITHGOW.

Communicated to the Society by Sir Alexander Seton of Preston.

In ancient times, beyond the reach of our history, tradition says, that the eminence on which the Palace and Church stand, was occupied as a military station by the Romans, commanded by Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, circa ann. 140–150; and the commanding situation, free prospect by means of the loch, its vicinity to the wall of Antoninus, built by the same Urbicus, with the Roman coins found in the near neighbourhood, some of which I have, add much probability to the tradition.

The Romans having finally abandoned Britain, anno 446, the Saxon invasion and conquest soon after followed; when the Saxon king of Northumberland seized on that part of Caledonia to the north of the Tweed, by which means he added to his dominions the eastern part of the Roman province of Valentia, comprehend-
west by the Avon. Considering the Forth as his frontier against
the Picts on the opposite coast, to prevent their depredations, he
seems to have erected a chain of strong castles along its banks,
viz. Berwick, Dunbar, Tantallon, Edinburgh, Abercorn, Black-
ness, and on our eminence or promontory the last strong castle,
one of the most defensible of them, before the discovery of gun-
powder.

In the ninth century, anno 843, King Kenneth M'Calpin, after
obtaining a decisive victory over the Picts, united them with his
Scottish subjects; and, in the following century, anno 945, the ter-
ritory of Cambria and Strathclyde was yielded to Malcom I.
It was then that the Saxons of Northumberland felt the Scots a
more formidable neighbour; for, after an unsuccessful war, their
prince Eadolph found it necessary, at the peace anno 1020, to
yield to Malcom II. M'Kenneth, Saxonia, or Laudonia, compre-
hending all his dominions north of the Tweed. Since this period,
the castle of Linlithgow became the occasional residence of the kings
of Scotland, who possessed in property a great estate in its neigh-
bourhood, with numerous herds of cattle, corn, farms, and adscrip-
titi glebe; bondsmen, under the direction of two bailies residing in
the town, which, with its mills, territory, and customs, was then
the royal demesne or crown estate. The kings of Scotland, and
their court, were then, as in the other feudal nations of Europe,
supported by their extensive landed property, without taxation, ex-
cept on very extraordinary emergencies. Of consequence, they were
ambulatory; they resided on one of their estates while the pro-
duce lasted; and, when this was consumed, removed to another.
This system particularly prevailed during the reign of David I.
the son of Malcolm Canmore and St Margaret, circa 1140. He
was the greatest agriculturist in his dominions; and encouraged
the population of his rising towns: but he hurt the revenues of the
crown by founding religious houses, and other profuse donations
to the clergy,—so that James VI. had reason to say, that he had
been a sair saint to the crown. His successor, Malcolm IV. followed
his example; and, among other foundations, erected and endowed
the Cistercian nunnery of Manuel, hard by the town, anno 1156;
and Malcolm's grandson, Alexander II. made these nuns a pre-
sent of his mills of Linlithgow. These were accounted the only
means, in those days, of merits the favour of heaven. From
the same principle, in a prior period, the church itself, at that time
the chapel of the castle, with its patronage and tithes, was conveyed
to the priory of St Andrews. The brethren of that foundation
enjoyed its revenues, and appointed a vicar, with a small salary, for
parochial duty. In after times, however, the vicar, as king's chaplain,
had a grant of L.10 sterling from the customs of the town.

The castle continued thus to be the temporary residence of the royal
family, till it was yielded to Edward I. on his unprincipled
and perfidious invasion of Scotland, 1296. He lodged in it that
winter; and received the oaths of fealty of the two bailies and in-
habitants, together with those of the neighbouring gentry. But
afterwards, when a long and bloody resistance to the English be-
came general, the piele or castle was taken by a well laid stratagem
of William Binnoch, a small tenant of the Knights of St John,
neat Torphichen, assisted by his six sons, and some other outlaws,
anno 1312; the governor, Peter Luband, a Gascoigne, and his
garrison, being all massacred. Soon after this, by order of King
Robert Bruce, it was dismantled.

