Historic Hamilton

E P Dennison **Torrie**

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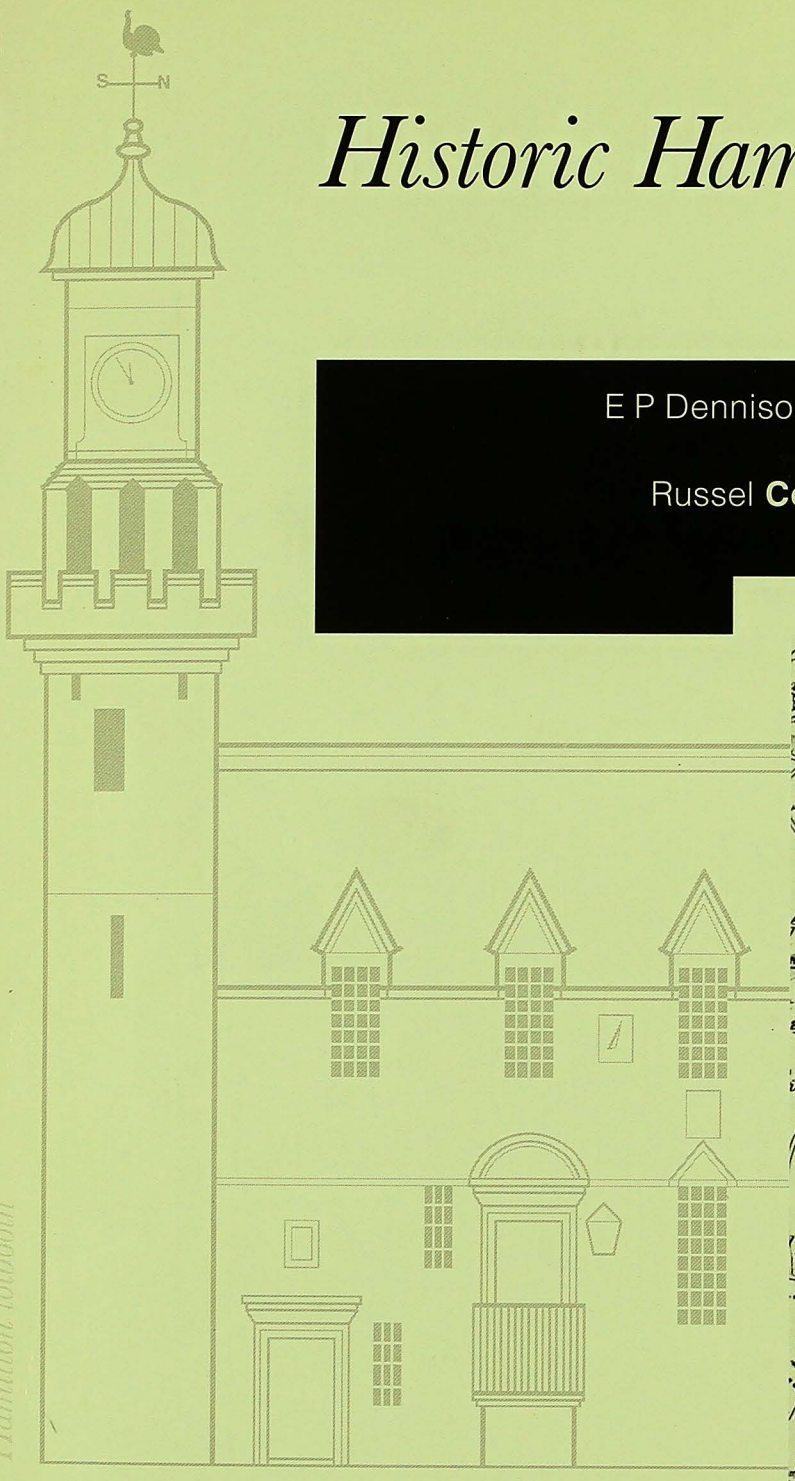

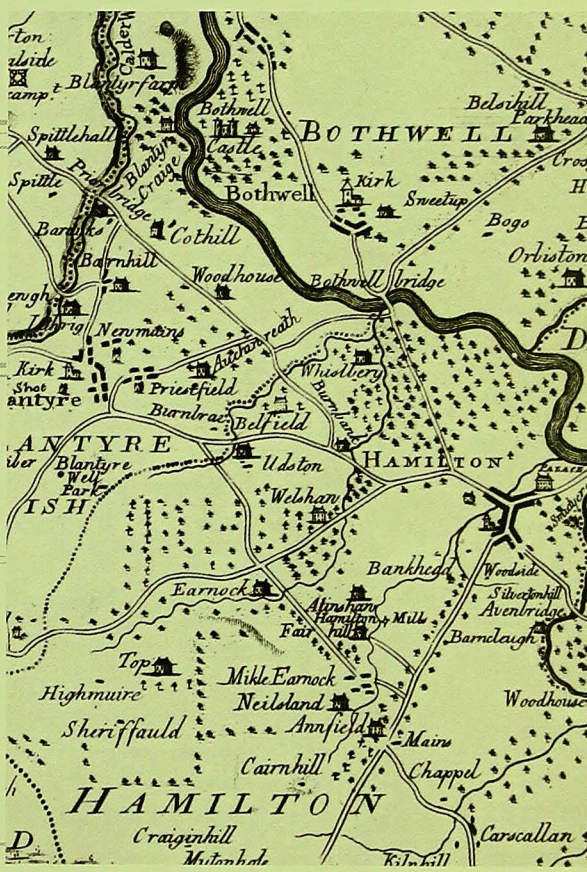

AN extract from Charles Ross's
Map of the Shire of Lanark,
showing late eighteenth-century
Hamilton and its environs

the Scottish burgh survey

the Scottish burgh survey

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Historic Hamilton

the archaeological implications of development

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the Scottish burgh survey

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contents

A settlement existed at Cadzow (or Hamilton as it later came to be called) from at least the twelfth century, when the small 'toun' housed a royal residence where King David I (1124–1153) held court. The barony of Cadzow was acquired by the Hamilton family sometime between 1315 and 1329 and, by the early fifteenth century, the name of the burgh had been changed to Hamilton, after Lord James Hamilton, whose manor-house *The Orchard* was the precursor of Hamilton Palace. *Historic Hamilton* is an engrossing account of the origins of the town and the relationship between the illustrious occupants of Hamilton Palace and ordinary townsfolk—which reached its zenith with the great design of Duchess Anne in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. It provides a fascinating insight into the profound effects this relationship had on the growth and changing fortunes of the town, and even on its very location and survival. Building on this evidence, *Historic Hamilton* explores what archaeological evidence of the town's historic past might survive beneath the present day streets, buildings and open spaces of present-day Hamilton and its immediate environs.

This 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 history and archaeology, its historic standing buildings and the origins of its street names—all of which will be of interest to the wider public, be they inhabitant, visitor or student.

Historic Hamilton was prepared for Historic Scotland within the **Centre for Scottish Urban History**, which is part of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh. Dr E P Dennison Torrie, Director of the Centre for Scottish Urban History, and Russel Coleman, of the **Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust**, are co-authors of the report, while Kevin Hicks, of the **Centre for Field Archaeology**, University of Edinburgh, is cartographer and illustrator. Alan MacDonald of the Department of Scottish History acted as research assistant, with help from Sharon Adams, Ruth Grant and Jim MacCormack on the Hamilton archives. The project is supervised by the Head of the Department, Professor Michael Lynch, and managed for Historic Scotland by Olwyn Owen, Inspector of Ancient Monuments.

This survey of historic Hamilton was entirely funded by Historic Scotland with help from the Centre for Scottish Urban History. The report has been published with financial assistance from **Hamilton District Council**, **Strathclyde Regional Council** and Historic Scotland. Further copies may be obtained from **Scottish Cultural Press**, PO Box 106, Aberdeen AB9 8ZE.

cover notes

Historic maps are an invaluable resource for the Scottish Burgh Survey. The cover shows late eighteenth-century Hamilton and its environs in an extract from Charles Ross's 'Map of the Shire of Lanark', 1773, by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

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

In particular we would like to thank representatives from **Hamilton District Council:** Mr Bob Clark, Head of Cultural Services, has given us his support and Mr Richard Morris of Hamilton District Planning Department has also been helpful. The staff of **Hamilton District Library** have been especially helpful and, in particular, we would like to thank Ms Isobel Walker, Principal Librarian (information and supply), Ms Jay Gladsby, Senior Librarian (information and local studies), and Ms Pearl Murphy, Senior Assistant. Ms Alison Reid, **Heritage and Countryside** Manager, Ms Sharon Paton, Interpretative Research Officer, Ms Elizabeth Hancock, Keeper of Collections, Mr Terry McKenzie, Documentation Officer, and Mr David Rams, all of Heritage and Countryside, have also been very supportive.

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Mr William Wallace and Mrs Audrey Wallace, of Hamilton, generously gave of their time and knowledge, offering us insights into historic Hamilton that might have eluded us in our, necessarily all too brief, visits to the town.

We have benefited also from discussions with Professor Charles McKean, School of Architecture, **Duncan of Jordanstone College**, Dundee; and with Dr Marcus Merriman, **Department of History, University of Lancaster.**

The **Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust** has been supportive, as ever, and colleagues at the **University of Edinburgh** have given invaluable support and advice. In particular we would like to mention the **Centre for Field Archaeology**, and Professor Charles Withers of the **Department of Geography.**

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APS	*The Acts of The Parliaments of Scotland*, 11 vols, edd T Thomson & C Innes (Edinburgh, 1814–1875).
CSP Scot	*Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*, 13 vols, edd J Bain *et al* (Edinburgh, 1898–1969).
DES	*Discovery and Excavation in Scotland.*
ER	*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols, edd J Stuart *et al* (Edinburgh, 1878–1908).
Glas Reg	*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, 2 vols., ed C Innes (Bannatyne & Maitland Clubs, 1843).
NSA	*The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1845).
OSA	*The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799*, ed Sir John Sinclair. New edition, edd D J Withrington & I R Grant (Wakefield, 1973).
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
RCAHMS	The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
RCRB	*Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland*, 7 vols, ed J D Marwick (Edinburgh, 1866–1918).
RMS	*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum)*, 11 vols, 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–).
RSS	*Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, 8 vols, edd M Livingstone *et al* (Edinburgh, 1908–).
SBRS	Scottish Burgh Records Society.
SHS	Scottish History Society.
SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
SRS	Scottish Record Society.
TA	*Accounts of the (Lord High) Treasurer of Scotland*, 13 vols, edd T Dickson *et al* (Edinburgh, 1877–).

primary sources in the keeping of Hamilton District Library

Burrell, Journal	MS Journals of John Burrell, 1787–1790; 1793–1796; 1796–1797; 1799–1800; 1801–1803; 1807–1808; and 1810–1811 (Duchy of Hamilton Estate Papers in temporary keeping of Hamilton District Library, 631.1).
MS.HBR i	'Hamilton Burgh Records, 1642–1699' (L.352.041.R783).
MS.HBR ii	'Hamilton Burgh Records, 1700–1707' (L.352.041.R784).
MS.HBR iii	'Hamilton Burgh Records, 1707–1717' (L.352.041.R785).
MS.HTC	'Hamilton Town Council Minute Book, 1701–1735' (L.352{4143.HAM}).
TS.HBR i	'Typescript. Extracts from Hamilton Burgh Records' by A G Miller (R105.L352).
TS.HBR ii	'Typescript. Burgh of Hamilton. Copies of the Old Burgh Records of the Seventeenth Century' by A G Miller (R107.L352).
TS.HBR iii	'Typescript. Hamilton Burgh Records' by A G Miller (R108.L352).
TS.HBR iv	'Typescript. Hamilton Burgh Records' by A G Miller (R109.L352).
TS.HBR v	'Typescript. Hamilton Burgh Records' by A G Miller (R110.L352).

figures

the Scottish burgh survey

summary

1 Use the colour-coded map **figure 25** (foldout at the back of the book) and/or the **general index** to locate a particular site (normally the site of a development proposal).

2 **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.

3 **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.

4 Use the map on p 40 **figure 21** to determine into which area of the burgh the site falls (one of Areas 1–3), and turn to the relevant area in the **area by area assessment** for a fuller account (pp 41–61).

5 Use the **general index** and, if appropriate, the listing of **street names** (p 77–9) 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 25**.

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 Secretary of State (Scheduled Monument Consent) in addition to any planning permission required. These provisions are administered on behalf of the Secretary of State 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 Secretary of State 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 as early 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 archaeologist, 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 a 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.

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 Hamilton, the historic core of the town has been divided into three arbitrary areas, Areas 1–3, which are shown on the plan on p 40 **figure 21**. 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 41–61). 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 have been identified; these are listed at pp 67–9. They will be of particular interest to urban historians and archaeologists, and to those responsible for management of the archaeological resource in historic Hamilton.

referencing

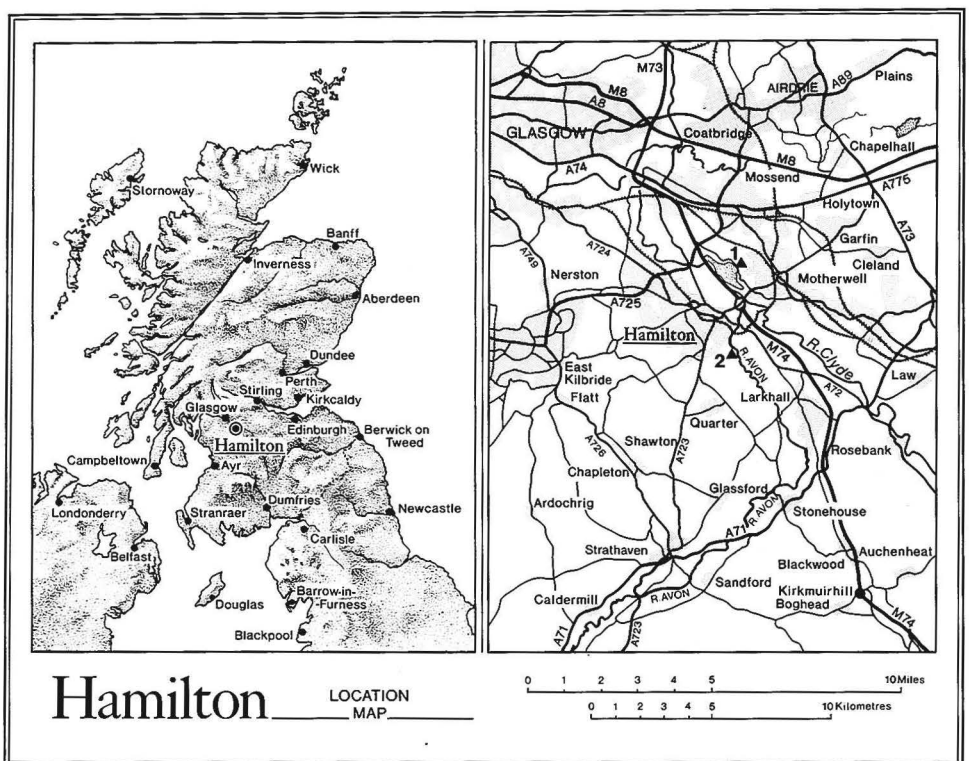
The report contains a comprehensive **general index** as well as a listing of **street names** giving basic historical information and, where relevant, area location. A **bibliography** and a **glossary** of technical terms have also been included, as well as a **gazetteer** of archaeological sites and chance finds from in and around the burgh.

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

Torrie, E P Dennison and Coleman, R 1996 *Historic Hamilton: the archaeological implications of development*, published by Historic Scotland in association with Scottish Cultural Press, Aberdeen. (Scottish Burgh Survey 1996).



Key

1. Bothwellhaugh Roman Fort & Bath-house
2. Cadzow Castle & Deer Park

figure 1
Location of Hamilton

Hamilton: its site and setting

geography

The burgh of Hamilton, situated 18 km from Glasgow and 58 km from Edinburgh, has developed around the intersection of two main routeways, running south-east from Glasgow to Carlisle and London, and south-west from Edinburgh, through Strathaven, to Ayr and Stranraer **figure 1**. Surrounded by undulating countryside, Hamilton is bordered on its eastern side by the River Clyde; between the river and the town lie extensive parklands and playing fields. The modern town has gradually spread southwards and westwards onto higher ground. As a result, the focus of the town has shifted away from the original nucleus of settlement which straddled the eastern end of the Cadzow Burn and now lies within Hamilton Low Parks.

The town, standing at the confluence of the Clyde and the Avon, was very much affected in its medieval growth and development by the resources which these rivers provided and by their agricultural, transport and military importance for several miles in each direction, upstream on the Clyde to Craignethan and on the Avon to Strathaven, and downstream to Bothwell.[1] On Pont's late sixteenth-century map **figure 2**, Hamilton's neighbours then included Glasgow (18 km), Lanark (20 km) and Strathaven (12 km).

The extensive development of the Lanarkshire coalfields began around the 1850s. Hamilton found itself at the centre of the coalmining industry and many fortunes were made from its mines. The town's common lands, known as the Muir, offered coal in abundance but, by the 1930s, all mines had been abandoned. Post-war Hamilton developed as the administrative centre of Lanarkshire and its unofficial county town[2], though the legislative changes of 1975 incorporated the area into the massive Strathclyde Region. From April 1996, Hamilton will come within the area of the new South Lanarkshire Council.

geology

A long and complex geological history has endowed northern Britain with a wide variety of rocks and physical features. In Scotland, tectonic movements along two major dislocations of the earth's crust, the Southern Uplands Fault and the Highland Boundary Fault, have created three principal structural and physiographic divisions—the Highlands, the Midland Valley and the Southern Uplands.[3]

The Midland Valley has 'dropped down' between two great faults—the Highland Boundary Fault to the north (running from Stonehaven to the Firth of Clyde at Helensburgh), and the Southern Upland Fault to the south (running from Dunbar through New Cumnock to Glen App), preserving Old Red Sandstone and Carboniferous rocks within a trough some 80 km wide. The resulting broad tract of lowland has attracted farming over many centuries and industrial development more recently. Old Red Sandstone in the north passes eastwards beneath the rich soils of Strathmore, and is separated by the hard igneous and volcanic rocks of the Sidlaw and Ochil Hills and Campsie Fells from the industrial southern heartlands. Here, fairly intensive farming surrounds and serves the four-fifths of the population of Scotland which has concentrated around these coal-bearing rocks and oil-shales and their attendant heavy industry. Within this central Scottish, undulating plain, formed mainly of Carboniferous strata (limestones, sandstones, shales and coal seams), the presence of igneous rocks has caused many sharp irregularities, such as the dolerite hills of Fife, the Castle Rock of Stirling and volcanics of the Bathgate Hills, and Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh. The main coals occur in the middle beds of the Carboniferous Limestone succession and in the lower part of the Coal Measures.[4]

Much of the Midland Valley consists of farmland lying below 180 m, but the region is more diverse than the name suggests and there are also many upland areas of rough pasture and moorland.[5] In south Lanarkshire and eastern Ayrshire, an extensive area of dissected high ground extends from around the peak at Tinto (some 70 km from Hamilton), south-west as far as New Cumnock and northwards to Strathaven.[6] Much of the rest of the Midland Valley consists of areas of undulating lowland underlain by strata

figure 2
Timothy Pont's view of Hamilton and its neighbours in the late sixteenth century

of Devonian and Carboniferous age (300–400 million years ago). The two largest lowland areas are central Ayrshire, extending from Ardrossan to Ayr and inland to Kilmarnock and Cumnock, and the central belt, stretching from the Glasgow area to the Firth of Forth and into Fife and East Lothian.[7]

The drainage of the Midland Valley west of a line from Ben Lomond to a point near West Linton (in the Borders) flows into the Firth of Clyde. East of that line, the rivers run into the Firth of Forth and the North Sea.[8] The River Clyde rises in the central part of the Southern Uplands in the Lowther Hills and crosses into the Midland Valley near Lamington. From Lanark to the estuary, the Clyde follows a north-westerly course across the south-west part of the Central Coalfield. There is a notable contrast in the geomorphological maturity of the Clyde valley above and below the confluence with the Douglas Water, near Lanark. Upstream, the valley is mature, the river meanders and has a rate of fall of about 0.8 m per kilometre; but downstream, it falls into a gorge at Bonnington Linn, has a rate of fall of about 15 m per kilometre and occupies a deeply incised, geomorphologically immature valley.[9]

The general form of the topography of the Midland Valley was established in Tertiary times (200–100 million years ago), but it underwent modification during the Quaternary glaciation (from 2 million years ago to the present day). Glacial erosion moulded the landscape and altered the profiles of the valleys. Glacially eroded material was deposited mainly on the lower ground, obscuring the form of the solid rock surface.[10]

During the Carboniferous Period (370–300 million years ago), when the climate changed to wet and warm or tropical conditions, large quantities of sand and mud were deposited at or near sea-level. Occasional flooding by the sea caused deposition of thin limestones and calcerous mudstones, while the luxuriant forest growth that followed eventually formed numerous coal seams.[11] The existence of seams of coal, ironstones, limestones and oil-shales in the Carboniferous rocks, all of which have been extensively worked, formed the basis of the industrialisation of the Midland Valley during the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries.[12]

soils and land use

The burgh of Hamilton overlies a range of soil types because it straddles both the flood plain of the River Clyde and an area of higher ground to the south and west. The soils of the flood plain (known locally as the North and South Haughs, which now lie within Hamilton Low Parks) comprise alluvial deposits of riverine origin. This was the area of the earliest settlement. These soils, which are predominantly loams or sandy loams and usually overlie alternating bands of sands and gravels, are naturally fertile and generally sustain arable farming. There is a risk of flooding, however, and under-drainage is required for the efficient utilisation of what are naturally waterlogged soils.[13] The land here is suitable for enterprises based primarily on grassland with short arable breaks. Yields of arable crops can be variable, mainly due to soil wetness but also due to stoniness and lack of soil depth.

In the western and south-western part of the burgh, where settlement spread onto higher ground from the eighteenth century onwards, the natural subsoils are derived from Carboniferous sandstones, shales and limestones. These comprise clay loam tills and sandy clay loams, over which brown forest soils have developed. In periods of prolonged rainfall the ground can be slow to drain because moisture is retained by the clayey subsoils. In dry seasons, however, this benefits crop growth and yields can be high.[14] In general, the land produces good yields of a narrow range of crops, such as cereals and grass, and moderate yields of a wider range of crops, including potatoes and some vegetables.

physical setting and the topography of the burgh **figure 3**

There has been so much landscaping and development along the stretch of the River Clyde which flows past Hamilton that it is now difficult to visualise how this environment

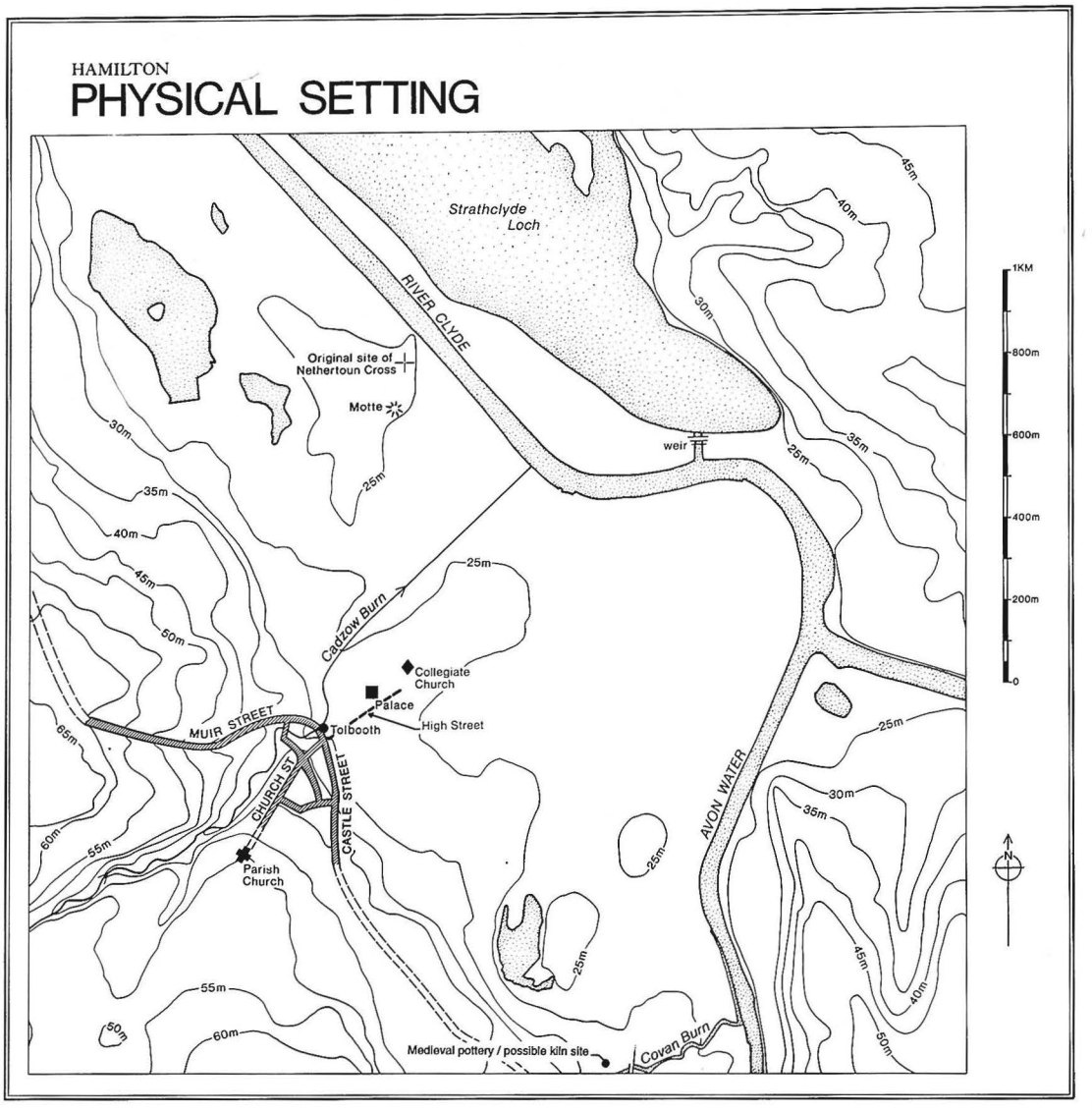


figure 3
The physical setting of Hamilton

might have looked when Hamilton became a burgh some five hundred years ago (*see* **figures 4 & 5**).[15] The Hietoun part of the burgh, much of it now under the playing fields of Hamilton Low Parks, spread along the banks of the Cadzow Burn on an east to west alignment and lay between 25 m and 30 m OD (at current Ordnance Datum ground levels). The settlement at Nethertoun, to the north-east of the Hietoun but also now within Hamilton Low Parks, stood on the north bank of the Cadzow Burn, only a short distance from the Clyde itself, and lay between 25 m and 20 m OD.