David II. his son, feeling the want of such a station in his
progress through the kingdom, about 1350 agreed to give John
Cairns, an opulent inhabitant of the town, a liferent grant of the park around the old castle, containing 14 acres, on condition of his repairing again some rooms for his accommodation on his journeys. This was executed accordingly.

His successor, Robert II. and first of the Stuarts, anno 1387, emancipated his regality burgh of Linlithgow, by erecting it by charter into a burgh royal.

During the ungenerous and treacherous captivity of his grandson James I. in England, captured at sea during a peace, these rooms, together with the church of St Michael, were accidentally burnt, about 1420. But we have great reason to believe that they were again repaired: for, on the death of James II. his Queen Dowager, Mary of Gueldre, who had the estate of Linlithgow as her dowry, by a privy seal warrant, 1460, ordered them to be repaired for the reception of the fugitive King of England, Henry VI. of the Lancaster family, expelled by Edward IV. of the family of York. The castle is there called the palace; but so is every place, however built, where a king resides. In the Rotula Balivorum for the same year, of which, per favour of Mr Thomson, deputy-register, I have a copy, the bailie takes credit for L.1 6s. 8d. Scots, as the total amount of that repair. From the smallness of the sum, we may safely conclude that this could only be a repair of doors and windows of these royal rooms; and, in like manner, that the present palace did not then exist. Whether the old church had been repaired for the accommodation of the royal family and town, is now unknown. The probability however is, that it had. That the present palace and church are coeval, will hardly admit of a doubt. This may be concluded from the style of building, and from the stone itself; and, from the above statement, I think it next to certain that they both rose in the reign of James III. about 1476.
ACCOUNT OF THE PALACE

church. We find accordingly King James IV. there at evening service in St Catherine's aisle, 1513, where the supposed ghostly visitor appeared to him before his invasion of England, from which, as then predicted, he never returned.

James V. was equally fond of show and magnificence with his father. From reported conversations with the ambassadors of his uncle, Henry VIII. of England, he also appears to have been an accomplished prince, of very considerable ability and acuteness. He was, of consequence, much courted by contemporaneous princes. He added many ornamental improvements to the palace and church. It is thought to have been he who changed the entry of the palace from the east, where it was originally, by a draw-bridge to the south, and who built those two magnificent porches of approach, on the outer of which the badges of the orders of St Michael, the golden fleece, and garter, conferred on him by France, Spain, and England, together with his own order of the thistle, are cut in large medallions over the gate. He, too, revived the order of the thistle; and in the choir of the church, erected marble stalls for the knights, and a throne for himself, as sovereign of the order, under a panelled oak ceiling, ornamented and tastefully painted. In the palace he fitted up that elegant chapel-royal, even now magnificent in its ruins. The superb fountain in the middle of the court, of very superior workmanship, whose water came in pipes from Preston, a mile distant, was likewise his work. Of this the fountain at the cross is meant to be a copy; but it is much inferior in execution. We may judge of the appearance of the palace, and of the splendour of the court of Scotland, from its being said by Mary of Lorraine, James II.'s queen, when she first saw it, That she had never seen a more princely palace.

In those days, in all the courts of Europe, a fool was a necessary appendage of royalty; and James had an excellent one in Rob Gibb, who was a fellow of much humour and drollery, and, by all accounts, a wise fool. The king, in his better days, was lively, and liked diversion. Of such a master, and such a servant, many a humorous anecdote, now lost, must once have been told. The following is the only one which has reached us. James, before his death, turned sullen, melancholy, and discontented with the world.

He then addressed them in a very grave and sensible speech, more like a judge than a fool; expatiated on the virtue of patriotism, and declared how much his Majesty was gratified by their services; particularized them all, and their several merits, with many compliments for their loyalty; but, in place of that remuneration which they expected, he offered himself as an example for their imitation. "I have served," says he, "the king the best part of my life without fee or reward, out of stark lust and kindness, a principle I seriously recommend to you all to carry home with you and adopt." This conclusion, so uncommon and unexpected, uttered with the gravity of a bishop by one in a fool's coat, put them all in good humour; and Rob gained his end. From this proceeds the toast of Rob Gibb, and stark lust and kindness. The king, who was much pleased and amused with the adventure, soon
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after made Rob a present of the lands of Easter Carribber, now the property of the late President Blair's family, in whose possession is Rob's original charter.