By the eighteenth century, settlement had gradually spread to the lower slopes of the hill immediately to the west of the Hietoun. Much of this newly settled area is between 30 m and 40 m OD. The erection of a new grammar school and parish church (*see* **figures 14 & 15**), in 1714 and 1732 respectively, and the wishes of the Dukes of Hamilton (pp 25–6), accelerated this gradual shift up the hill. This move reduced the risk of flooding that must have been prevalent in the flood plain. A reminder of the susceptibility of early Hamilton to flooding occurred as recently as December 1994 when, after prolonged rainfall, the playing fields of Hamilton Low Parks were extensively flooded—despite the fact that the modern ground level is significantly higher than it was in the medieval period.

The original street plan of the burgh no longer exists, and all that remains is the area of expansion belonging to the later seventeenth and eighteenth century. The layout of the streets on the hill bears no real relationship to the natural topography, and merely

figure 4
Hamilton from the air
1945

figure 5
Hamilton from the air
1967

indicates a gradual shift westwards onto higher ground. The Hietoun comprised one main street, the High Street, which ran eastwards from the tolbooth on the south side of Hamilton Palace. The tolbooth (*see* **figure 9**) was demolished in the 1950s but originally stood at the east side of the junction of Castle Wynd, Muir Wynd, High Street and New Wynd. The Palace (*see* **figure 12**) had already been demolished in the 1920s, because of subsidence caused by mining works.

Church Street forms the spine of the later eighteenth-century development and runs in a straight line up the hill towards (but not right up to) the new parish church. Muir Street/ Muir Wynd formed an arc around the northern edge of the burgh, and continued around the base of the hill as Castle Wynd, and then further southwards as Townhead Street. The Cadzow Burn flows through the centre of this area of settlement (*see* **figure 13**). A number

of small wynds, such as Back Barns and Post Gate, connected Church Street with Muir Street and Castle Street.

notes

1 W Wallace, *Hamilton, 1475–1975* (Hamilton, 1975), 9, 13.
2 *Ibid*, 11–12.
3 C J Brown & B M Shipley, *Soil Survey of Scotland: South East Scotland: Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture.* (The Macaulay Institute for Soil Research, Aberdeen, 1982), 2. The three major land divisions (Highlands, Midland Valley and Southern Uplands) follow J B Sissons, *The Geomorphology of the British Isles: Scotland* (London, 1976).
4 E Edmonds, *The Geological Map: an Anatomy of the Landscape* (London, 1983), 18.
5 I B Cameron & D Stephenson, *The Midland Valley of Scotland*, 3rd edn (British Regional Geology, Natural Environment Research Council, London, 1985), 1.
6 *Ibid*, 2.
7 *Ibid*, 3.
8 *Ibid*, 3.
9 *Ibid*, 3.
10 *Ibid*, 4.
11 *Ibid*, 6.
12 *Ibid*, 6.
13 Brown & Shipley, *Soil Survey of Scotland: South East Scotland*, 30–1.
14 *Ibid*, 112–13.
15 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 13–14.

archaeological and historical background

Relatively little archaeological work has previously been undertaken within the historic core of Hamilton and few stray finds have been reported. A number of prehistoric, medieval and post-medieval finds, however, have been recorded from a small area around the burgh (these are listed in the **gazetteer** at pp 71–6). An introduction to the prehistoric, Roman and early medieval history of the area has been included here to place these finds in context and to provide a broader framework within which to study the origins of the medieval burgh.

the prehistoric period

The first settlement of Scotland took place around 7,000 BC against a background of complex climatic fluctuations, causing rising and falling sea levels. At this time, during the Mesolithic period (about 6,500 to 4,000 BC; literally, the Middle Stone Age), much of Scotland was covered in dense woodland which supported a rich variety of game, particularly red deer. Few settlements are known in Scotland from this period, but those that have been identified cluster along the coastline and river banks. These communities exploited marine resources, such as fish and shellfish, and followed the herds of woodland game through the seasons, while supplementing their diet with wild plants and berries. This semi-nomadic existence has left little trace in the archaeological landscape in the form of structures or settlements, but shell middens and flint tools are common Mesolithic finds, though none have been found in the vicinity of Hamilton.

Changes in the environment, including an improvement in soil conditions, together with ideas introduced from continental Europe around 3,500 BC, allowed the transition from a hunter-gatherer society to a more settled existence based on farming. Large areas of woodland were cleared, partly by burning but also by cutting down trees with stone axes; livestock was kept and the land was farmed for crops. A stone axe and adze found in the Hamilton area (*see* **gazetteer**) are examples of the sort of early prehistoric tools used to clear the land. Again, relatively few traces of these Neolithic (the New Stone Age) settlements survive, but the landscape still bears testament to their presence, in the form of ritual enclosures or henges, and burial mounds.

Nowhere is ritual more strongly evident in the lives of these early farming groups than in their treatment of the dead and the arrangements made for burial. Amongst the earliest evidence for burial rites are small monumental tombs, or chambered cairns, often stone-built in western parts of Britain, but elsewhere constructed of wood and turf. There is considerable regional variation in the types and styles of these monuments, no doubt reflecting regional traditions and, perhaps, the origins of the peoples who built and used them.[1] These tombs may also have become a focus for ritual, perhaps with elaborate ceremonies being performed there to commemorate the ancestors.

By about 2,500 BC, changes in society were gradually taking place. The tradition of monumental tombs and the cult of the ancestors declined and, in its stead, came more community-oriented monuments, most of them no less enigmatic, such as the stone circles and standing stones of the late Neolithic and Bronze Age periods. These have excited a range of mathematical and astronomical interpretations and clearly incorporated in their design an awareness of the rising and setting of the sun and moon.[2] The standing stone closest to Hamilton is at Crookedstone (NS 723 500), some 5 km to the south.

In the Bronze Age, a new trend of single grave burials emerged—in marked contrast to the earlier monumental tombs which could contain large numbers of burials. Personal possessions were often placed in the grave, perhaps for use by the deceased in the afterlife, by relatives or those taking part in the funeral ceremony. They have also been interpreted as reflecting the position of the individual within the overall social hierarchy. A number of Bronze Age burials, both inhumations and cremations contained within urns, have been found in and around Hamilton (*see* **gazetteer**). In both traditions, the body or urn was often placed within a small stone-lined cist set beneath a stone cairn, though sometimes cremation urns were placed in a pit. Very often the cairn has been robbed or eroded away, leaving only the cist. Some of these were single, isolated burials, but others were part of a

larger cemetery, such as that at Ferniegair (NS 739 540) about 2 km south-east of Hamilton. Here, the incidence of inhumation burials occurring alongside the later tradition of cremation burials suggests that this was a long-established cemetery.

The end of the Bronze Age, around 600 BC, marks a period of considerable change, not only in the technological advances made, but also in the nature of society itself. Iron tools and, increasingly, weapons begin to appear in the archaeological record. Despite the abundance of evidence for monuments and rich burials in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, knowledge of the subsistence base which supported these societies, and the settlements in which they lived, is rather poor.[3] By the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, however, the position is reversed and domestic settlements begin to dominate the archaeological landscape. Numerous fortified settlements appear, ranging from large hillforts to enclosed villages and isolated single family dwellings (though none are known within a *c* 5 km radius of Hamilton). Although other, less defensive types of settlements also existed, the apparent preference for fortified settlements seems generally to reflect the emergence of a more competitive society—one which perhaps competed for natural resources as well as territory—and a movement away from the large monuments of the second and third millennia BC which served the community, to settlement types indicative of more tribal divisions.[4]

the Roman period

It was this fragmented society which the Romans encountered in the first century AD. According to Ptolemy, the classical geographer writing in the second century AD, Hamilton and Lanarkshire were within the tribal domain of the Dumnonii.

Scotland was first invaded and occupied by the Romans during the late first century AD (the Flavian period). They promptly established a network of fortifications and communications throughout southern Scotland which ensured their effective control of the native tribes. By AD 110, however, all Roman troops had withdrawn to the Stanegate frontier (approximately the line of the later Hadrian's Wall, established between AD 122–38). A second invasion followed on the orders of Emperor Antoninus Pius in AD 138, and many earlier forts were reoccupied. As a showpiece, the Antonine Wall, some 60 km in length, was constructed along the Forth–Clyde isthmus (approximately 20 km north of Hamilton).

Interesting features of the Antonine Wall were the rearward 'expansions' of the rampart. Excavation has shown that these comprised turf-built platforms placed on a stone base about 5 m square, erected against the rear of the rampart. They always occur in pairs; two pairs are known on either side of the fort at Rough Castle (NS 843 798) and a third pair at the fort at Croy Hill (NS 725 762—743 770). It is possible that these were signal platforms—the four at Rough Castle signalling to the outpost forts to the north, and those at Croy Hill signalling to the garrison at Bothwellhaugh in the Clyde Valley, only 4 km north of Hamilton (*see below*). An element of doubt, however, still surrounds the interpretation of these structures.[5] The fort at Croy Hill is probably the site closest to Hamilton on the Antonine Wall suitable for visitors.

Concern for the security of the hinterland of the Antonine Wall is shown by the weight and density of troop dispositions, both on the flanks and behind the Wall itself. The whole area was garrisoned in a comprehensive network of forts and smaller installations. Central to this system was the fort at Newstead which straddled Dere Street at the crossing of the River Tweed near Melrose. From this point roads radiated out westwards into Upper Tweeddale and, from there, into Clydesdale to the fort at Castledykes. Further west still, in Ayrshire, the fort at Loudon Hill guarded the road leading to the coast. To the north-west, a route, possibly now constructed for the first time, led to the western end of the Antonine Wall, and a new fort was built at Bothwellhaugh to guard its course through lower Clydesdale (*see* **gazetteer**).

Bothwellhaugh (NS 731 578) occupies a strong defensive position on the right bank of the River Clyde, only some 4 km north of Hamilton (*see* **figure 1**). Unfortunately the site

has been badly damaged by agriculture and afforestation but its defences were partly excavated in 1938–9 and an external bath-house was excavated in 1975. The fort was trapezoidal in plan and occupied an area of 1.65 ha. Although the identity of the garrison is unknown the size of the fort suggests it may have housed a *cohors quingenaria equitata* (a cohort of 500 men, mixed infantry and cavalry). The majority of these Antonine forts were built over, or adjacent to, Flavian installations, indicating that the methods of holding down the area and the general intentions of the two occupations were similar. The possibility that there may be an undiscovered Flavian site in the vicinity of Bothwellhaugh should not be discounted.[6]

Less than a quarter of a century after construction of the Antonine Wall began, and after periods of abandonment and reoccupation, the wall was finally abandoned in about AD 164, due to pressures elsewhere in the Roman empire. Hadrian's Wall was once more re-established as the northernmost frontier in the later second century AD, but contact with Scotland remained through a series of outpost forts in southern Scotland.

Each year, aerial photography and field surveys reveal new archaeological sites of all periods, and further research will lead to a better understanding of prehistoric and medieval Lanarkshire.

the early medieval period

Although west central Scotland contains a number of important settlement and ecclesiastical sites dating to the early historic period, the visible remains are largely limited to a range of carved stone monuments associated with the early church. Govan church, for instance, contains one of the finest but least known collections of early Christian stones in Scotland—some forty-one in all, dating from *c* AD 900–1200. The most important settlement site in this period was at Dumbarton Rock (NS 400 744), considerably to the north-west of Hamilton. This dramatic volcanic plug was the principal stronghold of the Strathclyde Britons from at least the fifth century AD. Little now survives of the early historic fortifications or of the *urbs* (town) mentioned by Bede, but excavations in the 1970s revealed the remains of a rampart on the east peak, and exotic finds such as imported Mediterranean pottery and Merovingian glass. Closer to Hamilton, there is little trace of the early historic period in the archaeological record.

The introduction of feudal systems of land tenure during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was accompanied by the construction of new types of military fortifications, the best known of which are the mottes, or earthwork castle mounds. These vary considerably in size and shape but are often circular 'pudding basin' types. In some case, natural mounds were scarped to form the motte, while in others material for the mound was quarried from a surrounding ditch, itself an integral part of the defences. The motte at Carnwath (NS 974 466), standing 9 m in height, is the most impressive Norman earthwork to survive in Lanarkshire; it may have been built about the middle of the twelfth century. Stone-built castles began to proliferate from the thirteenth century onwards. The castle at Bothwell (NS 688 593), only some 4 km north-west of Hamilton, dates from the thirteenth century and remains one of the most imposing of Scotland's earlier medieval castles. Conceived on a grand scale, it was to have a five-sided enceinte with circular angle-towers, a stoutly defended gatehouse and a massive round donjon.

medieval Hamilton

The first firm documentary reference to settlement at Cadzow, or Hamilton as it came to be called, is in the twelfth century, although local tradition favours a seventh-century origin. A church of Cadzow was in existence by 1150 when David I granted it to the cathedral of Glasgow.[7] It is known that the small 'toun' housed a royal residence, where both David I (1124–1153) and Alexander III (1249–1286) held court.[8] Precisely where this 'toun' stood is less certain. It might have been beside the present ruined 'Cadzow Castle', beside the River Avon (*see* **gazetteer**). An alternative possibility is that it was beside a

figure 6
The early medieval Netherton Cross

medieval motte at Mote Hill (NS 727 566), which stands to the north-east of twentieth-century Hamilton, near to the Clyde **figure 3**. This motte is all that remains of a probable early castle, though no defensive ditch is visible (*see* **gazetteer**).

It may safely be surmised that settlement would cluster around the castle, as a fortified site would offer a measure of protection and would also require supplies and services from the neighbouring population. Some 60 m north of the motte stood a sculptured cross, known locally as the Nethertoun Cross **figure 6** (and *see* **gazetteer**), which almost certainly stood close to the site of an early church. [9] The Nethertoun Cross was moved from its original location in 1926 and now stands in the graveyard of Hamilton parish church. Its style of decoration suggests that it dates from the tenth century at the earliest, and, more probably, the eleventh or twelfth. Although the Nethertoun Cross was clearly a religious monument, it has also been suggested that it was an early market cross.[10] Whatever its original function, it is at least indicative of some early settlement in the area. The settlement may have spread southwards to the north bank of the Cadzow Burn, where it would have had access to another necessity for early settlement—a ready supply of water. This area around the protective motte was, therefore, well endowed with the basic necessities; it may, in all probability, be the site of the early 'toun'.

The appellation 'Hamilton' comes from the family of that name. Some time between 1315 and 1329, Walter Fitz-Gilbert was granted the barony of Cadzow by Robert I.[11] As 'Walter fitz Gilbert de Hameldon'—the name 'Hameldon' being of Northumbrian origin—he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Edward I of England in 1296.[12] He had changed his allegiance during his governorship of Bothwell Castle, however, and the nearby hunting estate of the Scottish kings, Cadzow, was part of his reward.[13] When James Hamilton was created a Lord of Parliament, in 1445, the lands that he held were joined into the single lordship of Hamilton, and his manor-house, called *The Orchard*, was to become 'the principal and capital messuage of all the baronies'.[14] The town of Cadzow was, moreover, to be called Hamilton, though in fact this appellation may have been used since early in the century.

Precisely when *The Orchard* came into the possession of the Hamiltons is not known. It was the property of Hugh Seviland in 1368 when it had been described as situated 'at the east end of the town of Cadzow';[15] but a document of 1538 pinpoints *The Orchard* as being approximately on the site of the later Hamilton Palace.[16] At the demolition of Hamilton Palace in the twentieth century, walls nine feet thick in the north-west corner, as opposed to three feet thick elsewhere, were thought to be the remains of *The Orchard* incorporated into the palace.[17] Clearly, the nucleus of the settlement had moved some 900 m in a south-south-westerly direction to the banks of the Cadzow Burn by the mid fourteenth century. One possible reason for this topographical shift is that the earlier site, on the banks of the Clyde, may have been prone to flooding, in which case drier ground, further removed from the Clyde, would have been sought. This was the area subsequently referred to as the 'Hietoun', the older area of settlement being the 'Nethertoun' **figure 3**.

The first Lord Hamilton may have enhanced his home to reconcile its status with his elevation: by 1455 there is reference to the 'castle of Hamilton'.[18] If applied to the manor-house of *The Orchard*, this would suggest considerable upgrading. But probably the 'castle of Hamilton' is the Castle of Cadzow, further south by the Avon. It is clear that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both *The Orchard* and the Castle of Cadzow were dwellings for the Hamiltons.

In 1451, Lord Hamilton petitioned the pope, Nicholas V, for permission to construct, or elevate to collegiate status, a new parish church beside *The Orchard*. Whether this was aimed specifically at placing a parish church nearer his own residence is unclear, but, in the event, a collegiate church, dedicated to St Mary and served by six chaplains, and possibly a further two existing chaplainries which were converted into prebends, and a provost, was erected next to his manor-house.[19] There were reputedly three altars here, dedicated to Our Lady, the Holy Rood and St Stephen.[20] Attached to the collegiate church was the hospital of St Thomas Martyr, which functioned more as an almshouse than as a hospital for healing the sick **figure 7**.[21]

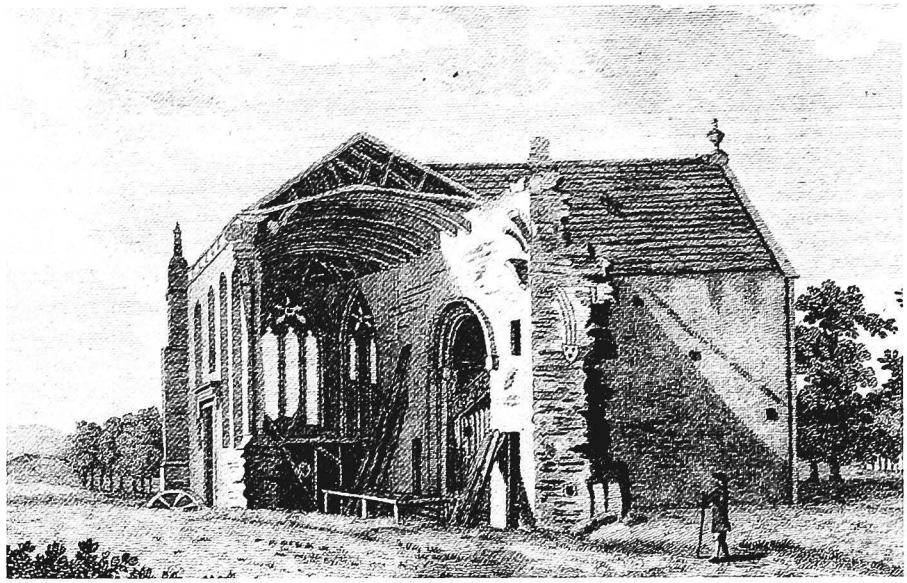


figure 7
Collegiate church

Little is known about the settlement at the Nethertoun and Hietoun in the fifteenth century, other than that a charter of 1475 refers to Hamilton as already being a burgh of barony.[22] This would imply that at some time previously, perhaps in 1456,[23] the town had been given basic rights, probably to hold markets and possibly fairs, subject to the burgh superior—no doubt Lord Hamilton. It was certainly James, Lord Hamilton, who was granting concessions to his burgh of Hamilton in 1475. In this charter, he granted to the burgh a muir, a common green and an oven or a bakehouse.[24] As a burgh of barony, Hamilton was wholly under the authority of its burgh superior.

During the next hundred years or so, the burgh's fate became enmeshed in the power politics of the Hamilton family. On the death of the first Lord Hamilton in 1479, James Hamilton succeeded. He was the first son of Lord Hamilton's second wife, Mary Stewart, daughter of James II, and in 1503 would become the first Earl of Arran. His role in the disagreements between the Regent Albany and the Earl of Angus, husband of the dowager Queen Margaret, in the years immediately after the death of James IV at Flodden in 1513 were to result in the besieging of the Hamilton residence. The residence had clearly been fortified as early as 1496 when it was classified as a 'castle and fortalice',[25] which suggestes that this is probably a reference to the castle beside the Avon.[26] In spite of this, the force of opposition was such that Arran was obliged to come to terms with Albany.

Clearly, however, the Hamiltons were soon extending their manor-house beside the town of Hamilton. There is reference in a precept of 1538 to a house, a yard and three roods of land adjoining, lying between the entrance to the cemetery and the town, being granted by Mr George Locart, professor of theology and dean of the metropolitan church at Glasgow, to the Earl of Arran.[27] This document was kept in the Hamilton archives, bearing the endorsement 'parte of the pallace of Hamyltoun to my lord governor 1538'.[28] This is a clear indication that settlement was hard up against not only the cemetery and collegiate church, but also the Hamilton residence.

Major building works were soon under way. A charter of James V in 1542 refers to 'the castle of Hamilton, now built, or to be built',[29] which implies upgrading of *The Orchard*. Yet it also leaves an element of confusion as, if this is the case, both *The Orchard* and the castle of Cadzow were now being called the 'castle of Hamilton'. After the death of the king in December of that year, the second Earl of Arran was appointed Governor for the young Queen Mary. In 1549 he received the French dukedom of Châtelherault, an honour bestowed after negotiating the betrothal of the young queen to the dauphin of France. The *Treasurer's Accounts* of this period, until 1553, make it clear that Arran, as Lord Governor,

considered that Treasury funds were available for his personal use. Hamilton Castle, beside the Avon, may have been a beneficiary; but luxuries such as window glass, decorated with the Governor's coat of arms, and interior decoration and furnishings suggest that it was the residence at the town of Hamilton that was being upgraded.[30] Two tilers were brought especially from France. Chandeliers with sixteen fathoms of rope, tapestries, chairs, stools, six ells of green cloth from Milan to cover the dining room table and feathers from the Bass Rock to fill the pillows and mattresses were merely a few of the luxuries transported to Hamilton.[31]

References to the castle's gunner,[32] and also to the housing of the royal artillery in Hamilton Castle in 1545, probably apply to the castle beside the Avon.[33] It was also, in all likelihood, to this stronghold that Arran brought his money and valuables from Edinburgh when the English landed near Leith in 1544.[34] Three years later, a planned English invasion of Scotland placed a priority on the taking of the castles of Hamilton and Craignethan—which was also owned by the Hamiltons—such was their significance.[35]

Precisely how the elevation of *The Orchard* into a castle/palace, in terms of both luxury and status, affected the town and townspeople is unclear, although it may be assumed that the demands for local services and supplies would increase dramatically whenever Arran was in residence. It is known that in 1549, while Arran was regent, the town of Hamilton was raised from a burgh of barony into a royal burgh in perpetuity.[36] This implied that the burgh was held directly from the crown, as burgh superior; that it would have the right to a market cross and weekly markets on Saturdays and Sundays, and the right to two fairs, one on St Lawrence's day, the other on St Martin's day. The burgesses were to divide the burgh into burgh roods and to be free to elect their own magistrates. As a royal burgh, Hamilton was liable for taxation; in the following year it appeared in the burgh stent roll. It was rated at 20 crowns, as were three other burghs. Eleven burghs paid less and twenty-eight more. Compared with Perth at 180 crowns, Glasgow at 64 crowns and Stirling at 60 crowns, this suggests that Hamilton was a modest town, in spite of its important connections.[37]

Hamilton was not stented again. There are several indications, however, that it continued to function as a royal burgh: in 1557, at the head court held at the tolbooth, the bailies were 'chosen for this present year by the haill communitie', as they were in 1560, 1561 and 1562;[38] there was also a declaration made by the bailies and burgesses that they had continued to function, as was the custom for a royal burgh, by keeping weekly markets, buying and selling wine, wax, flesh and other commodities, laying out the burgh in roods, and 'using all other privileges of the free burgh'.[39]

The townspeople and the townscape could not but have been affected by the events of 1565. On Queen Mary's marriage to Henry, Lord Darnley, in July 1565, the Hamiltons backed the Earl of Moray's opposition to the queen. By September, Queen Mary was preparing to muster her troops, which included a 'battrye for Hammyltoune'.[40] By December, she had taken Hamilton Castle, but which of the two castles is unclear. The records give no details of the damage to the town, but it was probably not negligible if it was the palace that was under attack.

Three years later, the Hamiltons were befriending the queen. After her escape from Loch Leven Castle in May 1568, she was given temporary refuge in Hamilton Castle.[41] Whether this was the castle by the Avon or the palace at Hamilton is not stated. It was not to be long, however, before her flight to England after the defeat of her supporters at the Battle of Langside. The Hamiltons were forced to hand over the keys to the castle (again, which one, or perhaps both, is unclear), and many of the costly furnishings were repossessed by the state in the latter part of May.[42] By August, however, Lord Claud Hamilton, one of the younger sons of Châtelherault, took the castle (which is not specified) by surprise.[43] From exile, Queen Mary once again appointed Châtelherault as Governor. In this capacity, he was besieging Glasgow, held by the young king's supporters, in May 1570, when Matthew, Earl of Lennox, with the governor of Berwick and a force of 1,000 infantry, 300 cavalry and four cannon, arrived and relieved the siege.[44] They then turned their attention to Hamilton.

The troops arrived on 20 May 1570, supported by two large cannon. Not only was the castle 'cast down', but the palace was attacked as well; it was stated that 'the castell of Hammyltoun was rendered unto them, they burnt the same with the pallace and the hail toune of Hammyltoun'.[45] It was enacted by parliament that none involved in the burning and casting down of the palace and town of Hamilton would be brought to book for it.[46] The damage to the palace could not have been total, however, as the Duke of Châtelherault was in residence there when he died in 1575.[47] Some of the castle must also have survived: in 1579, when his two younger sons were accused of the murders of the past regents, the Earls of Moray and Lennox, the castle of Hamilton was yet again under siege. Although the castle itself was reckoned to have a garrison of fifty men and the wherewithal to survive a year's siege, it could not withstand the artillery, gunmen and quarriers drafted in to mine under the castle and then effect its total demolition.[48] The castle was then swiftly and systematically destroyed. Anyone who had part in this demolition was considered to have done 'good service' to the king, since the castle had 'harboured murderers'.[49] The palace also suffered. The consequences for the town are not left wholly to conjecture—an official account reports laconically that the victors 'spoiled the town of Hamilton'.[50]

The records suggest, however, that the castle/palace and town were not crushed for too long. James VI spent two nights at the castle in 1589 while on a hunting trip.[51] In the 1590s the Hamilton family was repairing and further enlarging it. By 1599 the town itself must have been functioning efficiently. In that year, a register of sasines was established, and Hamilton was named as the place where the register for Lanarkshire should be held.[52] This recalls a 1455 decision that Hamilton was to function as the seat of the sheriff court, being 'more centricall for the nether waird [of Lanark] than the burgh of Rutherglen'.[53]

early modern Hamilton

Seventeenth-century records begin to give clues as to the townscape of Hamilton **figure 8**. The burgh accounts reveal that the council was investing heavily in maintaining and improving the fabric of the town in the middle decades of the century. Most of the major roads were 'causeyed' with stones and were repaired regularly, although probably the small vennels remained more like dirt tracks.[54] The town ports, or gates, which would be locked at night at curfew, were kept in good order. These existed by 1568, because in January of this year there was an instruction, now recorded in the *Treasurer's Accounts*, that the heads and limbs of certain offenders should be displayed at the ports of certain towns, including Hamilton.[55] Dues, in the form of tolls or small customs, to use the markets were collected at the ports: in 1651, £7 5s was taken at the St Lawrence fair and £36 13s 4d for small customs.[56] It would seem that the ports were also designed to offer security to the town, as in 1666–67 they were reinforced with barricading.[57] Precisely where the town ports were sited is unclear. There was certainly one on the Nethertoun Wynd.[58] Whether this is the same as the East Port, which also existed, is not clear from the records, but the latter was probably situated on the High Street.[59] There was also one called Milnport but its site is unknown.[60] This may have stood to the west of the mill on the Cadzow Burn, near to the market cross, but on the west side of Muir Wynd, thus indicating the western extremity of the town at this time. Other ports were sited on Barrie's Close, Castle Wynd and Muir Wynd.[61]

The market cross stood at the head of the 'Magnum Vicus', the High Street, which was the section of roadway located to the south of the palace/castle and the collegiate church, from at least the mid sixteenth century **figures 3 and 23**.[62] Running north from this point was Muir Wynd (now called Muir Street), which took its name from the common muir beside it. This was the main thoroughfare, past the gallows at Gallowhill to Bothwell and Glasgow. Dog-legging south-west was Castle Wynd (now Castle Street), which led on to Quarry Loan and Townhead. To the north of the intersection of High Street and Muir Wynd, running in a north-easterly direction, was Nethertoun Wynd—the street leading to the old Nethertoun settlement and the old green (*see* **figures 22 & 23**). Both Muir Wynd

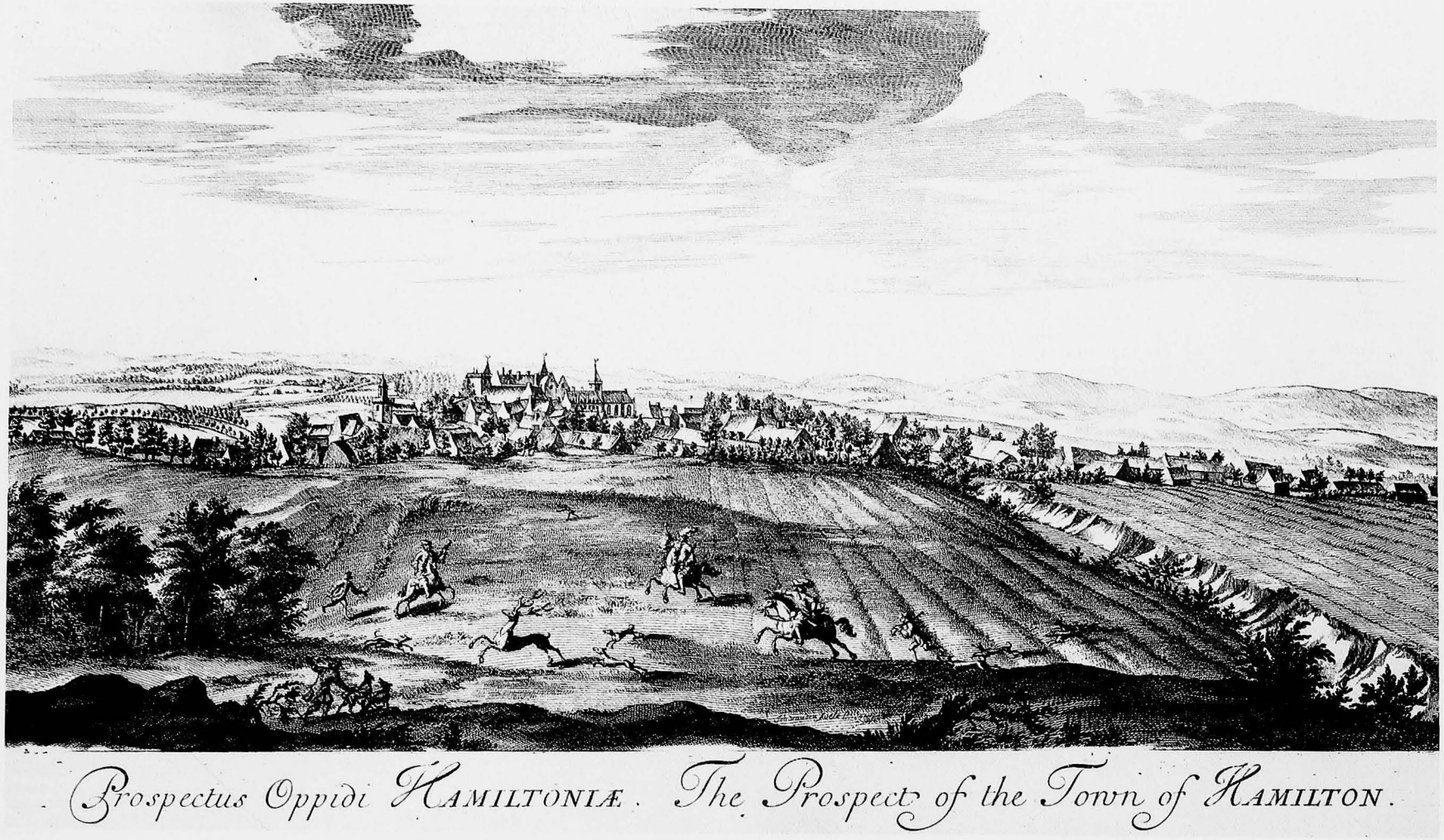


figure 8
John Slezer's view of Hamilton in the late seventeenth century, from his *Theatrum Scotiae*

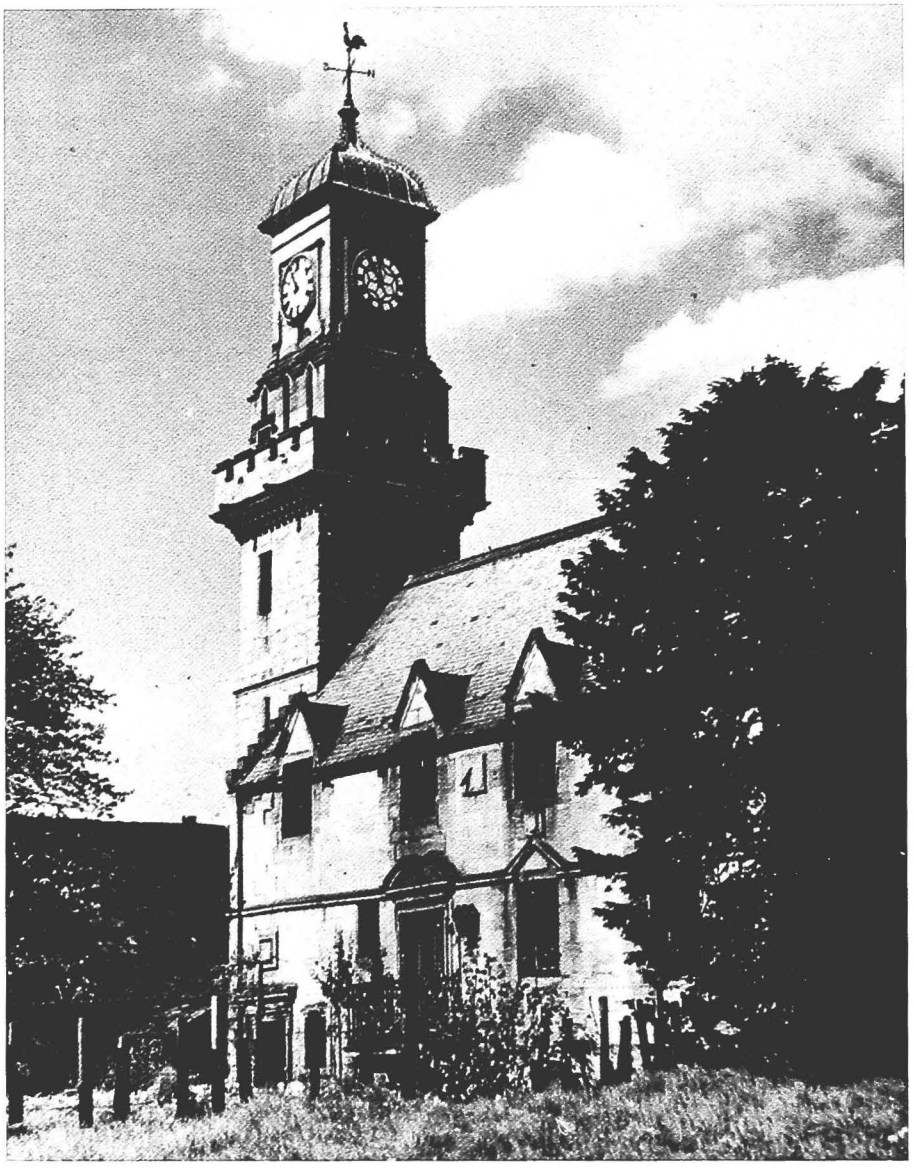


figure 9
Hamilton tolbooth

and Nethertoun Wynd are at times called St John's Wynd in the documentary sources.[63] It was from the market cross that public proclamations were made, as in 1611, when it was announced that the St Lawrence fair, held on 10 August, would now be held as St Donat's fair, on 7 August, since Dunblane and Carnwath, both 'within twenty miles [*sic*]', held their fairs on 10 August.[64]

Close by the cross was the tolbooth **figure 23.J**. This was, along with the market cross, the secular focal point of the burgh. It was here that the tolls to use the market were collected, the official town weights for use at the market were kept, the burgh council and court meetings were held and the town jail was housed. Although there was a tolbooth in the town before 1643,[65] a new one was erected in this year at the top of the High Street at the junction with Muir Wynd **figure 9**. This new tolbooth had at least three shops or booths on its ground floor, which were let out, the rentals going to the town's common good fund.[66] There were glass window panes, the burgh accounts of 1661 referring to the installation of new glass and the repair of an old glass window. Iron bands for the south window were also paid for on the same occasion, so presumably the town jail was housed on the south side of the tolbooth.[67] In all probability, it was also within the tolbooth that the 'thieves hole' was sited.[68] Whether this was the same as the jail, or a separate chamber in the nature of a pit into which thieves were lowered, is unclear. The town was also in 1660 paying for the repair of a clock. This would doubtless, also, be a feature of the

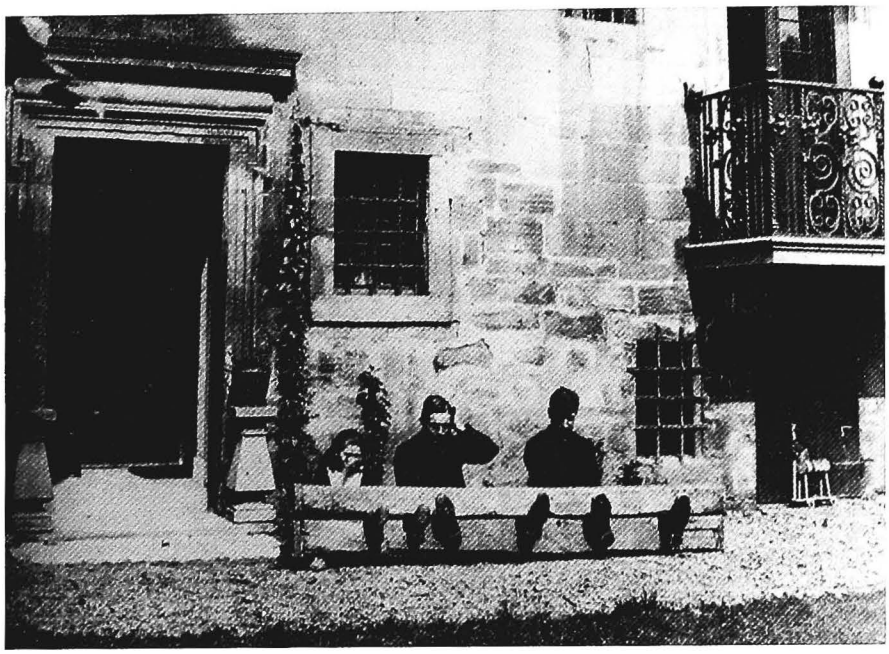


figure 10
Hamilton stocks

tolbooth,[69] although it is known that there was also one in the collegiate church, which the town maintained.[70]

The town weighing machine, or tron, stood nearby. According to the *Old Statistical Account*, this had been placed on a pedestal dated 1595.[71] It was still standing in 1660 when it was under repair.[72] The jougs were also on this same pedestal, and were used to attach and hold fast offenders for public display and mockery, as were the stocks which stood in front of the tolbooth **figure 10**. Nearby, just beside the Cadzow Burn, stood the meat market and slaughter house. On the south part of Muir Street, on part of what was once called the 'Templelands', stood the meal market.[73] An almshouse or 'hospital' was founded by the second Marquis of Hamilton in 1615. This was supported by the rentals of certain properties in the town for the benefit of the poor.[74] It may have stood near the tolbooth, perhaps replacing the hospital of St Thomas Martyr, once attached to the collegiate church.

As well as maintaining public buildings and repairing streets and ports, the town took responsibility for other communal features. A stone oven and a bakehouse, perhaps those granted in the 1475 charter, were kept in efficient working order;[75] and the Cadzow Burn was cleaned and probably culverted, as there is reference to the 'filling the hole in the burn at the Nethertoun Wynd port'.[76] There were occasions, also, when the town's money was disbursed in public celebrations, for example on 'the thanksgiving day for the king's [Charles II] happie restoration to his kingdomes' in 1660. There were bonfires at the cross, and the bailie's wife, Janet Naismith, received £35 12s for tobacco and pipes, almonds, raisins, comfits, ale and sixteen pints of wine.[77] The town also enjoyed horse racing, purchasing a new race bell, from Lanark, and race saddles and trappings.[78] There is little to suggest, however, that Hamilton was a wealthy town. In 1630, for example, an extraordinary taxation levy demanded 100 merks (£66 13s 4d) from Hamilton, compared with Glasgow's £815 12s 6d and Aberdeen's £1,450, thus assessing Hamilton at 8 per cent of Glasgow and 4 per cent of Aberdeen.[79]

The High Street was lined on both sides with tenements and dwelling houses, one tenement being the property of the University of Glasgow.[80] The prebendaries of the collegiate church were each endowed with a residence and supporting land.[81] These, along with the churchlands, tenement, house and garden of the rector of Hamilton, were sited on the south side of the High Street,[82] as was a property called the 'Turnpyk', which implies not only that this building had a turnpike staircase, but also that it was not a common feature in the street.[83] The provost of the collegiate church held lands on the north of the street, which was also built up with dwelling houses and booths. These had yards, crofts and orchards attached, one property being endowed with six acres of arable

land.[84] In 1554 a house on this street was called the 'sclait' or 'slate' house, thus indicating that slated houses were unusual. Thatch was probably the normal roofing until well into the eighteenth century.[85] Fire was a constant hazard; £3 5s was paid to the five men who assisted at the fire in Robert Robertsoune's Close in November 1661.[86] The council was also sensitive to personal privacy. In 1694 the local butcher, one Robert Mill, petitioned for permission to insert a window in a wall of his property that overlooked the tenement of Jo Mershall. Permission was granted, but only on the condition that it was placed two ells high from the floor and that, although it might have glass, it was to be partially obscured with iron 'that he may have no liberty of looking out of the same'.[87]

The High Street led not only to the castle and the collegiate church, but, also, beyond the church, to the local school. It would have been founded here originally because, before the Reformation, it had close ties with the church, one of its major functions being to train clerics and choristers. The grammar school endowed in 1588 by John, Lord Hamilton, was probably the same as, or on, or very near the site of the pre-Reformation school. By 1660 it appears to have been in the care of both a schoolmaster and a school doctor. Quite what the latter's function was is unclear. He received £10 for a 'quarter's' services, presumably £40 per annum, from the town council. The schoolmaster received £15 for the year 1667–8,[88] although by 1673 he was pursuing the council for underpayment.[89] This suggests that the 'doctor' was the higher ranking of the two. It was presumably an ex-pupil of the school, and possibly a pauper, who received financial support in 1662 from the town to help him with his studies at Glasgow University.[90]

Muir Wynd and Castle Wynd (now Muir Street and Castle Street respectively), and Nethertoun Wynd, were built up, particularly the latter two, near the cross and tolbooth. As would be expected near a market site, the section of Muir Wynd by the cross was highly developed, with repletion in the backlands and stables and a brewhouse.[91] With both the meat and meal markets, the tolbooth and a mill, on the Shieling Hill, also near the market cross, this central area must have been congested **figure 8.**

Settlement in the Nethertoun is less easy to identify with precision. It was referred to in 1576 as 'the lower town of Hamilton' and thereafter as the 'Nethertoun'.[92] There were a number of occupants here in the seventeenth century, including one of the bailies in the 1670s, which would suggest that some of the houses here were relatively substantial.[93] The Register of Testaments from 1564 to 1800 in the Commissariot Record of Hamilton and Campsie throws an interesting light on the Nethertoun.[94] It lists some 324 testaments from Hamilton burgh, with a further 31 to 35 from the Nethertoun of Hamilton. This would appear to suggest that approximately 9 per cent of Hamilton's propertied population, whose testaments were registered, lived in the Nethertoun. A closer analysis, however, reveals a different picture: in the eighteenth century, only two testaments were registered from the Nethertoun—that of John Nasmyth, webster, and another John Nasmyth, both in 1735.[95] They were of the family of Nasmyths who had held considerable property in the Nethertoun in the seventeenth century. Not only are there only two registrations, but it is significant that these two are referred to, not as living in the 'Nethertoun', but merely in the 'Netherhouses'. In effect, some 13.6 per cent resided in the Nethertoun in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but this proportion fell to a mere 1 per cent in the early decades of the eighteenth century. It was no longer classified as a 'toun', but merely 'houses'. Some of these dwellings remained partially standing until the late eighteenth century,[96] being referred to as 'hovels in the four paddocks which lie upon the south side of the moat hill' in 1787.[97] In the late nineteenth century, an old man who had served the Duke of Hamilton as a boy remembered houses still standing and was able in the autumn months to trace the line of the old streets and property boundaries by the earlier fading of the grass over the foundations.[98]

Interestingly, for an area of settlement that was already in decline, £26 6s 8d was spent in 1661–2 laying a calsay at the Nethertoun and, as late as 1700 the causeway at the bottom end of the Nethertoun was lifted and raised.[99] It is possible, perhaps, that the appellation 'Nethertoun' refers not merely to the old settlement site near the motte, but also came to be applied to the section of the roadway that ran beyond the church to the

river. This was the main thoroughfare to the town's ferry (*see* **figure 22**). It was along this road that the traffic went to and from Ayr and the west coast, to Edinburgh and the east coast ports. It was an important routeway, and it would be unlikely that it would not be lined with properties immediately to the east of the palace, church and school, even if settlement became more sparse further from the town. Certainly in the late eighteenth century the town 'clustered around' the ducal residence,[100] which would imply development to the east of the palace since 1368, when *The Orchard* was described as being to the east of the town (*see* p 14). Reference to a house in the vennel that led from the High Street to the 'old green' also supports this,[101] as this vennel was one and the same as the roadway from the church to the river, which also gave access to the old green.

South of the ferry was a ford, used in times of drought by those who would or could not pay the toll to cross by boat. Hamilton was, as a result, situated in a strategic position on the main route west to east. The nearest crossing point was to the north at Bothwell, where a bridge called the 'Clydesbridge' had been constructed. It is clear from the seventeenth-century accounts of Hamilton burgh that the bridge was set in tack to the town, so they had to maintain it. In 1616, a successful petition was placed before the privy council by the bailies and town of Hamilton. They argued that the bridge was endangered by floods and large pieces of ice which struck the piers. To assist in its maintenance, they requested that a minimum levy of 2d should be put on every heavy cartload crossing.[102] Thereafter Hamilton not only maintained the bridge itself, but also the tollhouse, where dues were collected, and surfaced the approach roads with stones, thus creating a cobbled calsay.[103] The right to levy tolls was regularly renewed.[104] The town also maintained the bridges at Covan Burn[105] and over the Avon,[106] to the south of the town.

Hamilton had an interest in maintaining ready access to the town. The routes north to Bothwell and Glasgow, along Muir Wynd, and south to Carlisle and west to Ayr, along Castle Wynd, brought travellers and visitors. To accommodate them there was at least one hostelry by the sixteenth century. This was the King's Head Inn, situated a little south off the High Street, near a small vennel, Barrie's Close, that led off the main street almost opposite the castle.