In this palace was born the unfortunate Queen Mary, five days before the death of her father at Falkland. During her turbulent reign, the burgh of Linlithgow was seldom honoured with the presence of their sovereign, as the sound of a heretical presbyterian congregation, so near her residence, would have been by no means pleasant.

Her son James VI. resided often here, particularly in the hunting season: for the crown had then the extensive hunting field of Drumshorlin Muir, now entirely swallowed up by the surrounding proprietors. He so much approved of the beautiful situation of the palace, that, some years after his accession to the crown of England, 1619, he ordered the north side of the square to be pulled down, and rebuilt after his taste, i.e. more like a burgher than a king. For, by lowering the ceilings, and lessening the dimensions of the rooms, he obtained a greater number of them, and an additional storey to the building. It was this part of the palace which was burnt through the carelessness of the soldiers quartered in it during the rebellion 1745. The rest of this once magnificent edifice had before fallen a prey to time and neglect.

Charles I. was never at Linlithgow, except as a child. Great preparations, indeed, were made by the magistrates, when, at the commencement of the civil wars, he held a parliament in Edinburgh; at which time he notified his intention of coming. But the unpromising appearance of the times prevented him, and hastened his return to England.

Cromwell, after the battle of Dunbar, took possession of Linlithgow, made it a place of arms, and of considerable strength, by surrounding the church and palace with a deep fosse and rampart, planted with cannon. He made no use of the church but as a stable for some troops of horse. He himself, during winter 1650-1651, had his residence in the new work, or new part of the palace; and his garrison quartered in the old work, which was then habitable. After his departure, and in consequence of much solicitation, the magistrates and council were allowed the use of one half of the church for divine service by General Monk, on their granting bond for L.5000 sterling, for their peaceable deportment, and that they should not disturb the garrison.

It appears, then, that the church of St Michael of Linlithgow was considered by the royal family, first as the chapel of the castle, and latterly of the palace. Before the reformation, there were neither galleries nor seats in it; nor indeed were they customary in such cathedral-built churches as this. There was only a stone pulpit, on a north pillar in the body of the church, occasionally used; some of the sculptured pannels of which are still to be seen, built into the northwest window. The people were then in use to carry portable stools with them; and there were stone benches around the walls. Preaching was no part of public worship, except when some strolling friar happened to come round. The whole service consisted of Latin prayers, anthems, and masses, in the choir, and at the different altars around the church. Of these there were fourteen, well endowed, dedicated to different saints, and served by as many chaplains: who, by order of the magistrates and council, their patrons, were bound, under pain of deprivation, daily to say masses every half hour, from five in the morning in summer, and six in winter, till noon. Sometime after the reformation, when galleries and seats were erected, his Majesty had a projecting semicircular seat, opposite to the pulpit, to which, not only as sovereign, but as pa-
tron of the parish, and a considerable heritor (though paying no stipend) he is well entitled.

Before the alienation and infeudation of the royal estate in this parish, it and the crown lands in the neighbourhood, as we may conclude from the *Rotuli Balivorum* of Queen Mary of Gueldre, would have exceeded, according to the value of money in our times, L.10,000 sterling *per annum*.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

SOME SUBTERRANEOUS HABITATIONS IN

ABERDEENSHIRE.

Communicated to the Society by John Stuart, Esquire, Professor of Greek in the Marischal College, Aberdeen.

Among the most useful labours of the antiquary are certainly those which are directed to the illustration of the history and manners of our ancestors. In most countries of Europe, these researches have been conducted with eminent success by persons in general very well qualified for such investigations. Nor have such studies been neglected, either in the southern or northern parts of our island, as might be shewn from the very numerous list of English and Scottish writers on these subjects. From their successive inquiries, a great deal of new and curious information has accordingly been obtained. But the subject is as yet far from being exhausted, although a late author boasts, that he has not left any difficulty unexplained, nor any doubt unresolved, in the ancient history of Scotland. He has not, however, in several respects, been more successful than many others who have preceded him.