One unwelcome visitor to this inn was Oliver Cromwell, who lodged there while passing through the town. General Lambert had been sent to the area by Cromwell in 1650 in an attempt to subdue the west of Scotland. He took up position at Hamilton, and from the town faced the Ayrshire opposition, estimated to be approximately 1,500 strong.[107] Lambert was routed and taken prisoner in Sarah Jean's Close (location unknown) at the 'Battle of the Hietoun'. The town was not alone in suffering from Cromwellian visitations. The Hamilton family estates, including the Palace, were appropriated and given to Cromwell's generals, while the first duke was tried and executed as a royalist, and his daughter, Anne, was forced to seek sanctuary in 'the little house in the woods' at Hamilton, presumably on the estate.[108]

The Covenanting movement took a firm hold in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, and Hamilton itself was a stronghold, the most noted Covenanter being James Naismith, the local minister. In the present churchyard is the 'Covenanters' Stone', in memory of John Parker, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton and Christopher Strang, all from Lanarkshire, executed after the failure of the Pentland Rising of 1666 **figure 11**. Opposition to government forces under the leadership of John Graham of Claverhouse, however, was successful at the Battle of Drumclog in 1679, many of the Covenanters passing through Hamilton on their approach to and return from the battle. It was at Hamilton, too, that the moderate group drew up the defence of their position that became known as the 'Hamilton Declaration'. Later events in 1679 did not favour the Covenanters, however. The Battle of Bothwell Bridge proved disastrous. The Covenanters were routed by the troops of the Duke of Monmouth; many were taken prisoner, and hundreds of fugitives were scattered around the parish. Many of these escaped by hiding in the woods of the Hamilton estate, protected by Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, who requested that the game in her wooded policies should be left undisturbed.[109]

Religious tolerance for others was not a feature of the Covenanting people of Hamilton. A small community within their midst, the Quakers, suffered harassment, in particular by

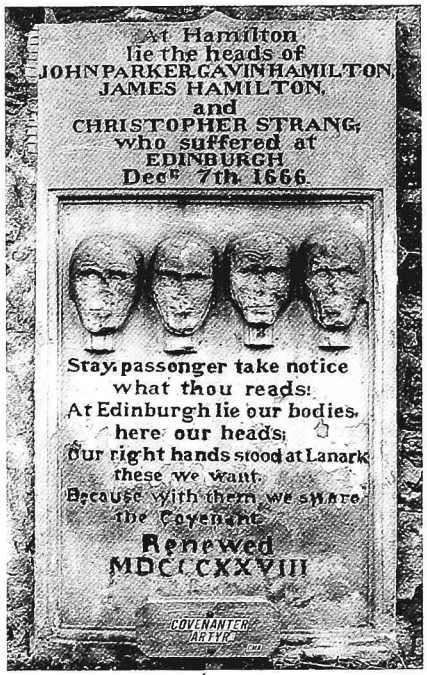


figure 11
Covenanters' memorial 1666

the minister James Naismith, from 1656. The gardener to the Duke of Hamilton, Hew Wood, amongst others, received abusive treatment until into the 1690s, when he was an old man. He died in 1701 and was buried in his own garden, as were his wife and other local Quakers. Precisely where this small burial ground was sited is uncertain, but it was probably in the Hietoun.[110]

The Quakers had a fine reputation as gardeners. Hew Wood's son, Alex, was to succeed him as the gardener to the Hamilton estate and another son, Robert, supervised the Physic Garden in Edinburgh. Hew Wood himself appears to have run a nursery as well as working for the duke, and his reputation spread throughout Scotland and England. It was, however, as gardener in Hamilton that he is most noted locally, being responsible for many of the improvements to the Hamilton estate instituted by Duchess Anne and her husband, Duke William.[111]

These improvements were all part of the 'great design' of Duchess Anne. The gardens at Hamilton Palace had been established since at least the early seventeenth century, when Robert Hutchison, as gardener, was given £10 to purchase seeds in East Lothian and travelled to Fife to view mature gardens. At this time the policies would have been laid out in a series of walled gardens, surrounded by the oaks of the Cadzow forest, with its famous white cattle. These gardens were retained by the duchess and her husband, although a more formal air was adopted. There was, for example, a Statue Garden in front of the palace, which at this point faced north; next to this, down a flight of steps, was the Pond Garden; near the south gate a new bowling green was laid out in 1666; and there were also the essential herb and kitchen gardens. Beyond were the woods of the estate and the enclosed deer park, introduced by Duchess Anne's father in the 1630s (*see* **figure 12** for Bauchop's plan of 1835).[112]

The palace, also, was to be transformed. As inherited by Duchess Anne, the palace had main wings of three storeys high, with a tower at each end of the northern façade of one storey higher. The roof was steep-pitched and slated. Beside the palace, a group of two-storeyed, thatched buildings formed an irregular courtyard called the Back Close. These housed the premises essential to ensure the smooth running of the household: brewhouse, bakehouse, dairy, washhouse and stables.[113] By 1682 payment was made to James Smith to draw up plans. His designs also saw the remodelling of Holyroodhouse, Drumlanrig, Melville House, Traquair and Yester, and in 1683 he became the Overseer of the Royal Works in Scotland. The proposal was firstly to remove or alter the offices around Back Close. On completion, the two side wings of the main palace complex were to be demolished, leaving only the northern block, which would then have new wings added,

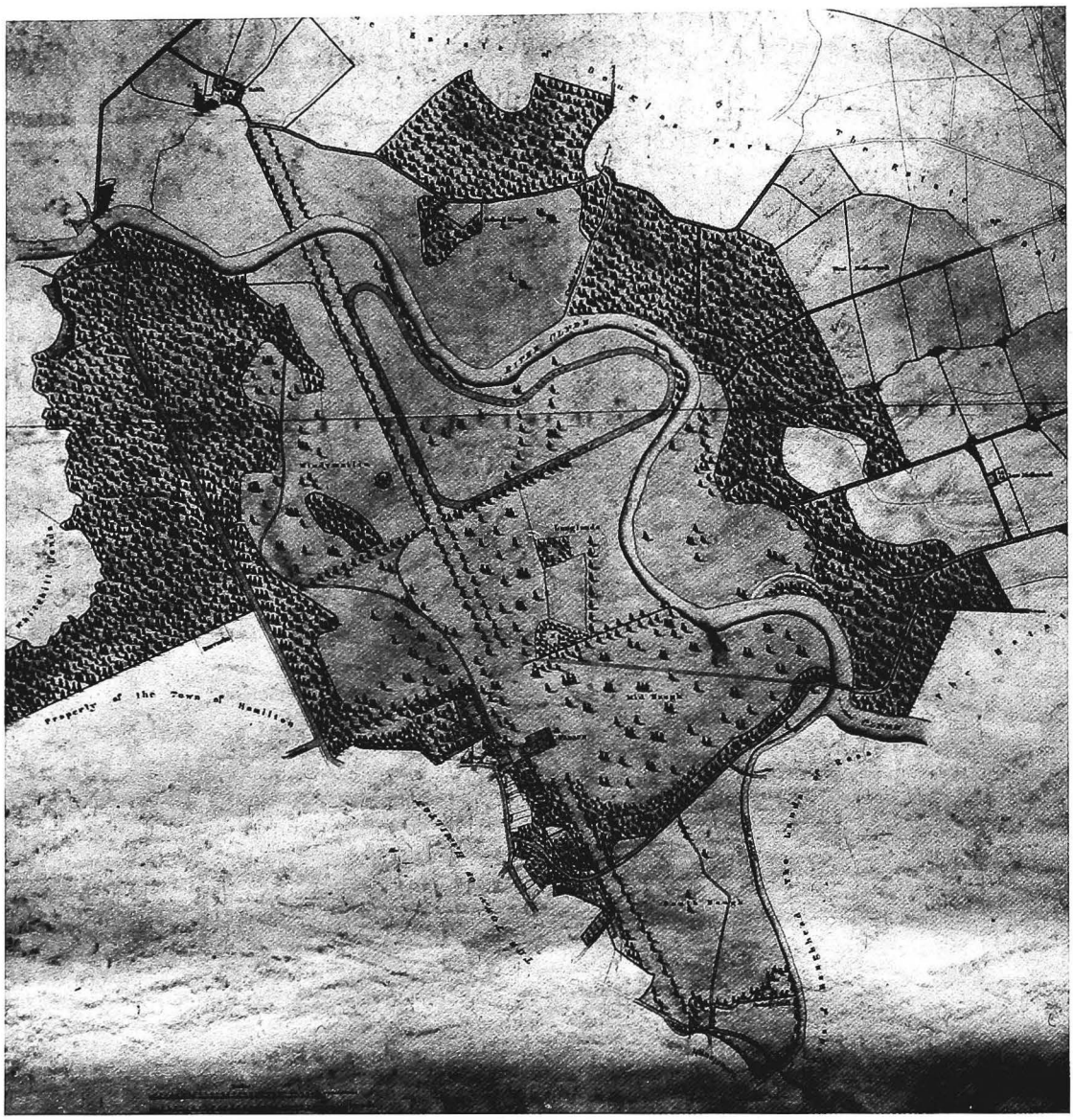


figure 12
R Bauchop's plan of Hamilton Palace and gardens 1835

forming a courtyard, but with the new entrance from the extant block facing south. Work started in 1684, some economies being made on the renovations to the Back Close premises by using 63 cartloads of stone from demolished houses in the old settlement of Nethertoun and a further 414 from the house once occupied by Hew Wood, the rest coming from the Hamilton quarry beyond Quarry Loan.[114] It was to take years of labour by masons, joiners and others, as well as studying of architecture books by the duke and duchess, before the palace was renovated and refurbished. Daniel Defoe, visiting in 1707, was to comment that the palace was 'large,...the front is very magnificent indeed, all of white freestone with regular ornaments according to the rules of art'.[115] Facing southwards down the new courtyard, the façade was embellished with Corinthian columns.[116]

The interior received as much detailed care from the duchess as had the exterior. Already, by 1681, an inventory of plenishings at the palace indicates that careful improvements had been made by the duchess since her return to her home.[117] Further embellishments were now effected: marble fireplaces were imported; magnificent panelling was incorporated into the principal rooms and staircase; glaziers installed the new invention—sash windows; and the cornices were elaborately plastered.[118] The final details were probably not complete until 1713 when Duchess Anne made a part-payment to James Smith junior.[119]

This was not the conclusion of Duchess Anne's plans. In 1708 she had commissioned Alexander Edward, a minister without a parish since the 1680s, who had since worked as an architect and gardener for the likes of Sir William Bruce at Kinross, to design a completely new landscaping of the palace grounds. The elaborate plans detail extensive works, which could probably only have been achieved at a prohibitive cost. In the event, this aspect of the 'great design' was not completed, although Duchess Anne did plant avenues of trees (visible on recent aerial photographs **figures 4** & **5**). During her lifetime a total transformation of the palace had been effected (*see* **figures 17** & **18**).[120]

Many of the lesser servants at the palace came and went to their nearby homes in the town. Others lodged with local families, so there was close contact between the duchess's household and the townspeople.[121] The extensive works meant an even greater impact on the town. The importation of marble, wood, stone, slates and the like, and the attendant workforce, brought bustle and congestion to the Hietoun, while there were opportunities for casual labour for the Hamilton indwellers. A number of these were employed in a more specialised capacity. Arthur Nasmith was a local joiner who was often at work in the palace, putting up partitions, mending doors and windows and making furniture—cradles for the babies, chairs for the older children and a school desk for the duchess's oldest son.[122] The local smith shod the duke's horses and also made kitchen equipment for the palace, such as spits, ladles and meat forks.[123] Work on the offices at the Back Close was the remit of local masons.[124] In the washhouse, as well as the regular washerwoman, extra help was employed. The clothes poles where the washing was hung to dry were erected by the Hamilton wright. The bakehouse in Back Close probably relied on support from local labour; and the cleaning of the rooms, the laying and tidying of the coal fires—there were 62 hearths in Hamilton Palace in 1691—and the sweeping of the chimneys must have been done by the Hamilton people.[125]

These 62 hearths make a telling comment on Hamilton. In the 1691 Hearth Tax Assessments it was calculated that in the whole of Hamilton there were 806 hearths, whether domestic, ovens or smithies, which paid tax, while a further 31 were owned by 'the poor' and 104 were 'deficient', which means that their owners failed to pay hearth tax.[126] The palace accounted for 6.6 per cent of all the hearths in Hamilton—and this was *before* the major additions were effected by the duchess. The palace clearly dominated the townscape.

Duchess Anne also brought other benefits to the townspeople. A lace manufactory was set up in Hamilton. Its purpose was to provide work and care for twelve poor girls, under the direction of a mistress.[127] There was also a wool manufactory, which first appears in the burgh records in 1705. On 27 October of that year the town's share of profits in the manufactory and prices of its products were to be laid down and then announced by the town drummer.[128] The manufactory was owned by the duchess and her son, but the following year it was gifted free to the town, as were all the fitments, such as the workloom. The town was also at liberty to rent out for further profit any parts of the building that it thought fit.[129] There were other occasions, also, when the town received gifts from the duchess. In 1701, for example, she granted £100 sterling to the common good fund.[130] Whether or not classified as a benefit, doubtless the arrival of an elephant, on a visit to the palace, excited the interest of all, and brought a little light relief to the routine day.

The great design did not always run parallel with the interests of the ordinary townspeople. The tolbooth, standing at the top of Hietoun, acted as a minor obstruction to the comings and goings to the palace. Duchess Anne requested that its exterior staircase be removed. It was replaced, at the town's expense, by an interior spiral stair; this left the first floor entrance inaccessible and a new main entrance had to be constructed **figure 9**.[131] The common green of the town, where the burgesses had the right to graze their horses, was situated between the palace and the Clyde, to the north of the Cadzow Burn.[132] It was inevitable that there was considerable movement along the High Street. It was perhaps for this reason that the duchess and her husband 'for enlarging of their yeards, and for other conveniences about the palace of Hamilton had taken in the common green

figure 13
The Common Green and Cadzow Burn

of the burgh of Hamilton, extending to two acres or thereby'. Having also appropriated approximately one acre of the common muir of the town, north of the burgh, into their Laigh Park, they offered recompense. The town council was given a tract of land west of Muir Wynd, the Doucat Acre, on the banks of the Cadzow Burn, as a new common green **figure 13**[133] The exchange was, perhaps, of little significance to the townspeople, but it would certainly have been to the benefit of the palace. There remained, however, the question of traffic along the High Street, which was still the main route to the ferry.

It may have been a similar motive that encouraged the duchess to make a deal with the town allowing her to demolish the town school beside the church, 'for her conveniency', since it was 'near to her grace's gardens', as long as she replaced it with another. This was effected by August 1714.[134] The old school had premises above to house the schoolmaster and his family, as well as other 'offices'. The new school house was two storeys high, with garrets above and cellars below, with 'walls and other conveniencies about the same'.[135] It was situated west of Muir Wynd and Castle Wynd in an area that was to be called New School Wynd, and later Grammar School Square **figure 14**. The town may have benefited from the enlarged accommodation, although whether this was the prime interest of the duchess is less clear. Certainly she had no disaffection for the local school as such, opting to send her sons,[136] and her grandson, for whom she cared after the death of his parents, to it between the ages of nine and fourteen. The little boy was allowed to beat his drum with the town drummer on important civic occasions, which does not suggest undue barriers between ducal family and townspeople.[137]

There had, however, already been indications of an interest on the part of the duchess in acquiring property near the palace. In 1707, she exchanged with one James Mack a half tenement of land in Castle Wynd called Barry's tenement for land and properties near the palace on the north side of the Cadzow Burn.[138] The valuation roll of the burgh in 1705 is even more telling. The total valuation was stated to be £2,333. The duchess's individual valuation 'for houses and burgh acres purchased by her' was £389 11s 2d. She now owned 16.7 per cent of the burgh.[139]

That the duchess intended to pursue a policy of clearing buildings, and their occupants, from around the palace is obvious. She planned to build a new parish church beside the new school, thus ending the use by the townspeople of the collegiate church. The duchess had already obtained the right of appointment to the parish church, the title and office of the prebends of the collegiate church being suppressed in 1668 and the provostry four years later.[140] This removal of the townspeople to a new church, however, was not achieved. The policy of distancing the burgh from the palace was one that would be continued by her successors to great effect.

The influence of the duchess over the lives of the townspeople can be more readily understood by two events, in 1661 and 1670. In 1661, a crown charter to Duchess Anne

figure 14
Grammar school, early eighteenth century

recognised her as her father's heir in all the lands of the dukedom. It continued by ratifying the former erection of the town of Hamilton into a burgh of barony with its privileges of fairs, namely one on the last Wednesday of January, another on 28 June and the existing fairs. The weekly market was also changed to a Friday. Hamilton's status as a royal burgh was not mentioned; the duchess was addressed as *de facto* burgh superior.[141] Nine years later, the two burgh bailies, James Hamilton and James Naismith, forfeited, on behalf of the burgh, the rights of Hamilton to function as a royal burgh, as Charles II had reduced the status of the burgh, by charter, in favour of Duchess Anne. It was, henceforth, to be a burgh of regality under the superiority of the duchess and her successors. There is little evidence that Hamilton had in the past taken full advantage of its rights to function as a royal burgh, other than by holding its regular markets and fairs. Whether there had been free elections of the burghal officers by the burgesses, in the immediately preceding decades, is less clear. They certainly convened a meeting of all burgesses on the common muir in 1666, called the roll and noted and fined absentees, which is indication of at least minimal organisation of the burgess community.[142] In future, however, the burgh would have the right merely to offer a leet of potential officers to the superior for decision. It is possible that, with the close links between the Dukes of Hamilton and the burgh, the family's approval of the choice of burgh officers had already been sought in earlier decades.

This new agreement, however, removed a basic right from the burgh, even though its royal burgh status had formerly been granted 'in perpetuity' (*see* p 16). It is possible that Duchess Anne genuinely attempted at least to be apprised of the views of the townspeople through the proceedings of the head courts, which all burgesses were officially and traditionally supposed to attend. In ratifying the infeftment of two burgesses to their property in the burgh, in 1713, the duchess added the proviso that they were obliged to attend the three head courts of the burgh.[143] This was scant recompense for what appears to have been the unlawful removal of consitutional rights. To add salt to the wounds, from 1670 the new burgh superiors demanded the payment of feu duty from the town.[144]

Relations between the town and the duchess's grandson, the fifth Duke of Hamilton, were not happy. In October 1724 the names of ten burgesses, as potential councillors,

figure 15
New parish church

were presented to the duke for his approval. This he refused. The impasse remained and in June 1725 an extraordinary meeting of all the burgesses was called, on the advice of the bailies and the old council, in order that their actions, in the absence of a legally constituted council, might be ratified. All but seventeen, five of whom had legitimate business elsewhere, of the 276 (all male) burgesses appeared. A decision was taken to raise a summons of reduction and declarator of the charter of 1670, which had removed from the burgesses all their rights to appoint their bailies and choose their council without approval, as they had done in the past. Since this date the duke had also acquired the right to appoint the town clerk; the town found that undue interference was experienced from the duke and heritors of the parish in summoning the schoolmaster who, it was maintained, was supported by 200 merks of salary from the town and only 100 merks from the duke and heritors; furthermore, the school house and school belonged to and was maintained by the town. It was feared that, in consequence, the town 'must turn to ruin, and be deserted by the best inhabitants thereof, and the crown will suffer considerable damage thereby since there is paid out thereof yearly to the crown of excise and other public duties above £1,200 stg'.

In spite of this, in July, the court of session deemed that the burgh had, indeed, forfeited all such constitutional rights by the 1670 charter; but in order to avoid 'anarchy' in the town, it suggested that the town provide a new leet of potential councillors, which should include several new names, to the duke. Delaying tactics, such as refusal to receive the bearers of the leet, absence of the duke abroad and obstruction by William Cullen, the duke's factor (who was also father of William Cullen, town magistrate in 1729 and later professor of medicine at Edinburgh University),[145] meant that by the end of September the duke had still not approved the new council. On 15 November, after further stalling, he did appoint two bailies from a leet of four, chosen and presented to him on 29 September. The town had to continue to function without a constitutionally appointed council, however, for some time.[146] Later attempts were made to regain royal burgh status, the most recent being in 1901, although the town was able to appoint its own bailies and be represented in parliament under the 1832 Reform Act.

The fifth duke had plans which went beyond constitutional wrangling. His intention to follow the policy of his grandmother is clearly indicated in a rental roll of 1734. Ground and houses at the east end of the town were systematically bought up.[147] The following year there is evidence of even further purchases.[148] In 1732 a new parish church was built

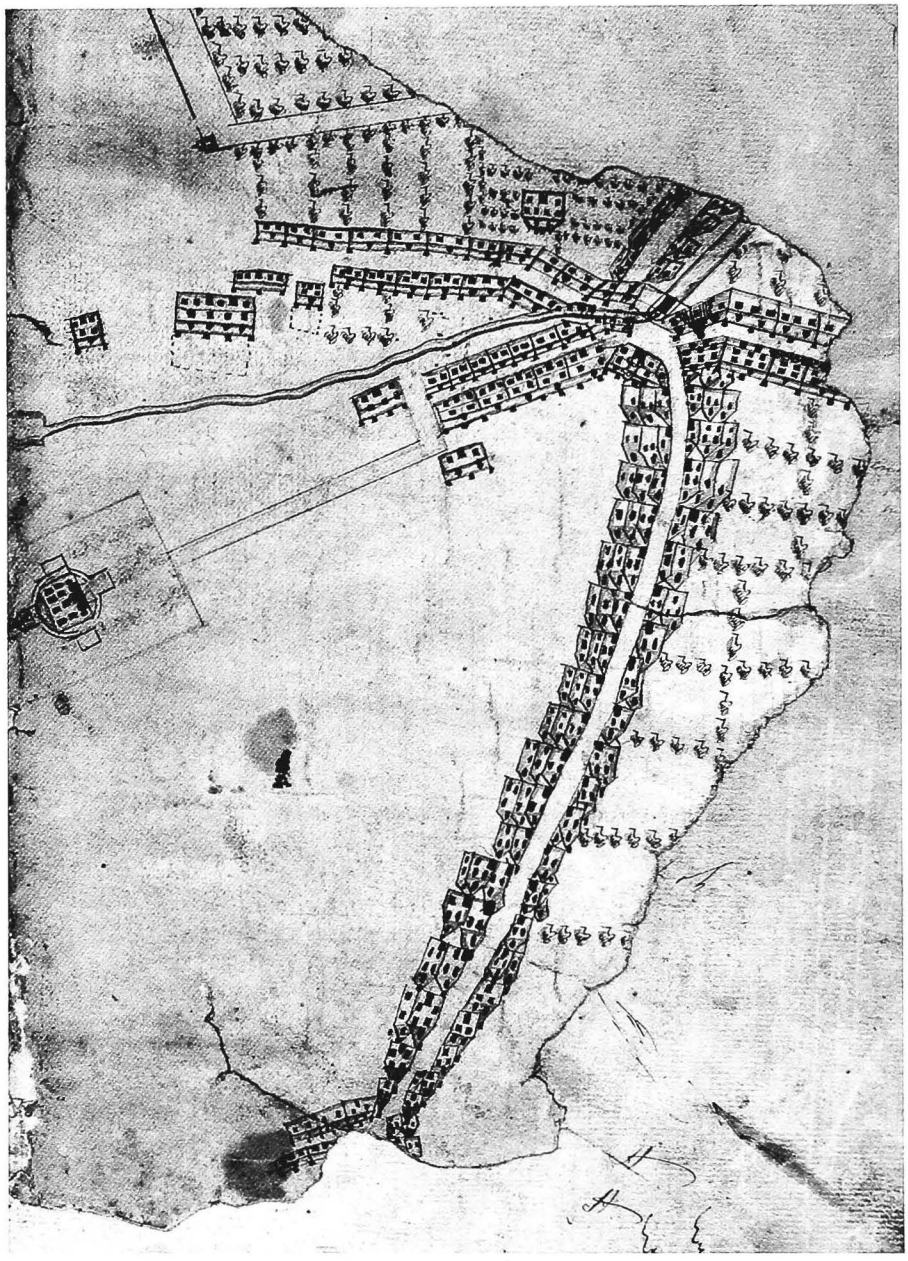


figure 16
Hietoun of Hamilton in the mid eighteenth century

to a design of William Adam **figure 15.** It was decided that it should be placed further up the hill from the new school, on the site of the former horse market. As such, it stood outwith settlement and was originally approached by a path only a yard wide. The records suggest that this was also part of the deliberate policy on the part of the duke, to attract the population up the hill, away from the Hietoun. The plan was successful: land was set out for feuing on the line of the path in 1751. Thus began Church Street **figure 16** (& **figure 17**).[149] The old collegiate church was demolished in the name of improvements to the palace and its policies, although one transept was left intact until the nineteenth century (when the present Mausoleum was built), as it was the burial place of the Dukes of Hamilton.

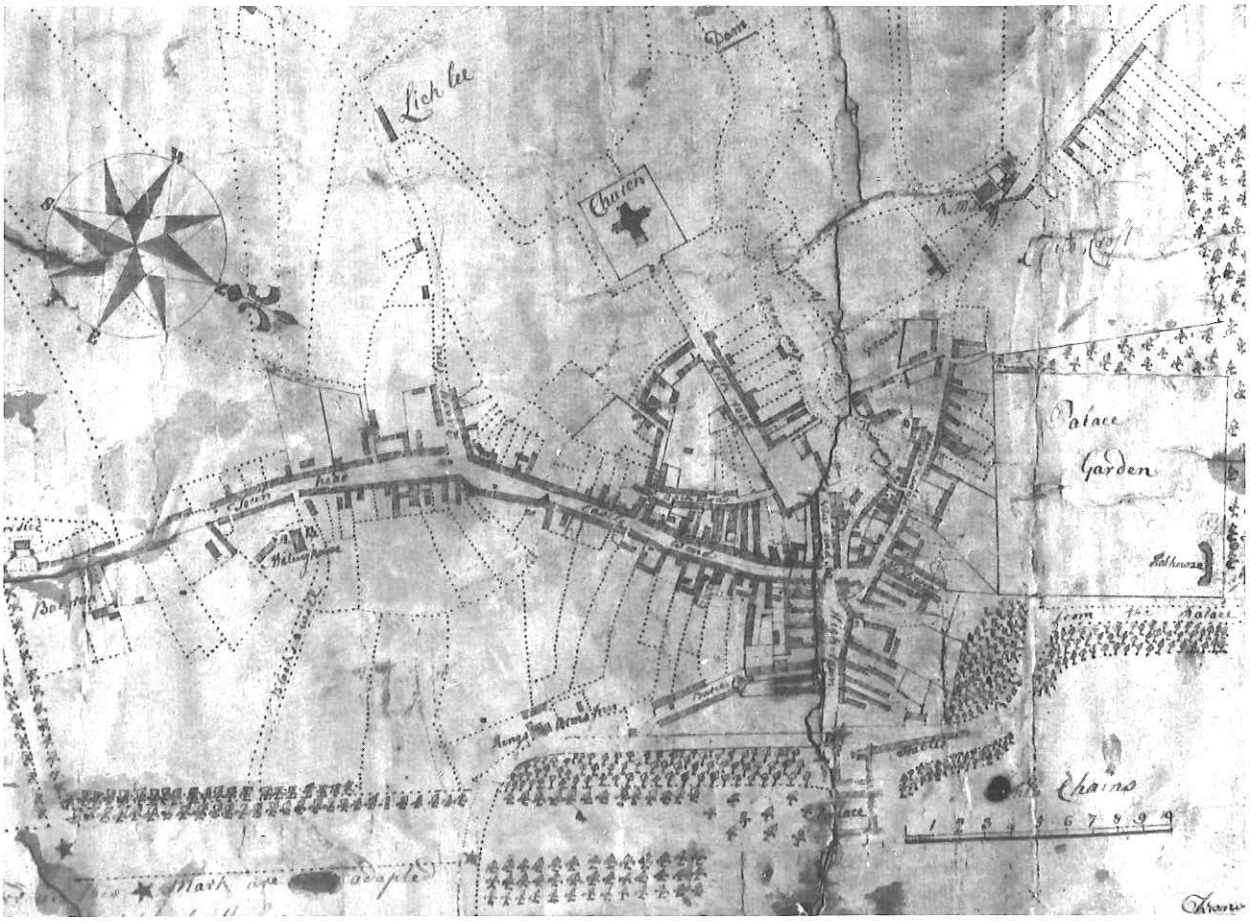


figure 17
Thomas Barns' view of Hamilton 1781

Continuing the grand landscaping schemes of his grandmother, the fifth duke undertook his most important contribution to the enhancement of the Hamilton estate—the building of Châtelherault hunting lodge. This was also designed by William Adam. When viewed from Hamilton Palace, Châtelherault stood on the skyline to the south. Linking the two, a double avenue of deciduous trees, flanked with an outer avenue of firs, was part of a much larger landscape design conceived by Alexander Edwards. It was inevitable that parts of the Hietoun would succumb to this impressive and ambitious display.

The eighteenth century was, in consequence, one of both retrenchment and expansion for the townscape of Hamilton. As late as 1791 it was described as being irregular, over three quarters of a mile long and 'skirting around the bottom of a hill'.[150] Another visitor to the town, eight years later, said that 'Hamilton skirts a rising ground and is rather irregularly built, though it contains many handsome houses'.[151] These are telling comments, confirmed by late eighteenth-century maps and plans. Clearly, there had as yet been little development up the hill to the west of the settlement. Barns' map of 1781 confirms that some of the tofts laid out on the east side of the road to the church, above Grammar School Square, had been taken up and were built upon **figure 17**, but these were still at some distance from the church, extending only halfway up the hill from the school. Where there is cartographic evidence for expansion, it is seen to be in linear form—along Castle Wynd, up Townhead, with a small development at the foot of Quarry Loan **figure 18**.

The references to the quality of building were reiterated by Pococke in the mid eighteenth century[152] and by another visitor, an 'English Gentleman', in 1785.[153] One of the 'very good houses' still stands, now the Hamilton District Museum on Muir Street **figure 19**. Its building was commenced in 1696 by David Crawford, secretary to Duchess Anne. In its strategic position on the main route between Carlisle and Glasgow, it was soon functioning as an inn, known as the Hamilton Arms Inn and, later, the Head Inn. Nearby stood Aikman's Hospital, built in 1775.[154] Hamilton Palace was, naturally, the most sumptuous building, although contemporary feelings were mixed. There was approval for its seven-acre garden, with walls covered with fruit trees, and hot-house and

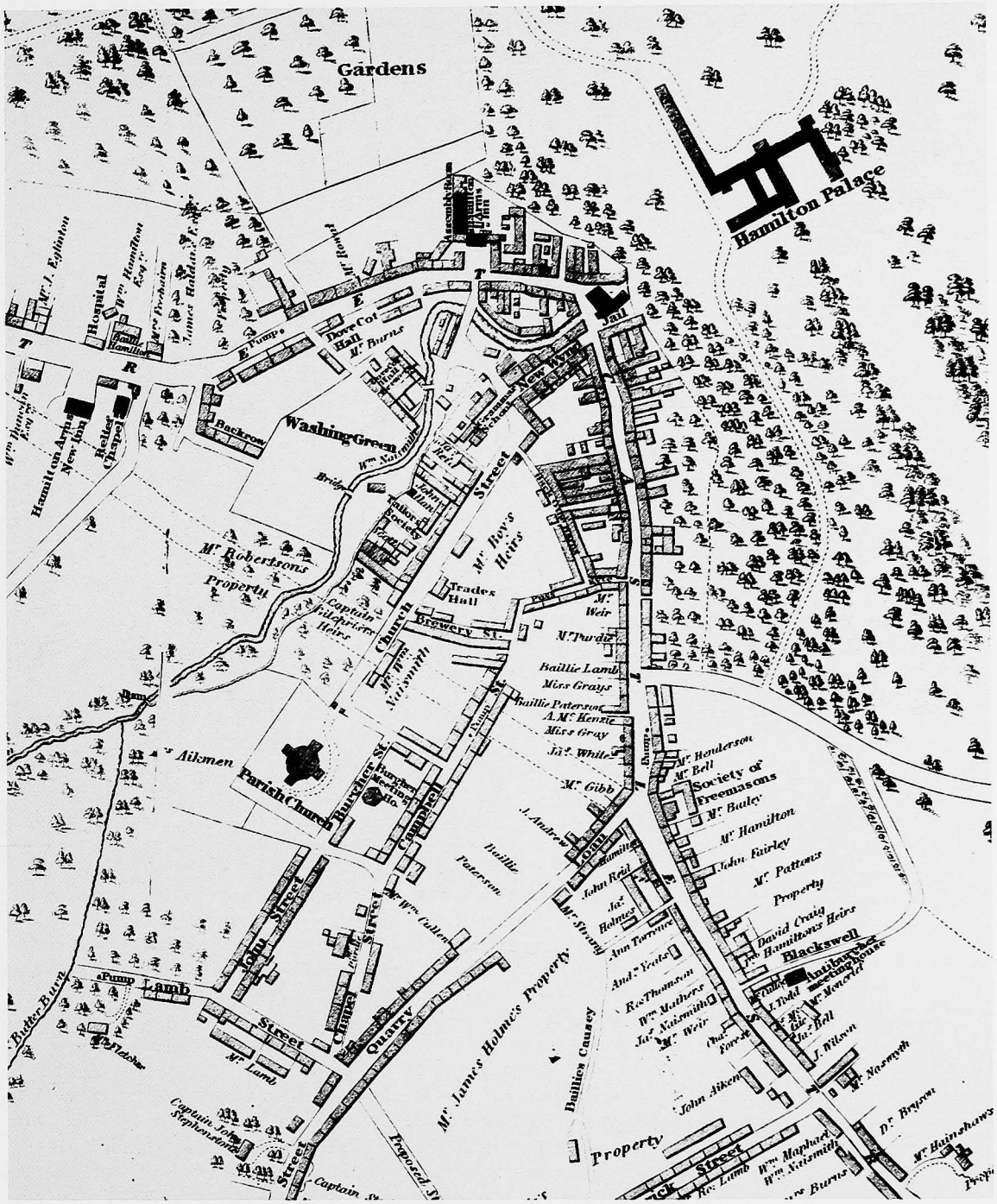


figure 18
John Wood's map
1824

greenhouse; its large gallery with pictures by Rubens and Veronese; and its grand apartments. On the other hand, there was distaste at its 'low situation'; rooms that were 'not well furnished'; and its overall appearance as 'a large disagreeable pile of building'.[155] All visitors commented, however, on the ruined collegiate church **figure 7**.[156]

Most of the houses were thatched, and fire was a constant hazard. A decision was taken in 1740 that all vents or chimneys in the town had to be cleaned three times a year. This was to cost 1d for a single-storey vent and 1½d for a larger one. If any townsperson evaded payment, by maintaining that they had already been cleaned, a fine of 40s was imposed for any resulting fires.[157] In 1744, however, there was a fire in Barrie's Close, so virulent that the entire street was in ruins for a number of years.[158] Hamilton did not acquire its first fire engine until four years later.[159] Evidence rather suggests that Barrie's Close

figure 19
Hamilton Arms Inn

remained in a state of some disrepair, as around 1783 one poor unfortunate missed his step in the dark and 'fell into a hole full of water, three feet and a half deep,...with his head down, where he was found a little after eleven o'clock dead'.[160]

There is adequate evidence elsewhere, however, that the magistrates and council continued to concern themselves with the fabric of the town. A new flesh market, for example, was under construction in 1707. It was instructed by the council that it was to be 'pavemented' and not 'calsied' with stone,[161] and it was roofed and secured with gates.[162] The existing meal market needed routine maintenance work;[163] and there was a complaint that the sermons conducted in the meal market were prejudicing trade there.[164] Work was also ongoing at the Clydesbridge. Not only were routine repairs of the stonework and gates kept in hand, but also more major projects, such as widening the approach, necessitating demolition of houses and reimbursement and rehousing of occupants.[165] Maintenance of calsied roads and the town wells was a constant expense.

Precisely where the wells stood is uncertain, but there was one in Barrie's Close[166] and another in Castle Wynd, which needed cleaning in 1709, to ascertain how much water it was supplying.[167] The Lady Well stood on Muir Street and there was another in the High Street. In 1733–4 the town became conscious of the lack of an adequate water supply. It was decided, therefore, to build three new wells, one near the tolbooth, another in the middle of Castle Wynd and a third at the foot of Quarry Loan. Funds were short, so the inhabitants agreed to make a contribution.[168] The effort required to supplement the supply is evidenced in 1734, when a hole twenty-five and a half feet was dug for the well beside the tolbooth, and found to be inadequate. A further two and a half feet was dug and a pump incorporated.[169] These wells did not prove adequate: there were complaints

about the lack of lead piping at the Lady Well in 1748.[170] By 1792 there were further murmurings of discontent, in spite of the fact that another well had recently been sunk on the south side of the parish church to assist the growing population in that area, now called the 'New Town'.[171]

The tolbooth received constant maintenance. Repairs to the steeple were constantly being made[172] and there were frequent payments for its heightening, and its slating, for replacing the clock, which had four faces, and painting and gilding it, for maintaining it and ringing the bell, for window glass, for the repair of the stocks and the booths on the ground level.[173] The other municipal building, the school and schoolmaster's house, needed, for example, fifty-eight lozenges of glass and seventy new latches in the single year of 1709.[174] In 1701, alone, the costs of the drummer's and the magistrates' coats and hats amounted to £43; and five years later, four new firelocks cost £28.[175]

Even the common muir was at times a drain on the town's funds. It was decided in 1723 that there were so many whins on it that it was useless. The remedy was, it was thought, to divide it up and enclose it, so that each lessee would be responsible for its upkeep.[176] The following year, however, it was felt that it was overstocked with cows.[177] Eleven years later a similar complaint, that the common green was being spoiled by horses in the winter months, is a reminder of the continuing rural nature of eighteenth-century Hamilton.[178] In spite of causeying and ditching in the muir, the whins continued to be a problem, and the sheep market had to be specifically fenced off and cleared.[179] There was clearly no feral goat population in the Hamilton region by the eighteenth century.

Repairs to the ferryboats, of which there were two—a large one and a small one—and to the pier and boathouse, appear regularly in the records. The boathouse required thatching in 1705,[180] and in 1714 an entirely new boathouse was constructed.[181] Flooding damaged the quay and boathouse ten years later.[182] £108 was expended in 1708 alone on the repair of the two ferryboats.[183] The ferry was a constant drain on the town's finances, even though it was set out to tack. In 1766 the boats were carried off by ice. Seven years later the quay was washed away and, despite rebuilding, was by 1776 in a state of disrepair.[184] The death-knell for the old Hamilton ferry was the building of the Clyde Bridge. The last ferryboats were put up to roup in 1781.[185]

The town was to see other changes during the eighteenth century. There were probably less than 3,000 people in the town in 1704 when the Register of Burials stated 'number of the dead are 109 of which number there are children dead of smallpox 43'.[186] It has been suggested that Hamilton had a population of 3,851 in 1755.[187] In 1791 it was estimated that there were 954 families in the town and palace,[188] implying a population of about 4,000. There had been only 805 families in 1782,[189] about 3,600 people, which suggests an influx of population in the last decades of the century, perhaps partially from the surrounding countryside and Hamilton estates. John Burrell, the agriculturist responsible for the estates, was organising a vast improvement scheme, not only in the area of land consolidation and crop rotation, but also of the tenurial system.[190] The main attraction of the town, however, was the surge in the domestic weaving industry.

Hamilton was to remain very much a market centre for the rural hinterland until this time. It is known that there was a 'manufactory' for woollen cloth and a lace-making institution in the town at the beginning of the eighteenth century (*see* p 25), but these probably did not provide much employment. In 1694 the trades had incorporated themselves into societies and appointed deacons.[191] By 1722, the principal crafts had formed themselves into guilds: weavers, shoemakers, smiths, maltmen, saddlers, masons, wrights, mealmen and bakers.[192] The list of 276 burgesses, made when the extraordinary meeting of all burgesses was called in 1725, gives some clue to types of occupation (*see* p 28). Shoemakers (doubtless involved in all types of leather work) and weavers were most numerous. Wrights, masons and a coppersmith were essential in the town, and probably found employment at the palace as well, and maltmen, vintners, fleshers, baxters, mealmen and a miller catered for the food requirements of the town. There were a number of gardeners, probably employed on the ducal estates, as perhaps, for some of their working week, were the five surgeons, four wigmakers and one hat maker. Three

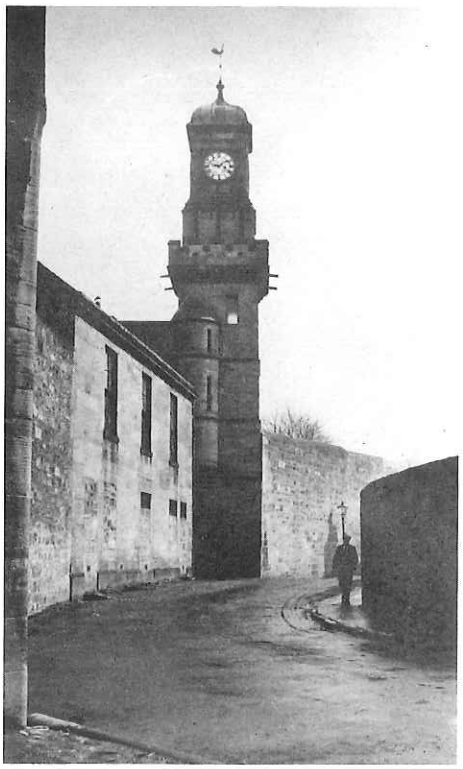


figure 20
The remnants of the Hietoun

writers, a writing master and a school doctor are also listed amongst other occupations. There were thirty-two 'merchants', approximately 12 per cent of the burgesses.

During the eighteenth century some women were employed in lace-making and linen spinning and there was a 'linen manufactory' by the time Pococke visited in the mid eighteenth century.[193] After 1780 there was a higher involvement of males in the textile industry. Their closeness to Glasgow brought the Hamilton people into contact with the large cotton manufacturers, such as David Dale and James Buchanan. Local people were recruited and handlooms were set up in many homes, sometimes with a new room added to house the large looms. By 1790, there were 450 looms in Hamilton parish: most of these were in the town itself. The pack horses and carts bringing yarn from Glasgow, via Bothwell Bridge and down Muir Street, past the Hamilton Arms Inn **figure 19**, to the centre of the town, and returning by the same route with the finished cloth, were a routine sight. Hamilton retained much of its earlier character, however, and did not see the development of large factories and mills like those in Kilmarnock and Paisley.[194] To sustain this growing population, in 1791 there were eighteen bakers, three brewers, one distiller and sixty-six licensed liquor sellers in Hamilton.[195]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the policy of the Dukes of Hamilton of consolidating their estates and removing the townspeople from their doorstep had proved highly successful. Paddocks surrounded the moat hill and there was a paddock at the Nethertoun barn, suggesting that little settlement was left in this area.[196] John Burrell's journal in 1788 makes it clear that there was ongoing 'trenching and digging out the founds of the seats of the old houses'.[197] In 1795 he refers to fencing at the Cadzow Burn near to the Nethertoun Bridge, a fence from the moat hill to the Lang Loan, a young plantation at the old boathouse and a further young plantation at the Ladywell.[198] By 1796 potatoes were being grown in the now disused boathouse yard.[199] Perhaps most telling was an entry on 2 June 1797. Posts, boards and lettering were obtained for three painted notices 'against trespassing within the policy'.[200]

Remnants of the Hietoun were to survive into the nineteenth century **figure 18**. But the Dukes of Hamilton had plans to make their palace more sumptuous even than royal palaces, and the closeness of the townspeople detracted from this. An assiduous policy of purchasing property by the ducal family was difficult to combat by the townspeople. In spite of the relative disrepair of the Clyde Bridge and its mismanagement by the family, the town was persuaded by them, in 1812, to accept a new, improved, albeit slightly longer, road to the bridge. The ninth duke thus became the proprietor of the old public way to the ferry. The few buildings left in the Hietoun were demolished and a gate was put across it, barring access.

One small section of the Hietoun only was left standing—the tolbooth. It was still used as a jail and as council chambers. When alternative accommodation was found, further up the hill, for both of these functions, the tolbooth, apart from the steeple with its clock and bell, was sold to the tenth Duke of Hamilton. For twelve years this rump remained the property of the town, until in 1846 the council sold it to the duke too, since it had 'always been desirous of accommodating his grace'. The frontages of the houses of Castle Wynd and Muir Wynd still stood, but with windows and doorways blocked with stone, forming a high wall between the ducal policies and the town. Only the entrance to the High Street remained as evidence of the old town of Hamilton. One morning, the townspeople of Hamilton awoke to find that this, too, was walled up.[201] The Hietoun had gone **figure 20**.

notes

1 T Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain* (London, 1987), 63–4.
2 *Ibid*, 75.
3 *Ibid*, 103.
4 *Ibid*, 133.
5 D Breeze, *The Northern Frontiers of Roman Britain* (London, 1982), 108.
6 W Hanson & G Maxwell, *Rome's North West Frontier* (Edinburgh, 1983), 70–71; RCAHMS *An Inventory of the Prehistoric and Roman Monuments in Lanarkshire* (Edinburgh, 1978), 119–21.
7 *Glas Reg*, i, 11–12, *no* 8; 50, *no* 57.
8 *Ibid*, 41–2, *no* 49; *NSA*, v, 265.
9 The cross now stands in front of Hamilton parish church. It was moved from its former site in Hamilton Low Parks in 1926.
10 *OSA*, vii, 405.
11 *RSS*, v, 682, *no* 494; *RMS*, i, *no* 286.
12 J A Wilson, *A Contribution to the History of Lanarkshire*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1937), ii, 143.
13 We are indebted to the assistance of Mr William Wallace in clarifying the Hamilton family and Cadzow connection.
14 *APS*, ii, 59; *RMS*, ii, *no* 601.
15 *Glas Reg*, i, 282, *no* 310.
16 D Pringle, '"Cadzow Castle" and "The Castle of Hamilton": an archaeological and historical conundrum', *Château Gaillard* (Caen, 1992), xv, 279.
17 W Wallace, 'The Rise and Fall of Hamilton Palace' (unpublished typescript), 1.
18 *RMS*, ii, *no* 601.
19 I B Cowan & D E Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (London, 1976), 222.
20 MS Hamilton Estates Rental Book, 333.3(4143) (nd, late eighteenth century), I, 59; Hamilton and District Civic Society, *Hamilton Past and Present, 1456–1932* (Hamilton, 1932), 49; Wilson, *History of Lanarkshire*, ii, 136.
21 Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 181.
22 G S Pryde (ed), *The Burghs of Scotland* (Oxford, 1965), 27.
23 It is stated in W Wallace *et al*, *Hamilton, 1475–1975* (Glasgow, 1975), 8, that James Hamilton of Wishaw, who was writing in 1710, had seen the (now lost) original charter and noted that it was dated 1456.
24 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 7.
25 *RMS*, ii, *no* 2311.
26 We have benefited greatly from discussions with Mr William Wallace on the identities of both Cadzow or Hamilton Castle and Hamilton Palace; Pringle, 'Cadzow Castle', has also been helpful.
27 *RMS*, iv, *no* 884.
28 Wallace, 'Rise and fall of Hamilton Palace', 2.
29 Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix VI* (London, 1887),10; 21, *no* 29. Cited in Pringle, 'Cadzow Castle'.
30 *TA*, ix, 372, 385, 432; x, 22, 81–2, 90.
31 Wallace, 'Rise and fall of Hamilton Palace', 3.
32 *TA*, viii, 246.
33 *TA*, viii, 251, 294.
34 *TA*, viii, 288–90.

35 *CSP Scot*, i, *no* 63 (enclosure).
36 *RMS*, ii, *no* 270.
37 *RCRB*, i, 519–20.
38 TS.HBRii, 138, 139, 140, 141.
39 TS.HBRiii, 26.
40 *CSP Scot*, ii, *no* 259.
41 *RPC*, i, 622.
42 *CSP Scot*, ii, *no* 655; *TA*, xii, 120.
43 *CSP Scot*, ii, *no* 836.
44 Pringle, 'Cadzow Castle', 282.
45 R Bannatyne, *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1569–1573*, ed R Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club, 1836), 43; *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the Country of Scotland since the Death of James the Fourth till the Year MDLXXV*, ed T Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1833), 177.
46 *APS*, iii, 61.
47 Wallace, 'Rise and fall of Hamilton Palace', 3.
48 *CSP Scot*, v, *no* 407; *TA*, xiii, 266, 395.
49 *APS*, iii, 162.
50 *CSP Scot*, iii, *no* 594.
51 Wallace, 'Rise and fall of Hamilton Palace', chapter 2, unpaginated.
52 *APS*, iv, 184.
53 W Hamilton, *Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew* (Paisley, 1878), 2.
54 MS.HBRi, Accounts, Whitsunday 1660—Whitsunday 1661, for example.
55 *TA*, xii, 96.
56 MS.HBRi, Account, 1651–2.
57 *Ibid*, Accounts, Whitsunday 1666-Whitsunday 1667.
58 *Ibid*, 12 July 1662.
59 *Ibid*, 29 May 1661.
60 MS.HBRii, 27 July 1700.
61 TS.HBRiv, 95.
62 *RSS*, iv, no. 225.
63 TS.HBRiii, 21, 24, for example.
64 *RPC*, ix, 182–3.
65 *RPC*, 3rd ser, i, June 1633.
66 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1666–7, for example.
67 *Ibid*, fo 2v.
68 *Ibid*, 29 May 1661.
69 *Ibid*.
70 MS 'Inventory of the old documents and accounts pertaining to the affairs of the burgh of Hamilton during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century', (L352), Accounts, 1704.
71 *OSA*, vii, 405.
72 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1660–1.
73 *NSA*, v, 275; MS.HBRii, 22 August 1700.
74 MS.HBRi, 4 September 1657.
75 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1666–7, 1660–1.
76 MS.HBRi, 12 July 1662.
77 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1660–1.
78 *Ibid*.
79 *RPC*, 2nd ser, iv, 597. These percentages are confirmed in SRO, E65/14.
80 *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from its Foundation till 1727*, ed C Innes, 4 vols (Maitland Club, 1854), i, 167.
81 *Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*, edd J Dillon & J Fullarton (Maitland Club, 1831), 17.
82 *RMS*, v, *nos* 2294, 2295, 2297 and 2316, for example; *RSS*, iv, *no* 225.
83 *RSS*, iv, *no* 225.
84 *APS*, vi, 232–3.
85 *RMS*, iv, *no* 884.
86 MS.HBRi, fo 2v.
87 *Ibid*, 14 July 1694.
88 TS.HBRii, 206.
89 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1660–1; 30 September 1673.
90 MS.HBRi, 3 May 1662.
91 MS.HBRi, 19 June, 1699.
92 *RMS*, iv, *no* 2585.
93 MS Sasine, 1612, in possession of Hamilton District Library; MS.HBRi, 1670s passim.
94 *The Commissariot Record of Hamilton and Campsie: Register of Testaments, 1564–1800*, ed F J Grant (SRS, 1898).
95 *Ibid*, 54.
96 *OSA*, vii, 377.
97 Burrell, Journal, 1787–1790, 33.
98 A G Miller, *Municipal Hamilton* (np, nd), 8.
99 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1661–2; MS.HBRii, 27 July 1700.
100 *OSA*, vii, 375.
101 MS 'Hamilton Estates Rental Book', unpaginated.

102 *RPC*, x, 533.
103 MS.HBRi, 18 March 1662; Accounts 1660–61.
104 *RPC*, 2nd ser, iv, 158–9, for example.
105 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1660–1.
106 MS.HBRi, Accounts, 1657.
107 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 10.
108 R K Marshall, 'The plenishings of Hamilton Palace in the seventeenth century', *Review of Scottish Culture*, iii (1987), 20.
109 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 10.
110 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 71–2.
111 *Ibid.*
112 R K Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne* (London, 1973), 51–5.
113 *Ibid*, 37–8.
114 *Ibid*, 191–2.
115 *Ibid*, 205.
116 *NSA*, v, 271.
117 Marshall, 'Plenishings', 20–2.
118 R K Marshall, 'The House of Hamilton in its Anglo-scottish Setting in the Seventeenth Century' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970), i (part ii), 265–339, gives extensive details of Duchess Anne's renovations and refurbishments of Hamilton Palace.
119 Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, 203, 205–7.
120 *Ibid*, 207–8.
121 Marshall, 'Plenishings', 20.
122 Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, 45.
123 *Ibid*, 48.
124 *Ibid*, 192.
125 *Ibid*, 49–50.
126 Hamilton Hearth Tax in Hearth Book of Lanarkshire, SRO, E69/15/1.
127 J H Lochhead, *Hamilton in Days Gone By* (Hamilton, nd), 17.
128 MS.HBRii, 27 October 1705.
129 MS.HBRii, 27 July 1706.
130 MS.HBRii, 31 October 1701.
131 Millar, *Municipal Hamilton*, 33.
132 MS Charter, 23 October 1475, in keeping of Hamilton District Museum.
133 MS.HBRi, 22 August 1695.
134 TS.HBRiii, 17–18.
135 TS.HBRiii, 17.
136 Marshall, 'The House of Hamilton', i (part i), 178.
137 Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*, 230.
138 MS.HBRii, 13 August 1707.
139 MS.HTC, 28 April 1705.
140 Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 222.
141 *RMS*, xi, *no* 62.
142 TS.HBRi, unpaginated.
143 MS Ratification of Duchess Anne of Hamilton, 1713, in keeping of Hamilton District Library.
144 TS.HBRii, 143.
145 Information from Mr W Wallace.
146 TS.HBRiii, 246–330.
147 MS.HTC, Valuation Roll, 1734.
148 MS.HBRii, 20 September 1735.
149 Miller, *Municipal Hamilton*, 79.
150 *OSA*, vii, 376.
151 R Heron, *Scotland Delineated* (Edinburgh, 1799, reprinted Edinburgh, 1975), 318.
152 R Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760*, ed D W Kemp (SHS, 1887), 48.
153 *A Tour in England and Scotland in 1785*, 'by an English Gentleman' (London, 1788), 85.
154 Cowan & Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 291.
155 *Tour in England and Scotland*, 85–6; T Pennant, *A Tour in England and Scotland, MDCCLXIX* (Perth, 1779), 234; Pococke, *Tours*, 47.
156 For example, Heron, *Scotland Delineated*, 318; Pococke, *Tours*, 48.
157 *Naismith's Hamilton Directory for 1878–79*, including *The Handbook of Hamilton* (Hamilton, 1879), 98–9.
158 *NSA*, v, 266.
159 Information from Hamilton District Council Museum.
160 Miller, *Municipal Hamilton*, 47.
161 MS.HTC, 23 August 1707; 13 March 1708.
162 *Ibid*, 13 March 1708.
163 *Ibid*, 28 April 1721, for example.
164 *Ibid*, 19 October 1734.
165 MS.HBRii, 27 July 1706, for example.
166 MS.HTC, 13 August 1712.
167 *Ibid*, 29 September 1709.
168 TS.HBRiv, 121.
169 *Ibid*, 122.

170 *Ibid*, 124.
171 *Ibid*, 131.
172 MS.HBRii, 25 November 1704.
173 MS.HBRii, *passim*.
174 MS.HBRiii, December 1709.
175 TS.HBRi, 16 August 1701; Accounts, 1705–6.
176 TS.HBRiv, 111.
177 *Ibid*.
178 *Ibid*.
179 *Ibid*.
180 MS.HBRii, 26 May 1705.
181 MS.HTC, Account, 1714.
182 *Ibid*, 19 October 1734.
183 *Ibid*, Accounts, 1708.
184 Miller, *Municipal Hamilton*, 13.
185 *Ibid*.
186 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 83.
187 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 11.
188 *OSA*, vii, 389.
189 *OSA*, vii, 391.
190 T M Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1994), 105–6.
191 MS.HBRi, 1694.
192 MS.HTC, 12 June 1722.
193 Pococke, *Tours*, 48.
194 Wallace, *Hamilton*, 87–8.
195 *OSA*, vii, 392.
196 Burrell, Journal, 1787–1790, 5; 1793–1796, 13.
197 Burrell, Journal, 1787–1790, 125.
198 Burrell, Journal, 1793–1796, 108.
199 Burrell, Journal, 1796–1797, 34.
200 Burrell, Journal, 1796–1797, 141.
201 Miller, *Municipal Hamilton*, 30–1. Ironically, the palace itself also no longer survives. Subsidence from the ducal coal-workings endangered the building and it was demolished in the early twentieth century. A few railings still stand.

area by area assessment

pp 40–7

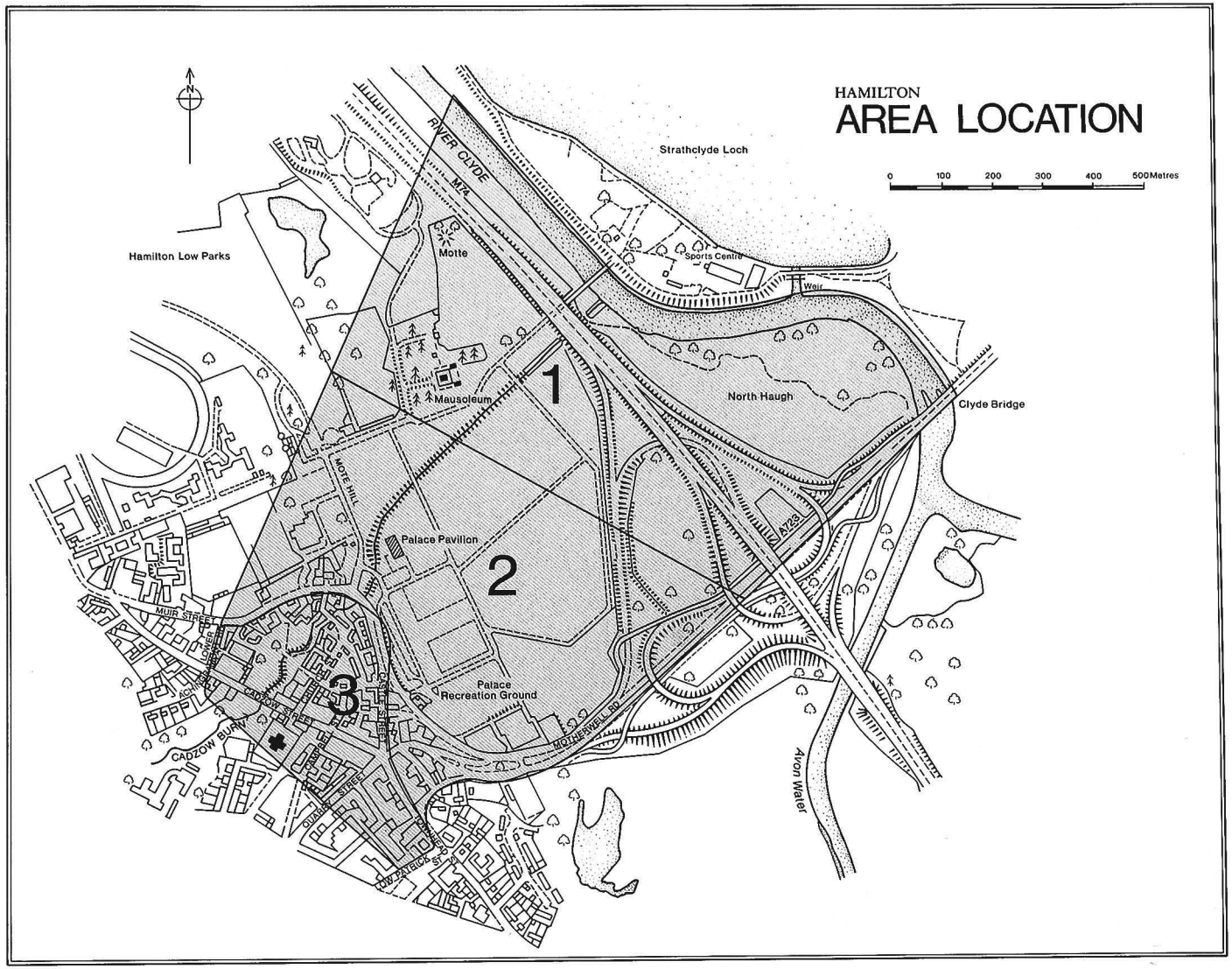


figure 21
Area location map

introduction

For this survey, the medieval core of the town has been divided into three discrete areas **figure 21**: one to the north incorporating the Nethertoun (Area 1); a central area which includes the Hietoun and the Palace (Area 2); and an area to the south-west which includes the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century expansion of the burgh (Area 3).

The River Clyde to the north and east provides an easily recognisable limit to the development of the medieval burgh, while the Motherwell Road to the south has been taken as the southern limit of the study area. The western and northern limits of the study, however, are more arbitrary in their definition; the south-eastern boundary follows a line from Low Patrick Street north-west to Lower Auchingramont Street. From this point, the boundary extends in a north-easterly direction to the River Clyde.

area 1

River Clyde/Motherwell Road/Hamilton Low Parks **figure 22**

description

Area 1 lies wholly within what is now Hamilton Low Parks. The north bank of the River Clyde and Motherwell Road provide easily recognisable northern, western and southern boundaries. The remaining boundaries, to the south-west and north-west, are more arbitrary and cut across the playing fields of Hamilton Low Parks. The M74 motorway and a number of associated sliproads run north-west to south-east across this section of Hamilton Low Parks, and effectively cut the area in half. Playing fields lie to the west of this network of roads and, to the east, parkland extends down to the River Clyde.

Despite being predominantly open ground, there are several notable landmarks in this area. The Mausoleum **G**, the burial ground of the Hamilton family after the transept of the old collegiate church was abandoned, lies in the south-west corner. Further to the north lies the Nethertoun motte **A**. The Cadzow Burn, culverted in places, cuts across this area on a south-west to north-east alignment, separating the Mausoleum and motte from the rest of Area 1. The topography of the landscape is generally flat, and much of it lies below 20 m OD.

historical background

This area contains perhaps the earliest settlement site of Hamilton, or Cadzow as it was called until the early fifteenth century. There is documentary evidence for the existence of a church of Cadzow by 1150, when David I (1124–1153) granted it to the cathedral of Glasgow. It is also known that both David I and Alexander III (1249–1286) held court at Cadzow, where there was a small 'toun' and a royal residence. There is an element of doubt as to whether this small toun was beside the castle, now called Cadzow and in ruins, on the banks of the Avon, south of Hamilton, or beside the motte **A** now situated in Hamilton Parks. This motte is all that now remains standing of a probable early castle. It would be natural that settlement would cluster around it, as a fortified place offered protection to those nearby; and any castle needed the services and produce of its lowlier neighbours.

archaeological potential and future development **figure 25**

Hamilton Ahead, an initiative developed by Hamilton Enterprise Partnership, propose to develop the palace grounds section of Hamilton Low Parks as part of a wider development programme for the area. The development proposals that fall within Area 1 consist of the re-siting of existing playing fields further to the north and north-east, and the provision of some additional outdoor leisure facilities. The Motherwell Road is also to be re-routed

A further feature suggests that this was, indeed, the site of early Hamilton or Cadzow. Until the twentieth century a carved cross stood some 60 m north of the motte **B figure 6.** It has been argued that this was of eighth-century origin. Its style of decoration, however, suggests that the cross dates from the tenth century at the earliest, and, more probably, the eleventh or twelfth. The cross, known locally as the 'Nethertoun Cross', now stands in front of Hamilton parish church **figure 15.** It has been suggested that this was the original market cross of the settlement, though its decoration rather suggests a religious origin. Whatever its purpose, the original location of the Nethertoun Cross, north of the motte, supports the theory that the area around the motte was the site of the first settlement that later became Hamilton.

history

By the mid fourteenth century, the focal point of settlement had moved some 800 m south-south-west to the banks of the Cadzow Burn. The two settlements were linked by a

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through the central part of the existing park, roughly along the line of the division between Areas 1 and 2.

The archaeological potential is difficult to quantify given how little archaeological work has previously taken place in this area, but in places the potential may be high. The location of the motte **A**, the original position of the Nethertoun Cross **B** and the documentary evidence have together provided a broad picture of the nature of early settlement here, but, without modern investigations, the degree of archaeological preservation is unknown (*see* **area 2: S &T** bore-holes and test-pit survey). This area is known to have been affected by landscaping and agriculture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*see above*), but more serious damage has been caused in the last few decades. The M74 passes through what must have been part of Nethertoun. Large-scale quarrying and landscaping often accompany modern road schemes, and is likely to have been the case here. Aerial photographs of the area taken in the 1960s (*see* **figure 5**) show considerable damage around the Mausoleum, extending up to the south side of the motte itself. It is not clear whether this was being used as part of the town dump, or whether sand and gravels were being extracted. Further east, the course of the River Clyde was altered during the creation of Strathclyde Loch in the 1970s, diverting it much closer to the site of the settlement.

The combination of landscaping, quarrying, the new road scheme and the creation of the loch will have removed virtually all traces of *upstanding* archaeological remains to the south and east of the motte. It is very possible, however, that 'negative' archaeological features survive, cut into the natural subsoil (such as pits, ditches, the post- and stake-holes of previous palisades or other wooden structures, foundation trenches for stone buildings *etc*). A range of possible features might therefore survive beneath the present topsoil, as well as, perhaps, 'pockets' of other archaeological material, 'missed' by past developments but potentially threatened by future ones.

Only the motte itself survives as an upstanding feature today. It now appears as a small, flat-topped mound, but a wooden tower would originally have stood on its upper surface. A palisade around the top edge of the mound would have provided extra defence, while an outer defensive ditch would have surrounded the base of the mound, the upcast from which would have been used in building the motte itself. Mottes often have an outer enclosure, or bailey, which contained many of the domestic buildings and structures, and it was only during an attack that the tower on the motte itself was occupied. It is probable that some features associated with the motte have survived, since the area immediately around the motte appears to have been spared the damage seen elsewhere. The motte and its immediate environs must therefore be seen as highly sensitive archaeologically.

The settlement here, later called Nethertoun, is likely to have clustered around the motte, perhaps extending towards the original site of the cross. Although much of this area has since been developed, pockets of archaeological material may survive on either side of the M74. Stonework, robbed from the houses, was removed in the late seventeenth century, but traces in the form of the foundations of buildings may survive; even more

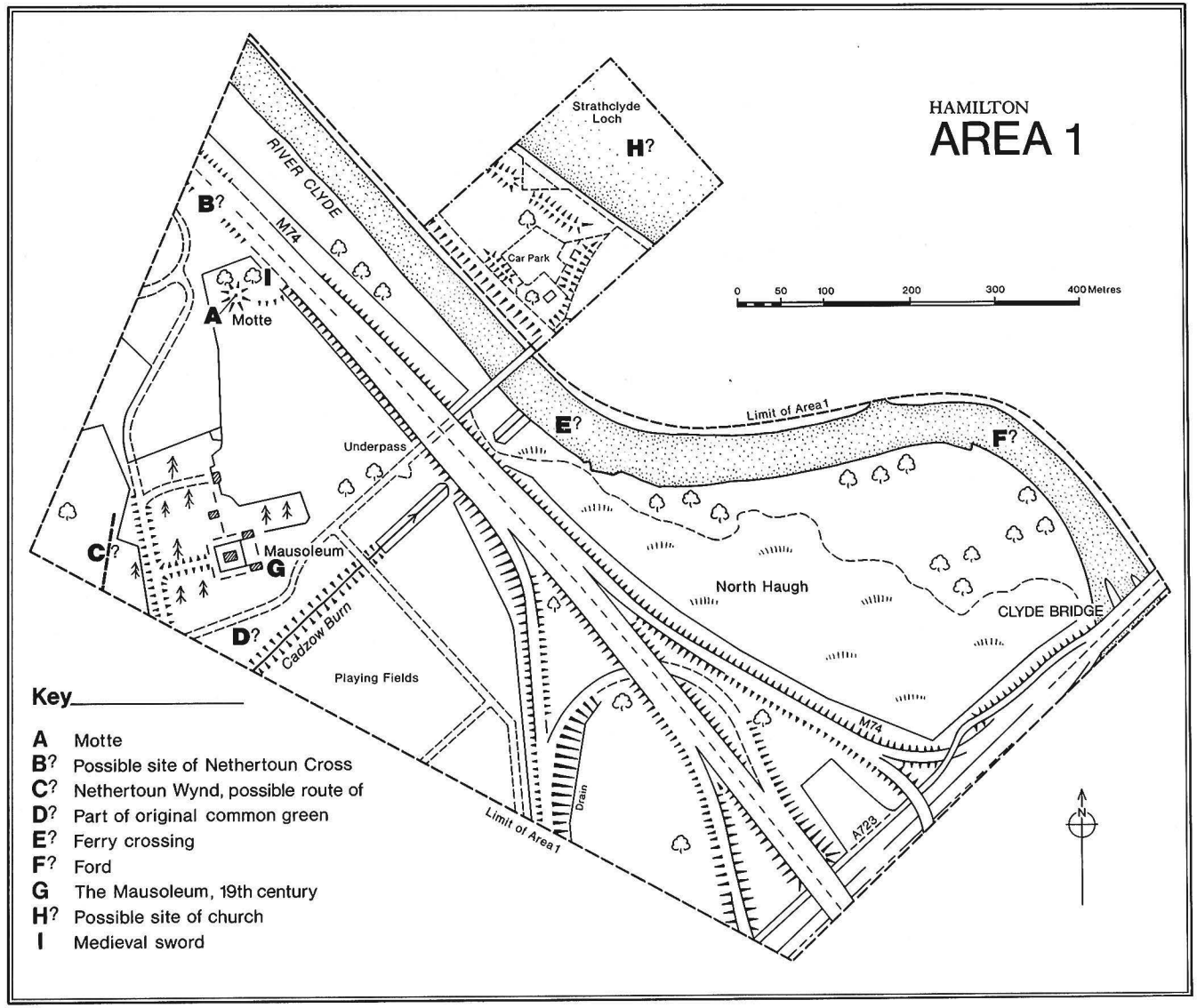

figure 22
Area 1

pathway called Nethertoun Wynd **C**. This wynd took its name from that of the old settlement. In 1576 the first settlement site was referred to as the 'lower town of Hamilton', thereafter as the Nethertoun. This area would have been liable to flooding, which may account for the re-siting of the focal point of the town. But it is clear that settlement also continued on this site. In the 1670s the occupants of the Nethertoun included amongst their number one of the town bailies, which would suggest that some of the houses here were of substance. Although some demolition work was undertaken in 1684, when sixty-three cartloads of stone were lifted and taken to assist renovations at Hamilton Palace (*see* p 24), some settlement undoubtedly continued on this site. The Register of Testaments from 1564 to 1800 in the Commissariot Record of Hamilton and Campsie gives some clues (*see* p 21). Whereas some 13–14 per cent of the Hamilton population may have lived in the Nethertoun in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the early decades of the eighteenth century that proportion had dropped to something like 1 per cent; rather than being the nether 'toun', the settlement here came to be called the nether 'houses'. Some dwellings remained standing until the end of the eighteenth century; John Burrell's Journal, in 1787, refers to the 'hovels in the four paddocks that lie upon the south side of the moat hill'.

history

From the seventeenth century the Dukes of Hamilton had been extending their policies, at the expense of the townspeople. One of the first things to go was the common

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importantly, these may seal traces of timber structures dating back to the earliest settlement. The original site of the Nethertoun Cross now lies immediately adjacent to the M74 **B**; if it survives, the precise location and excavation of the original site could reveal important information about the date and context of the cross. There is a tradition of a church here at Nethertoun, located to the north-east of the cross, but its supposed site is now under Strathclyde Loch **H**. How far the settlement extended in this direction is unclear, and the flooding of the area to create the loch, as well as the diversion of the River Clyde, have meant that there is little opportunity to test this.

Some confusion remains about this early settlement, because early references to Cadzow may refer either to a settlement that sprang up around the motte **A**, or alternatively to one which developed around Cadzow Castle (NS 7343 5347) further south, on the banks of the River Avon. Archaeological investigation, both of the motte and of the early settlement at Nethertoun in its environs, would be the only method of confirming whether this is the site of early Cadzow (or Hamilton).

South of the motte and Nethertoun were predominantly open fields, including the original common green **D**. The Nethertoun Wynd **C** connected Nethertoun with the later settlement, the Hietoun, which developed south of the Cadzow Burn, though, given the degree of landscaping, it is perhaps unlikely that any trace of this early street will have survived. To the south-east was a pathway that extended from the Hietoun, northwards to the ferry crossing at the confluence of the Clyde and the Cadzow Burn **E**. The boathouse and jetty here were often swept away, but it is possible that timbers may survive in the mud and silt along the banks of the Clyde.

The good archaeological preservation which is possible in the mud and silt, and the potential for chance archaeological finds in this area, are demonstrated by the discovery of a late medieval sword during the construction of the M74 **I**. This was found in a cut made by a mechanical excavator, some 3.5 m down into the sand. The exact find spot is unknown as the finder could not retrace his tracks; the road did come close to the motte, but equally the sword may have come from a dried-up former channel of the Clyde. The sword itself has a complex history: on examination, it was found to comprise a late medieval blade re-mounted in a seventeenth-century hilt. This find gives a good indication of the depth of deposits that have accumulated over the site during the last few hundred years; clearly, these may preserve important archaeological remains.

As well as a ferry crossing, there was also a ford across the Clyde in medieval and early modern times **F**. This was located due east of the Hietoun, more or less on the same

green, an area of approximately two acres, granted to the townspeople in 1475. This stood between the 'new' settlement called Hietoun (*see* Area 2) and the Clyde, to the north of the Cadzow Burn **D**. It was here that the burgesses had the right to graze their horses. It was, however, rather close to the ducal palace (*see* Area 2) and was appropriated by Duchess Anne and her husband at the end of the seventeenth century 'for enlarging of their yeards, and for other conveniences about the palace of Hamilton'. In exchange, the townspeople were given land further west to serve as a common green, the Doucat Acre (*see* Area 3; **figure 24.D**).

The old settlement of Nethertoun also stood in the way of the extension of the ducal estate. It was merely a matter of time before it totally disappeared. By the end of the eighteenth century, paddocks surrounded the moat hill and there was a paddock, also, at the Nethertoun barn (precise location unknown), which suggests little settlement left. In the late nineteenth century an old man, who had served on the Hamilton estate as a boy, remembered houses standing, although it is quite probable that these would have been deserted, as the total removal of people from the Nethertoun had been effected by the early nineteenth century, at latest. He was able in the autumn months to trace, by the earlier fading of the grass, the foundations of houses and lie of the streets and vennels of Nethertoun. This oral tradition has been lost over the last century. That the foundations should have survived is not surprising, as this area of the ducal estate was not laid out in

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alignment as the High Street itself; traces of both the approach road and the ford itself may survive.

Two mounds or cairns have been reported in this area, although their exact locations are not recorded. These are most likely to have been prehistoric burial mounds. A number of burial cists, the overlying cairns of which had probably been robbed away, were found at Ferniegair, south-east of Hamilton, indicating that this general area was traditionally a burial ground, in use for many centuries. Prehistoric burials may therefore be expected elsewhere along the banks of the Clyde.

previous archaeological work and chance finds

The following information has largely been extracted from the database of the National Monuments Record of Scotland (RCAHMS, NMRS). Their record card numbering system has been included for ease of reference. Where relevant, entries are prefaced with their key letter as shown on **figure 22.**

Hamilton Low Parks, Heron Hill NS *c 72 56*

possible cairn
A mound, known locally as *Heron Hill*, located somewhere in Hamilton Low Parks, may have been a Bronze Age burial mound or cairn. However, no accurate location is recorded for this feature and nothing is visible on the ground today. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 34.

Hamilton Low Parks NS *c 72 56*

mound
A cup-shaped mound was described as located in Hamilton Low Parks, but no accurate location or dating is known for this feature. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 35.

A *Mote Hill* NS *7270 5662*

motte
Situated on low-lying ground, this probable medieval motte survives only as a small flat-

formal gardens, as in some parts, but was used as paddocking, so wholesale digging was not necessary.

Further south up the banks of the Clyde, just beyond where the Cadzow Burn enters the river, was a ferry crossing **E**. It is possible that some settlement straggled out from the town centre, along the routeway to the ferry, and this was, perhaps, also called the Nethertoun, to distinguish it from the area near the palace, the Hietoun.

Whether or not there was settlement in this area, the ferry was a significant element in the life of Hamilton. The crossing was on the main route from Ayr and the west to Edinburgh and the east coast ports. As such, it was a benefit to many more than merely the local people. A little further south, again, was a ford **F**, used by many, particularly during times of drought. Crossing the Clyde by this method, although sometimes more hazardous, saved the payment of a toll for the use of a ferryboat.

The ferry crossing was owned by the town, but the right to run it and levy tolls for its use was set out to tack. It was serviced by two boats, a large and a small; the large, the 'meikle boat', carried animals and carts and the smaller was used by human foot passengers. The repair of the boats, the quay and the boathouse often devolved to the

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town, and references to their maintenance appear constantly in the burgh records. The

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topped mound. Its maximum height above the adjacent ground level is 2.5 m, while its diameter on top averages 18.2 m. No defensive ditch is visible. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 4.

H *Hamilton Low Parks NS c 726 566*

possible site of church

It is thought that an early church stood north-east of and close to the Nethertoun Cross (NS 7271 5674) and Mote Hill (NS 7270 5662). However, there is no archaeological evidence to support this, and some of the area which it may have occupied now lies submerged within Strathclyde Loch. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 37.

B *Nethertoun Cross NS 7233 5555* **figure 6**

early medieval cross

This cross formerly stood in the Nethertoun, now within Hamilton Low Parks (at NS 7271 5674), and was removed to its present position in the graveyard of Hamilton parish church in 1926. Carved from a slab of local red sandstone, it stands to a height of 2.1 m and is decorated on all four sides. The style of decoration suggests that the cross dates from the tenth century at the earliest, and more probably, the eleventh or twelfth. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 15; J R Stevenson *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: the Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), 108.

boathouse required thatching in 1705 and in 1714 a totally new boathouse was constructed. Ten years later it suffered damage from flooding, as did the quay; both required substantial repair work. The town spent £108 on repairing the boats alone, in 1708. There was an ongoing problem with them being swept away: ice carried them off in 1766, for example. Seven years later, the quay itself was swept away. It was rebuilt, but three years later was again in a state of disrepair. This drain on the town's coffers, however, was soon to pass. A major new construction was under way—the Clyde Bridge, further to the south. The last ferryboats were put up to roup in 1781.

The area was soon put to alternative uses. According to John Burrell's Journal, by 1795 a young plantation was already established on the site of the old boathouse; by 1796 potatoes were being grown in the boathouse yard. The route to the erstwhile ferry, as well as that to the ford, was, however, a public way, still used by the townspeople to go to the river. In 1812, the Duke of Hamilton proposed building a new, improved road to the new Clyde Bridge. Although it was a slightly longer route, the town accepted. The duke thus became, by exchange, the proprietor of the old route to the ferry, and public access to this section of the river ended. The old road and the ferry and ford banks were assimilated into the Hamilton policies.

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Nethertoun NS *726 566*

deserted settlement

The houses of Nethertoun stood in the vicinity of the Nethertoun Cross (NS 7271 5674) and Mote Hill (NS 7270 5662). By the mid fourteenth century, the focus of the town had moved south-south-west to the banks of the Cadzow Burn, but settlement persisted at Nethertoun until the later seventeenth century. The houses were removed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and there are no ground surface indications of where they stood today. Oral tradition has it that, in the late nineteenth century, vennels, streets and the foundations of houses could be traced in the autumn grass.

1 *Hamilton Low Parks* NS *726 566*

medieval sword

A late medieval sword, measuring 1.12 m in length, was found buried in sand at a depth of *c* 3.5 m in Hamilton Low Parks, on the left bank of the River Clyde, during construction works for the M74 motorway. The pommel and grip had gone, but the blade and cross survived in good condition. The blade is of a type developed in the later fourteenth century but it seems to have been re-mounted in a seventeenth-century hilt. The sword was acquired for Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 31; J G Scott in D H Caldwell (ed) *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications 1100–1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 10–12.

area 2

Motherwell Road / Hamilton Low Parks / Muir Street **figure 23**

description

This area incorporates the westernmost section of Hamilton Low Parks and, like Area 1, mainly comprises modern recreational facilities; these include playing fields, tennis courts, a miniature golf course and other open areas. The northern and eastern boundaries of Area 2 cut across the centre of the playing fields, and the southern boundary is defined mainly by the Motherwell Road and, further west, by Muir Street. The western boundary extends up to, but does not include, Townhead Street and Castle Street (*see* **area 3**).

historical background

This area has within it the nucleus of medieval Hamilton. A residence called *The Orchard* was said, in 1368, to have been situated 'at the east end of the town on Cadzow', later called Hamilton. It is known, from sixteenth-century evidence, that *The Orchard* was approximately on the site of the later Hamilton Palace **A**. The fourteenth-century town can, therefore, be pinpointed with some accuracy. *The Orchard* was to become the property of the Hamilton family by at least the fifteenth century, and it was from this manor-house that the lordship of Hamilton, created in 1445, was controlled. The first Lord Hamilton may have enhanced his residence, in keeping with his new position: in 1445 there is reference to the 'castle of Hamilton'. If this applied to the manor-house of *The Orchard*, considerable upgrading must have taken place. It is possible that this is a reference to the Castle of Cadzow, further south beside the Avon.

archaeological potential and future development **figure 25**

Hamilton Ahead, an initiative developed by Hamilton Enterprise Partnership, propose to develop the palace grounds as part of a wider development programme. The development proposals that fall within Area 2 include a new leisure complex and retail park in that part of the area currently in use as playing fields. A new town square and an arts centre are also planned, and the Motherwell Road is to be re-routed through the central part of the existing park, roughly along the line of the division between Areas 1 and 2. The existing Regent Way shopping centre is to be linked to a new shopping complex on Townhead Street. This proposal will have considerable archaeological implications for Area 2 of this survey.

As with Area 1, there are a number of known historical sites and features in Area 2 of which there are no longer any visible remains. There has been considerable landscaping in this area, some dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some more recent. A programme of test-pitting carried out in January 1995, in advance of proposed development, revealed that between 2 and 3 m of modern deposits have accumulated over the site. Few archaeological features were exposed during this limited work, but the considerable depth of the deposits suggests that archaeological features and deposits might be preserved beneath them. Besides the historic landscaping which has taken place here, more recent disturbance has been caused by the use of the site as the town's refuse dump. Aerial photographs taken in the 1960s (*see* **figure 5**) show considerable disturbance along the south bank of the Cadzow Burn, approximately where the Palace Pavilion stands today **O**, probably caused by trucks entering and leaving the site. The central and eastern part of Area 2 appears to have been where most of the town's refuse was dumped. This disturbance will have had a considerable impact on any upstanding archaeological features in this part of the site. The accumulated deposits, however, may have sealed 'negative' features, cut into the natural subsoil. Rubbish pits, wall foundations, stake-, post-

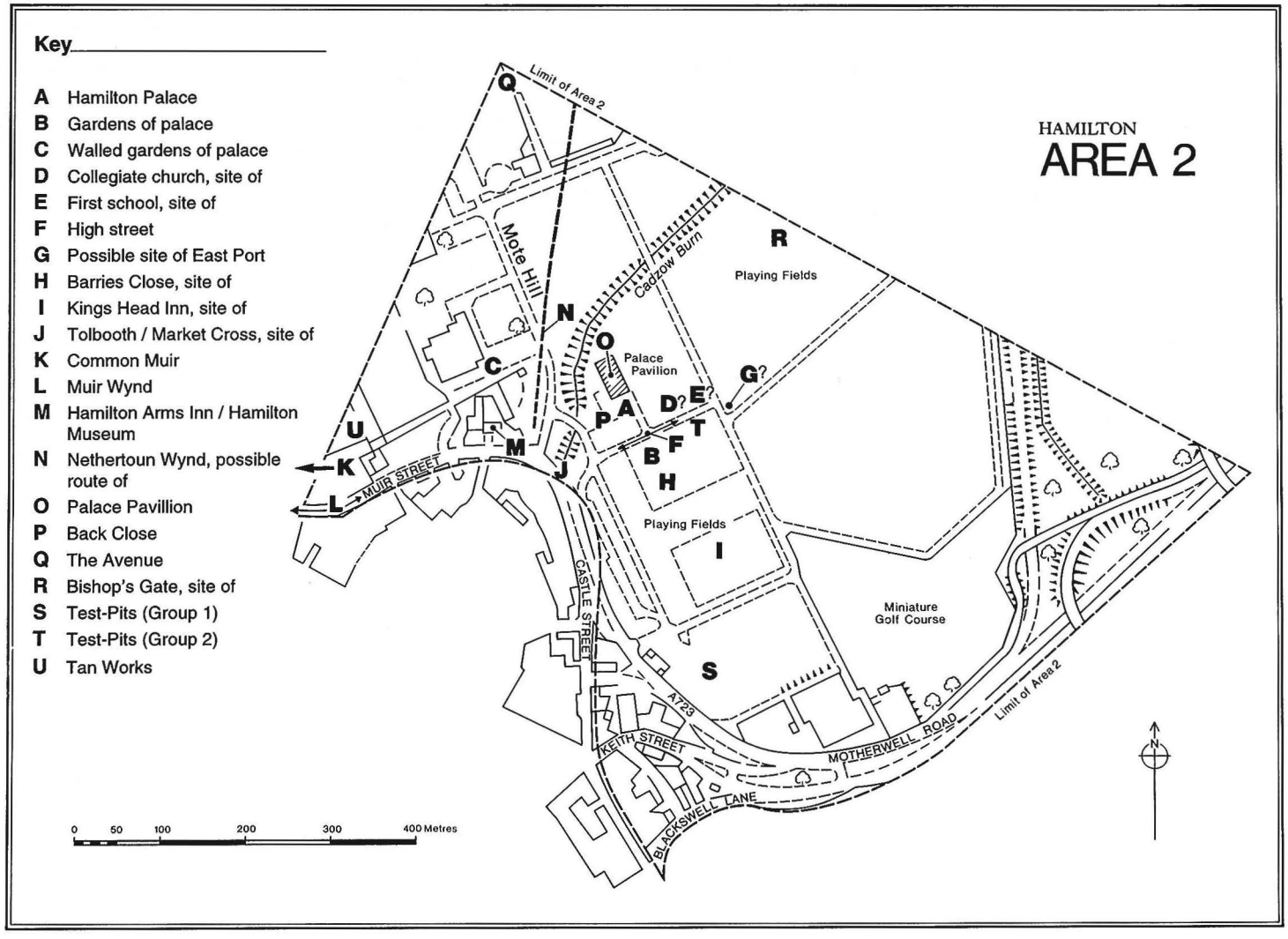

figure 23
Area 2

In the sixteenth century, the Hamiltons were extending the manor-house. In a precept of 1538 there is reference to a house, a yard and three roods of land adjoining, lying between the entrance to the cemetery and the town, being granted by Mr George Locart, professor of theology and dean of the metropolitan church at Glasgow, to the earl of Arran. This document was kept in the Hamilton archives, with the endorsement: 'parte of the pallace of Hamyltoun to my lord governor 1538'.

In 1542 a charter of James V speaks of 'the castle of Hamilton, now built, or to be built', implying major works at *The Orchard*; although there is an element of confusion, as, if this is the case, both the castle beside the Avon and *The Orchard* were now being called 'castle of Hamilton'. From this time until 1553, the *Treasurer's Accounts* relate in detail a systematic upgrading of the Hamilton property. This was made possible by the appointment of Lord Hamilton, now also the second earl of Arran, as regent for the young Queen Mary. As Governor, he clearly considered Treasury funds to be available for his personal use. Hamilton Castle, beside the Avon, may have been a beneficiary; but luxuries such as window glass, painted with the Governor's coat of arms, and lavish internal furnishings and decorations suggest that it was the residence at the town that was being upgraded. Two tilers arrived from France to work on the roofs, and the interior was adorned with chandeliers with sixteen fathoms of rope, tapestries, chairs, stools, six ells of green cloth from Milan to cover the dining table, and feathers from the Bass Rock to fill the pillows and mattresses.

Queen Mary was received by the Hamiltons after her escape from Loch Leven Castle in May 1568. Whether she stayed at Hamilton Palace or at the castle by the Avon is unclear: local tradition in the town of Hamilton says that it was the former. In any event, her subsequent defeat at the Battle of Langside and flight to England would have long-term implications for Hamilton Castle and Hamilton Palace. The Hamiltons were forced

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to hand over the keys to the young king's supporters, and many of the costly furnishings,

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holes and slots from timber buildings, drains and gulleys—all features commonly found in medieval burghs—could be expected to have survived.

The earliest known site in this area is *The Orchard*, the manor-house of the Hamilton family, dated to at least as far back as the fourteenth century. Over the years it is thought to have been upgraded and any traces of *The Orchard*, such as the many outbuildings and other features associated with earlier phases, probably lie buried beneath successive phases of the building later known as Hamilton Palace **A**, or were destroyed during phases of building of the palace.

Also associated with the palace was a range of buildings within a courtyard, situated to the west side of the main building, known as Back Close **P**. This comprised the bakehouse, brewhouse, dairy, washhouse and stables, all constructed in the late seventeenth century, as well as a number of walled gardens, ponds and bowling greens. Many of these outbuildings were probably demolished during later alterations and further landscaping, particularly in the early nineteenth century, when the palace was once again extended and refurbished to form one of the most resplendent stately houses in the country, but traces of their foundations may survive.

Traces of wall foundations were exposed during the test-pitting programme carried out in 1995 (*see* p 55–7). Whether these were part of the structure of the palace itself, external buildings within the grounds or, perhaps more importantly, evidence of the burgh itself, is still unclear. A sherd of seventeenth-century pottery was recovered from the same test-pit as one of the walls. If the pottery and the associated wall are contemporary, as is possible, then they would pre-date the two major phases of palace building (in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and again in the early nineteenth century). This is promising for the archaeological potential of this area, as it implies that earlier features may have survived later alterations and landscaping.

The palace is a well-documented building and plans of the layout are known. Despite being demolished in the 1920s, due to its subsidence into disused coal-workings, the plan

perhaps not unreasonably, were repossessed by the state. Three months later, in August, Lord Claud Hamilton, one of the younger sons of Arran, who had also, since 1549, held the French title of Duke of Châtelherault, took the castle by surprise for the Hamiltons (though whether the one by the Avon or beside the town is unclear).

From exile, Queen Mary appointed Châtelherault Governor again. In this capacity he was besieging Glasgow, held by the king's supporters, in May 1570, when Matthew, Earl of Lennox, arrived to relieve the siege. Lennox's next target was Hamilton. Not only was the castle by the Avon 'cast down', but the palace was attacked: 'the castell of Hammyltounn was rendered unto them, they burnt the same with the pallace and the haill toune of Hammyltoun'. The damage to the palace could not have been total, however, as Châtelherault was in residence here when he died in 1575. Four years later, however, it was again under attack; and doubtless it was badly damaged, the records stating that the victors 'spoiled the town of Hamilton'. James VI spent two nights at the palace in 1589 while on a hunting trip, which would suggest that adequate repairs had been effected; by the 1590s the Hamilton family was enlarging it further.

The seventeenth century saw further embellishments. The policies were laid out in a series of walled gardens, the gardener, Robert Hutchison, buying seed in East Lothian and travelling to Fife to view mature gardens. A bowling green was laid and a deer park added in the 1630s, all surrounded by the Cadzow oak woods and their famous white cattle.

There were less happy times for the palace when they were occupied by Cromwell's generals. There is no evidence that Cromwell himself lodged here; but after the trial and execution of the first duke as a royalist, the Hamilton properties, including the palace, were handed over to the military as quarters. The young daughter of the duke sought sanctuary in Arran and then in 'the little house in the woods' at Hamilton.

history

The palace and policies were to be transformed in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The walled gardens that Duchess Anne had inherited were

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of the palace could be still be made out in aerial photographs taken in the mid-1940s (*see* **figure 4**), as could a tree-lined avenue **Q**, which originally ran northwards from the palace and was part of the formal gardens.

During the eighteenth century the fortunes of the burgh and the palace overlapped (*see* pp 28–34). The expansionist plans of the Hamilton family forced the inhabitants of the burgh to relocate. The landscaping and formalising of the palace gardens that ensued may have destroyed much evidence of the earlier burgh.

Though some early maps exist, the most accurate maps of most Scottish burghs were produced in the early nineteenth century—after most of the Hietoun had already been demolished. Nevertheless, early maps can provide basic information on street patterns and the size of burgage plots, which give an impression of the character of the medieval burgh. Documentary sources have also provided a broad picture of the layout of Hamilton burgh. This comprised a main street, High Street **F**, which appears to have run on an east–west alignment, directly in front (south) of the palace itself. Being so close to the façade of the palace, the site of the medieval burgh was probably heavily landscaped after the burgh had been relocated, to improve the view of the Dukes of Hamilton.

It is therefore unlikely that upstanding features, such as the walls of buildings or the streets and wynds themselves, have survived. Traces of the simple houses that lined both sides of the High Street, however, may be preserved as a series of trenches dug into the natural subsoil to accommodate the wall foundations. Other 'negative', or cut, features that may survive are wells, rubbish pits and the gullies that marked out property boundaries. As this area is prone to flooding, a network of early drains may also be expected.

A number of important buildings of the early burgh may also survive at foundation level. The original school **E** was, by all accounts, a substantial building. The tolbooth **J**, demolished as recently as the 1950s, stood at the western end of the High Street, with the tron and market cross nearby. Traces of the parish or collegiate church **D**, which stood to

retained, although a certain formality was added. In front of the palace, to the north was a Statue Garden and next to this, down a short flight of steps, was the Pond Garden. At the south gate a new bowling alley was laid out in 1666.

Duchess Anne's 'great design', however, involved far more. As she inherited it, the palace had a steep-pitched, slated roof. The main wings were three storeys high with towers of one storey higher at each end of the northern façade. Beside the palace, in an irregular courtyard called Back Close, were the two-storeyed thatched buildings that housed the offices essential to the smooth running of the palace—the bakehouse, brewhouse, dairy, washhouse and stables. Work was started on major rebuilding and reappointing in 1684, to plans of James Smith, and was probably not fully completed until 1713, when a part-payment was made to James Smith junior. The northern façade was retained with two new wings added to the south, thus forming a courtyard. The interior was lavishly furnished, with marble fireplaces, superb panelling in the principal rooms and on the staircase, elaborate plaster cornices and, a new invention, sash windows. In its renovated and refurbished state Daniel Defoe described it as 'large, ... the front is very magnificent indeed, all of white freestone with regular ornaments according to the rules of art'.

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the east of the palace on the north side of the main street, may also survive, as part of it remained in use as a burial vault for the Hamilton family long after the church itself had fallen into disuse. It must also have had a graveyard and deeply-cut burials may also, therefore, be expected to survive. The site known as the Bishop's Gate **R** is traditionally thought to have been the last remaining trace of the collegiate church. Its architectural style, however, suggests that it was later in date than the church; it is more likely to have been an isolated arch leading into an ornamental garden. No trace is visible today.

One of the early streets still survives in this area, Muir Wynd **L**. Only the very eastern end, around the tolbooth, was developed by the seventeenth century. The importance of this route into the town was demonstrated by the siting of a port here, although its exact location is unknown. The house which eventually became the Hamilton Arms Inn **M**, originally built in 1696 by the secretary to Duchess Anne, was also located here (*see* pp 65–6); this is one of the few extant historic buildings in the burgh and now houses the museum. Near to the Hamilton Arms Inn was the walled garden of the Palace **C**.

A mid nineteenth-century map shows a tanning works **U** in the area known as the 'Effie's Croft', which lay to the north-east of Muir Street. This tanning works is not depicted on Woods' map of 1824 **figure 18**, so it must have been established sometime during the second quarter or middle of the nineteenth century. The works would have comprised a series of wood-lined pits or tanks, sunk into the ground, which could have survived the disturbance caused by development, and might even be found sealed beneath later buildings. These remains will be of interest to industrial archaeologists. The western end of Muir Street, essentially an extension of Muir Wynd, was quite well-developed by the nineteenth century. Today, the north side of Muir Street has largely been demolished.

previously recorded archaeological features and results of bore-hole survey

The following information has largely been extracted from the database of the National Monuments Record of Scotland (RCAHMS, NMRS). Their record card numbering system has been included for ease of reference. Where relevant, entries are prefaced with their key letter as shown on **figure 23**. No chance finds are recorded from this area.

D *Hamilton, old parish church NS 7273 5598* **figure 7**

collegiate church

The foundation of the collegiate church dedicated to St Mary was confirmed by the pope in 1451. Whether an older parish church already stood here is unclear. The church continued in use until 1732, when it was demolished in the name of improvements to the

It was the duchess's intention to re-landscape the entire gardens. Elaborate and costly plans were drawn up, but were not to be realised in her lifetime. It was her grandson, the fifth duke, who placed the formal gardens, shown on eighteenth-century plans, in front of the new façade **B**. This was merely part of a grander enhancement of Hamilton Palace. On the skyline to the south, he had constructed his hunting lodge, Châtelherault. The two were linked by a double avenue of deciduous trees, flanked with an outer avenue of firs. To the north was constructed a walled, seven-acre garden **C** (*see also* the fragmentary Thomas Barns' plan **figure 17**). Fruit trees were cordoned on the walls and it had a hot-house and a greenhouse. The palace was in the nineteenth century to be so expensively embellished that it was said to rival even royal palaces.

Next to the ducal palace stood the collegiate church **D figure 7**. The first Lord Hamilton petitioned Pope Nicholas V in 1451 for permission to create a collegiate church. Whether this was to be the elevation of an existing parish church, or a new site for the old parish church, is unclear. There had been a parish church as early as 1150, probably beside the motte (*see* **area 1**). Whether this was now being moved or whether it had already been so is uncertain. The collegiate church was dedicated to St Mary and was served by a

history

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palace and its policies and superseded by the present parish church, situated at the end of Church Street (NS 7232 5553). One transept of the old parish church survived intact until the nineteenth century, as it served as the burial place of the Dukes of Hamilton. It was finally removed in 1852 and superseded by a Mausoleum **figure 22.G**. No remains of the collegiate church are visible today. Before the area where it stood was established as parkland, it was the site of the town council refuse tip. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 13; D E Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1957), 181.

J *Hamilton Tolbooth NS 7252 5584* **figure 9**

Tolbooth; jail

The tolbooth, a considerably-altered seventeenth century building, at one time also housed the town jail. Erected in 1643 to replace an earlier one, the tolbooth had at least three shops (booths) on its ground floor, glass window panes, an oft-repaired and heightened steeple, a clock, and the town stocks were in front of it. Iron bars were placed on the windows on the south side of the building where the jail was. The tolbooth was demolished in 1951, except for the steeple which survived until 1954 when it was removed to make way for a roadway. The foundations had become somewhat undermined by the waters of the Cadzow Burn. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 14; D MacGibbon and T Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, v (Edinburgh, 1892), 124.

A *Hamilton Palace NS 7264 5592* **figure 12**

Tower; country house

The precursor to Hamilton Palace was Lord James Hamilton's manor-house *The Orchard*, which dated from at least the early fifteenth century, and possibly the fourteenth. This may have been incorporated into successive building phases of the palace: walls nine feet thick (as opposed to three feet thick elsewhere), noted in the north-west corner of the palace when it was demolished in 1927, are thought to have represented part of *The* (original) *Orchard*. Precisely how and when *The Orchard* was elevated into a palace is unclear but the building was repeatedly upgraded. The gardens were established at least as early as the early seventeenth century. In the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Duchess Anne's grand design effected a transformation of both the palace and its grounds; by the time she had finished, the palace was a sumptuous residence, said to rival even royal palaces. The gradual acquisition by the Hamiltons of adjacent land and properties led to the almost complete removal and re-location of the early burgh during this period.

provost and six chaplains, with, possibly, a further two existing chaplainries, which were converted into prebends. There were possibly at least three altars, dedicated to Our Lady, the Holy Rood and St Stephen. Attached to the collegiate church was the hospital of St Thomas Martyr. The function of this hospital was more that of an almshouse than a place to heal the sick.

The collegiate church was to remain standing until 1732, when it was replaced by a new church, further west, at a more commodious distance from the palace (*see* **area 3**; **figure 24.J**). Apart from one transept, all the ecclesiastical buildings were removed or allowed to fall into ruin. The transept was to survive, as the burial place of the Dukes of Hamilton, until the building of the Mausoleum in the nineteenth century **figure 22.G**. The last vestiges of the collegiate church disappeared, apart from one arched gateway which may have been associated with it, but this too was destroyed in the twentieth century.

Beyond the collegiate church was a school **E**. Before the Reformation it would have had close ties with the church, since its main function was to train clerics and choristers. A grammar school was endowed in 1588 by John, Lord Hamilton. It appears to have been sited at the location of the old school and may have been a direct successor to it. By 1660 the school was in the care of a schoolmaster and a school doctor. There are no details of the style of construction of the school, other than that the accommodation provided not only teaching areas but also housing for the schoolmaster. It must have been substantial, for in 1709 while under repair, it required fifty-eight lozenges of glass and seventy new latches. It was also considered of sufficient merit that Duchess Anne sent her sons and grandson, the future fifth duke, to the school. It was to remain here until 1714. An agreement had been reached with Duchess Anne that she might demolish it 'for her conveniency', since it was 'near to her grace's gardens'. It was replaced by another building further west (*see* **area 3**; **figure 24.G**).

All these buildings stood on the north side of the main street of Hamilton—the Magnum Vicus, or High Street **F**, sometimes called the Hietoun. The provost of the collegiate church also held land on this side of the street. There were, however, more

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The palace was demolished in 1927 because of subsidence into disused coal-workings. No traces are visible today although its lay-out could still be discerned in aerial photographs taken in the mid-1940s **figure 4**. Before the area was established as parkland, the site of the palace was occupied by the town council refuse tip. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 16; R K Marshall, *Review of Scottish Culture*, 3 (1987), 13–23.

R *Hamilton Low Parks NS 7284 5613*

gateway; Bishop's Gate

Situated in the palace grounds but removed by the town council in about 1925, this solitary free-standing arch, known as the 'Bishop's Gate', may have been a gateway in a surrounding wall. There is no evidence for it ever having been part of a building. No traces of it exist today, the site having been covered by a rubbish tip and then established as parkland. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 7.

E *Hamilton Grammar School NS 7289 5598*

school

The original school had close ties with the collegiate church and would have stood close to the church. The grammar school endowed in 1588 by John, Lord Hamilton, was probably the same as, or on the site of, the pre-Reformation school. This original school stood in what is now Hamilton Low Parks, immediately to the east of the collegiate church, and remained there until 1714 when it was demolished. No traces of the school are visible on the ground surface today, and the area is now parkland. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 17.

simple dwellings and booths with yards, crofts and orchards attached. The overall impression of the street in the seventeenth century is one of congestion, with simple townspeople's properties hard up against the ducal palace. Most of the houses were thatched in the sixteenth century, as in 1554 a property was called the 'sclait' or slate house, thus indicating that it was unusual. Thatching probably remained the common form of roofing for as long as the High Street existed.

Houses also lined the south side of the High Street. It was here that the prebendaries of the collegiate church had their residences and supporting land, alongside the ordinary townspeople. One of the dwellings on this side of the street was called the 'Turnpyk', which implies not only that the property had a turnpike staircase, but that this was an unusual feature in seventeenth-century Hamilton.

The High Street continued as a pathway down to the town's ferry (*see* **area 1**; **figure 22.E**); but it may have been barred at night by a gate or port. The town had an 'East Port', which probably stood on the High Street, perhaps just beyond the school **G**. Ports were more psychological than physical barriers. Their main purpose, along with the tolbooth, was to act as collection points for tolls or customs, payable by those coming to use the town's market. It would have been through this gate that those approaching from the ferry or the ford would come. In 1669, a little less than £3 was collected at the port.

Moving southwards out of the High Street was Barrie's Close **H**. Although the High Street was causeyed, this street was perhaps not so well maintained. A fire in 1744 raged here for many days, suggesting thatched roofs, and it was left in ruins for years. It appears to have remained in a state of some disrepair, for in 1783 a visitor to the close lost his footing in the dark and 'fell into a hole full of water, three feet and a half deep, ... with his head down, where he was found a little after eleven o'clock dead'. A port was also situated here; it was probably the least used entrance to the town, since in 1669 it raised the least of all customs, £1 5s 8d.

history

Near to Barrie's Close was the King's Arms Hotel **I**. It was in existence by at least the sixteenth century. This area was to be the focal point for the 'Battle of the Hietoun'.

archaeology

S *&* **T** *test-pit survey*

In January 1995 a programme of test-pitting was carried out by engineers across the palace grounds area of Hamilton Low Parks, in advance of proposed development. This provided a limited opportunity to assess the nature, extent and degree of preservation of the archaeological remains of the medieval burgh. For the purposes of this study, the results of the test-pits have been summarised and divided into two main groups: one to the south—*Group 1* centred at **S**; and one to the north—*Group 2* centred at **T**.

In all, sixty-eight engineers' test-pits, scattered at approximately 75–100 m intervals, were inserted across a total area of some 750 m by more than 500 m. Twenty of these pits were monitored by staff of the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust in the area thought most likely to be archaeologically sensitive. Therefore, only a very small percentage of the total area was examined. Moreover, for safety reasons (the pits were up to 4.2 m deep and very narrow), archaeological recording had to be undertaken from present ground surface level. For both these reasons, the results of the 1995 archaeological monitoring must be seen as very provisional. (*See* SUAT *A Watching Brief at Palace Grounds, Hamilton, Strathclyde*, Internal Report, 1995; also lodged with Strathclyde Regional Archaeology Service, Glasgow, and the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Edinburgh).

S *Group 1—summary of results*

To the south, six test-pits across an area some 230 by 100 m revealed a substantial overburden of modern deposits (between *c* 1–3.3 m deep), generally lying directly on natural subsoil. Test-pit 1 contained a garden soil at a depth of *c* 1.7 m, probably representing soil from the palace gardens or the burgage plots of the early burgh. No other archaeological remains were observed. The considerable quantities of household

General Lambert was sent to Hamilton by Oliver Cromwell in 1650 to face the opposition in Ayrshire, estimated to be 1,500 strong. Lambert was routed and taken prisoner in Sarah Jean's Close, beside Barrie's Close. The King's Arms acted as host, willing or otherwise, on the occasion of Cromwell's visit to the town.

At the top of the High Street stood one of the two most important secular features—the tolbooth **J**. It was here that the tolls, or customs, to use the market were gathered in, the official town weights were kept, the burgh council and court meetings were held and the jail was sited. There had been a tolbooth in the town before 1643, but in this year a new one was erected. It was an impressive building that was to survive intact, but altered somewhat, until the twentieth century **figure 9.** On the ground floor were three shops or booths, let out to supplement the common good fund. One of these booths may have been subdivided, as there is reference to a fourth rental. Above were the council meeting room and the jail. The windows of the tolbooth were glazed, having often to be repaired at some expense to the town. There was also a clock in the town by 1660, doubtless in the tolbooth. By the eighteenth century the tolbooth had a steeple with a clock, with four faces, one on each side of the tower.

The jail may have been housed on the south side of the tolbooth, as iron bands were placed across a window on this side. There was also a 'thieves hole', probably within the tolbooth, but whether this was simply another name for the jail or a separate place of incarceration in the nature of a pit is unclear. Outside the tolbooth were the stocks **figure 10** and the jougs, both used to expose offenders to public display and mockery.

The market cross—the second important secular feature—stood beside the tolbooth **figure 23.J**. It was from here that the town crier made proclamations and the town drummer alerted the people. The cross was also the focal point for communal celebrations. Bonfires were lit at the cross in 1661, and the town partook of pipe and tobacco, almonds, raisins, comfits, ale and wine in rejoicing at the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

Closely associated with the market cross was the town weighing machine, or tron. The two stood in close proximity at the top of the High Street, the nucleus of Hamilton's markets. Apart from the meat market and slaughter house, which stood beside the Cadzow Burn on the west side of Muir Street (*see* **area 3**), the horse market and the sheep market, all the other markets were held in or at the top of the Hietoun. The meal market was on a piece of land called the Templelands. Congestion was inevitable. The town council, therefore, laid down regulations specifying where booths could be erected. The shoemakers, for example, were moved from their traditional stance outside the palace gates to the new School Wynd in 1735. Fair times brought not only stranger traders but swelled the numbers of the local clientele as well. By 1766, allocations of space in this

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refuse in the overburden confirm the recent use of the site as the town council dump.

T *Group 2—summary of results*

Four of the remaining fourteen test-pits examined further to the north revealed potentially significant archaeological remains (*nos* 36, 37, 44 and 47). In two test-pits, *in situ* wall foundations were exposed, lying 1.10 m and 0.50 m respectively below the modern ground surface. The massive quantities of building rubble revealed in one of these test-pits (*no* 36) suggest the demolition of a substantial building or buildings in the immediate area. These four pits are located close to both the known site of Hamilton Palace and the medieval burgh.

conclusions

The proximity of at least three of the archaeologically productive test-pits to the known site of Hamilton Palace, demolished as recently as the 1920s, is clearly significant.

confined area were essential. Merchant travellers were to place themselves between the entry to the mid-shop below the tolbooth eastwards along the High Street, 'leaving proper passages to closes and shops'; woollen merchants stood east of them. On the south side of High Street were the hardware merchants, with the nailers to their east. The shoemarket, crockery merchants and sweetmeat dealers were in School Wynd (*see* **area 3**). Further afield, since it needed more space, was the horse market (*see* **area 3: figure 24. J**). This was moved in 1733 to the common muir, east of Muir Street **K**, where a sheep market was also held every Friday in May and the first two Fridays in June from 1736, in an area specially cleared and fenced off. The common muir caused the townspeople considerable expense. Whins rendered it at times almost useless, and even after ditching and causeying in the muir, they were not fully controlled.

At the top of Muir Wynd **L** on Gallow Hill stood the town gibbet. This thoroughfare also had a port, which in 1669 brought in an income of a little over £4. Muir Wynd was an important thoroughfare, being part of the main north–south route from Glasgow to Carlisle. David Crawford, secretary to Duchess Anne, began the construction of a house here in 1696 **M**. It was converted by the mid eighteenth century to an inn, called the Hamilton Arms Inn, later the Head Inn **figure 19**, a regular staging post for the Glasgow–Carlisle traffic. From 1788 the Glasgow to London mail coach also used the inn as a stopping point. Stabling to the rear dates from the coaching era, and in 1784 an assembly room was added. Amongst its famous visitors were Boswell and Dr Johnson, the Wordsworths and Thomas Telford, the engineer. The old inn now houses the town museum (*see* **historic buildings**). Conveniently near to the inn stood one of Hamilton's wells, the Lady Well (precise location unknown).

Close by, leading off Muir Street, was Nethertoun Wynd **N**. As the name suggests, this was the route to the nether, or lower, toun, and to the green **figure 22.D**, before its appropriation by Duchess Anne. That Nethertoun itself was considered to be outwith the main settlement at Hamilton is confirmed by the fact that Nethertoun Wynd was enclosed by one of the town ports (precise location unknown).

From the eighteenth century, the ducal garden stood nearby **C**. A seven-acre plot, the walls were covered with fruit trees, and there was also a greenhouse and a hot house for the propagation of plants.

Apart from the Hamilton Arms Inn **M** and the Muir Street thoroughfare, all of Area 2 was to disappear by the early nineteenth century, a victim of the expansionist schemes of the Dukes of Hamilton. The Palace Pavilion **O**, a modern structure, is one of the few buildings in the park. Beyond the museum (housed in the old Hamilton Arms Inn **M**), to the north and west, lie school playing fields and Hamilton Low Parks.

history

archaeology

Comparison of the locations of these pits with plans of the lay-out of the palatial complex, a well documented building, should confirm whether the foundations encountered are part of the palace or the early town (*see* **suggested avenues for further work**).

Otherwise, the test-pitting revealed no upstanding remains of the medieval burgh. It is possible that all traces have been completely removed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscaping or, more recently, heavily disturbed during the area's use as the town dump. The sheer depth of accumulated modern material, however, may have sealed 'negative' features (features cut into the natural subsoil). Rubbish pits, post-holes, wall foundations, drains and gullies are common examples of 'negative' features found in medieval burghs. Equally, the limited nature of the test-pitting must be remembered. It is strongly recommended that a full archaeological desk-based assessment of the area should be carried out. Moreover, this area will clearly merit further archaeological investigation in the field in advance of any development.

area 3

Castle Street / Townhead Street / Low Patrick Street / Lower Auchingramont Street **figure 24**

description

This area encompasses the north-eastern corner of modern Hamilton, and includes the new parish church built in 1732 **J**. Castle Street and Townhead Street define the eastern boundary of Area 3, and the north side of Low Patrick Street the southern boundary. The western boundary is more arbitrary and follows a line from Low Patrick Street to Lower Auchingramont Street in the north-western corner of this area. The south side of Muir Street forms the northern boundary, but Muir Street itself is included in Area 2. Cadzow Street runs through the heart of Area 3 but is in fact a late addition to the town plan, constructed in the early to mid nineteenth century to bypass the dangerous bend in the road at the junction of Castle Street and Muir Street, also known as the 'Devil's Elbow Corner'. Castle Street was originally named Castle Wynd.

historical background

history

This area, to the west and south of the Hietoun and Muir Wynd, developed later than the Hietoun core. By the sixteenth century, Castle Wynd **A** and the lower end of Townhead **B** were partially built up. Since the port at this end of the town stood on Castle Wynd until

archaeology

archaeological potential and future development **figure 25**

Hamilton Ahead, an initiative developed by Hamilton Enterprise Partnership, propose to further develop the Regent Way shopping centre by linking it to a new shopping complex on Townhead Street.

The lower slope of the hill on which this area stands was beginning to be developed by the sixteenth century, notably Castle Wynd **A** and Townhead **B**, but most of the streets date from the eighteenth century and later. Medieval archaeological levels are not likely to be present beneath modern buildings, except perhaps on Castle Street. There are, however, a number of sites and features of archaeological interest which merit consideration.

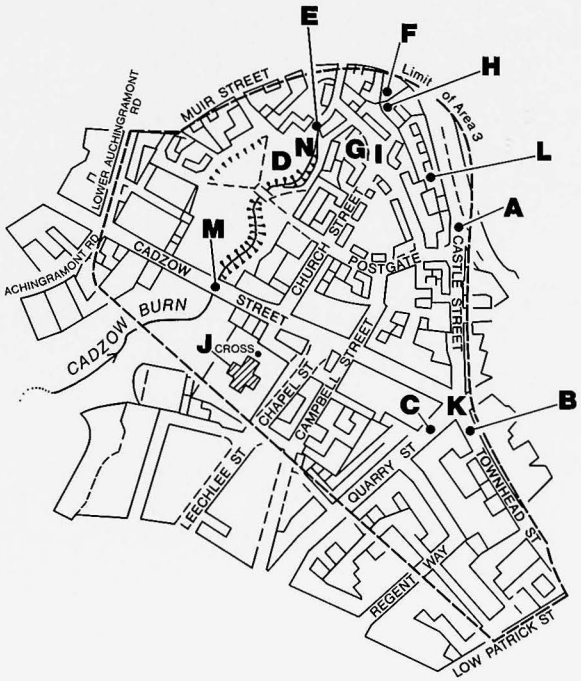
A port and well, their exact locations unknown, were sited in Castle Wynd, the remains of which may survive sealed beneath the modern street surface. Other wells may survive elsewhere in this area. The street frontage at the northern end of Castle Wynd **L** may be the most rewarding archaeologically, because the earliest settlement in Area 3 was concentrated around here, near where the market place once stood. The east side of Castle Wynd has been partly landscaped away but the western side survives. The remains of buildings and burgage plots could, therefore, be preserved beneath the modern street frontage.

Elsewhere in this area, isolated sites of interest include: the site of the new grammar school in Grammar School Square **G**, demolished in the 1930s; the mill on the banks of the Cadzow Burn **E**; and a seventeenth-century almshouse **F**. The new parish church **J**, built in 1732 on the site of the old horse market, still stands today at the top of Church Street. Together with the new grammar school, it provided the focus or incentive for people to relocate to this part of the burgh when the Dukes and Duchesses of Hamilton began the removal of the Hietoun.

A mid nineteenth-century map shows a tanning works **N** situated on or near the Doucat Acre, an area known as the 'common green' or 'washing green' **D**, on the banks of the Cadzow Burn. This works is not depicted on Wood's map of 1824 (*see* **figure 18**), so it must have been established sometime during the second quarter or around the middle of the nineteenth century. This would have been a natural location for a tanning works, which needed a constant supply of water. The works would have comprised a series of wood-

Key

- **A** Castle Wynd
- **B** Townhead
- **C** Quarry Loan
- **D** Doucat Acre, common green
- **E** Mill, site of
- **F** Almshouse, site of
- **G** 18th century school, site of
- **H** New Wynd
- **I** Grammar School Square
- **J** 18th century parish church / site of 1st horse market
- **K** 2nd site of horse market
- **L** Street frontages
- **M** Cadzow Bridge
- **N** Tan works



HAMILTON
AREA 3

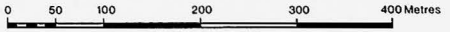


figure 24
Area 3

at least 1699, thus excluding Townhead, Townhead clearly must have been a later development than Castle Wynd. The section of Castle Wynd near the market area was the most highly developed, as would be expected. There was a well in Castle Wynd, which did not always function efficiently: in 1709 it required cleaning to ascertain how much water it was capable of providing. As the name suggests, Townhead was the top of the town. Leading off Townhead was Quarry Loan **C**, which was developed only at the lower section by the late eighteenth century **figure 17**.

Duchess Anne and her husband had appropriated, probably in the early eighteenth century, the town's common green to the east of the Hietoun **figure 22.D**. In exchange, a piece of land west of Muir Street, called the Doucat Acre, was given to the townspeople as their common green **D figure 13**. Nearby stood the town mill **E**, on the banks of the Cadzow Burn. In close proximity were an almshouse, founded by the second marquis in 1615 **F**, and the meat market and slaughter house.

history

In 1714 Duchess Anne had built a new school **G figure 14**, to replace the old school beside the collegiate church (*see* **area 2**). This grammar school was two storeys high, with

archaeology

lined pits or tanks, sunk into the ground. Such tanks can survive the disturbance caused by development, and are often found sealed beneath later buildings. This site will be of importance for industrial archaeologists.

previously recorded archaeological features

The following information has largely been extracted from the database of the National Monuments Record of Scotland (RCAHMS, NMRS). Their record card numbering system has been included for ease of reference. Where relevant, entries are prefaced with their key letter as shown on **figure 24**. No chance finds are recorded from this area.

J *Hamilton parish church NS 7232 5553* **figure 15**

church

The present parish church, built in 1732 from a design of William Adam, is situated at the end of Church Street. The interior was recast in 1926 and part of the original pulpit is extant. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 33; G Hay *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches 1560–1843* (Oxford, 1957), 76 *passim.*

garrets above and cellars below, with 'walls and other conveniences about the same'. It was also her intention to erect a new parish church beside the school, but this was not achieved. Access had to be provided to the school, so New Wynd **H** was constructed as an extension westwards of High Street and the grammar school stood on the east side on a new square—Grammar School Square **I**. In 1735 the shoemakers' market was relocated in New Wynd, to relieve congestion in the High Street area. The crockery market and the sweetmeat market were likewise moved to the New Wynd region in 1766.

In 1732, a new parish church was built to a design of William Adam **J figure 15**. It was deliberately placed, by the fifth Duke of Hamilton, at a distance up the hill to the west of the town, in order to encourage a movement of settlement in that direction, away from the ducal policies. It was initially approached by a narrow path. By 1751, however, land was measured and set out for feuing. Thus was commenced Church Street. The land that the church occupied was previously the horse market. This was, perforce, transferred to Castle Wynd and the foot of Quarry Wynd **K**. This site proved too narrow, however, and in the following year, 1733, it was again relocated, this time to the common muir.

history

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archaeology

J *Nethertoun Cross NS 7233 5555* **figure 6**

early medieval cross
This cross formerly stood in Hamilton Low Parks (at NS 7271 5674) (*see* **area 1**) and was removed to its present position in the graveyard of Hamilton parish church in 1926. Carved from a slab of local red sandstone, it stands to a height of 2.1 m and is decorated on all four sides. The style of decoration suggests that the cross dates from the tenth century at the earliest, and, more probably, from the eleventh or twelfth. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 15; J R Stevenson *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: the Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), 108.

M *Cadzow Bridge NS 7229 5562*

battle site
A plaque on Cadzow Bridge, erected by Hamilton and District Civic Society, records this as the site of the battle between the Covenanters, under Colonel Kerr, and the English led by General Lambert. RCAHMS, NMRS Card NS 75 NW 18.

the archaeological potential of Hamilton a summary **figure 25**

an overview

On present evidence, the overall potential for the survival of archaeological deposits within the medieval core of Hamilton is perhaps limited, given the degree of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscaping which took place, and more recent disturbance by the construction of modern roads, especially the M74 motorway, and the choice of site for the town rubbish tip. Nevertheless, routine monitoring and excavations in many other Scottish towns, especially Perth and Aberdeen but also in some smaller towns, have demonstrated that medieval and later archaeological remains do often survive beneath the modern townscape. The site of any proposed ground disturbance or development along the main street frontages in the historic section of Hamilton, *and especially in Hamilton Low Parks*, must be accorded a high archaeological priority, and arrangements made for the site to be assessed, monitored and, if necessary, excavated in advance of the development scheme. Similarly, any proposed ground disturbance of the surviving historic 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 ports and wells—of which no archaeological evidence at all has yet been found.

To date, there have been few opportunities for archaeological investigation in Hamilton. Of necessity, therefore, this assessment of the archaeological potential has been made in the almost complete absence of evidence from archaeological work in the town. Engineers' test-pits have provided some information, particularly on the location of elements of the palatial complex, but have proved so far to be of limited value. 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 archaeological fieldwork (assessment, monitoring and excavation), and from other types of sub-surface investigations.

It is important to stress that this survey was limited to the core of historic (medieval) Hamilton. There is a recognised, though unquantifiable, potential for the discovery of prehistoric and Roman archaeological remains, both within and outwith the confines of the historic burgh. This potential is *not* considered or shown on **figure 25**.

Finally, there is potential for archaeological features and deposits to be preserved both beneath the floors and within the structures of historic standing buildings in Hamilton (*see* pp 65–6). The archaeological potential of Hamilton's standing buildings is not shown on **figure 25** but the potential of individual buildings is considered in the next section.

area 1 (*see also* **figure 22**)

Area 1 contains within its boundaries possibly the earliest settlement in the Hamilton area—Nethertoun. Despite the limited evidence available, this area is vitally important for our understanding of the origins and growth of medieval Hamilton and must be accorded a high archaeological priority. The historic and more recent landscaping, the construction of the M74 motorway and the creation of Strathclyde Loch have clearly reduced the archaeological potential of this area, but every opportunity must be taken to assess archaeologically and monitor any proposed developments, especially in those 'islands' of the area which have suffered less from modern disturbances. The archaeological potential is particularly high in the vicinity of the motte and around the original location of the Nethertoun Cross, but pockets of archaeological evidence may survive in other parts of Area 1, and every effort must be made to record or preserve them.

area 2 (*see also* **figure 23**)

Area 2, like Area 1, has suffered from historic and modern landscaping and the use of the site as the town dump. The sheer depth of modern overburden, however, may well have

preserved features cut into the natural subsoil. The archaeological potential of this area is highest along a strip on either side of the Cadzow Burn. The area to the east of the burn incorporates the site of the early burgh itself, as well as the collegiate church, original school, tolbooth, tron and market cross. Other features of interest include the later phases of Hamilton Palace and any remnants of the formal gardens and designed landscape.

area 3 (*see also* **figure 24**)

Area 3 is, for the most part, an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century development. There are, however, a few areas of archaeological interest. Castle Wynd represents perhaps the only street frontage where earlier archaeological levels may be preserved beneath later buildings. The remaining sites of interest, the 1732 parish church and the eighteenth-century school for instance, are scattered widely throughout the area.

historic buildings

pp 65–6

historic buildings and their archaeological potential

Very little of pre-nineteenth century Hamilton is still standing, since the Nethertoun had disappeared by the late eighteenth century, and much of the old Hietoun had been swallowed up into the Duchy of Hamilton estates by the early nineteeenth century. A few buildings have survived, however, which offer an insight into Hamilton's historic past. These few surviving buildings are mostly associated with the western expansion of the town and earlier structures are therefore unlikely to be preserved beneath them. There is one exception, however—the Castle Street frontage—where archaeological evidence pre-dating the eighteenth century is likely to survive beneath the standing buildings.

Firstly, there are two upstanding monuments which might help to elucidate the date and nature of the earliest settlement at Hamilton. In Hamilton Parks, north-east of modern Hamilton near to the Clyde, there is a *motte*. This is all that remains of an early fortified structure (*see* **area 1** *&* **gazetteer**) and it can be presumed that the early settlement clustered around this site. Settlers would have been attracted here because a fortified building offered a measure of protection to those nearby, while the castle and its occupants would have looked to their neighbours for labour and a supply of basic necessities. This is probably the first settlement site of Cadzow, or Hamilton as it became called—the Nethertoun.

Mottes, a form of earth and timber castle, were introduced into Scotland in the twelfth century, but continued to be constructed and occupied for several centuries afterwards. They symbolise a newly-established system of feudal government and land tenure. Several hundred mottes have been identified across Scotland, but comparatively few have been investigated archaeologically. Typically, only the mound itself survives, but excavations elsewhere have revealed a number of associated features surviving beneath the modern ground surface. A wooden tower, probably two storeys high, would have stood on top of the mound, with an extra line of defence provided by a palisade around the edge of the mound. A defensive ditch surrounded the base of the motte, the upcast from which formed the fabric of the mound itself. Mottes often had an outer enclosure, or bailey, again protected by a ditch and palisade, with access to the tower provided by a drawbridge. The bailey contained many of the domestic buildings and structures, and it was only during an attack that the tower itself was occupied. It is possible that remnants of these associated features survive at Hamilton, as the area immediately around the motte appears to have been spared the damage seen elsewhere in Hamilton Low Parks.

The *Nethertoun Cross* **figure 6**, which now stands in front of the entrance to Hamilton new parish church, was brought to this place for safekeeping in the early twentieth century, but its original site was some 60 m north of the motte. Both the original site and the style of decoration of the stone cross are of interest. Some have argued that the cross was carved in the eighth century, but its decoration suggests that it is more likely to be tenth century at the earliest, and, more probably, eleventh or twelfth. Its location strongly suggests that there was some form of settlement nearby. When allied to the evidence of the motte, it probably confirms the site of first settlement of Cadzow: hence its name, the 'Nethertoun Cross'. Its decoration suggests that it was of religious significance, rather than a secular market cross and there is a tradition that an early church stood nearby, perhaps on land now submerged beneath Strathclyde Loch.

The present *Hamilton Museum* is the only standing example of a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century dwelling house in Hamilton **figure 19**. A prestigious building, its construction was commenced in 1696, after the secretary to Duchess Anne, David Crawford, purchased land on Muir Street. Sometime around 1750 the property began to be used as an inn, and by 1785 it was known as the *Hamilton Arms Inn* (later, Head Inn). It was sited in a strategic position on the main route from Glasgow in the north to Carlisle in the south. The inn became a regular staging post for the Glasgow to London mail coach after 1788. The attached stables date from these coaching days. In 1784, an assembly room was added and its original minstrels' gallery and plasterwork survive. The windows are examples of early sash windows, introduced also to Hamilton Palace at the end of the seventeenth century. Amongst its famous visitors were Boswell and Dr Johnson, the Wordsworths and the engineer Thomas Telford.

As this is the oldest standing building in Hamilton, with many different phases of construction, there is considerable potential for archaeological features and deposits to be preserved both beneath the floors and within the structure of the building itself. Any major alterations within the building, or in its environs, for example the insertion of new services, may reveal the remains of the earlier structure or any outbuildings, and will require archaeological assessment and monitoring.

The present *parish church* of Hamilton was designed by William Adam, the father of Robert Adam, in 1732 **figure 15**. It is the only extant example of a William Adam church. Of classical design, it is in the form of a Greek cross. Apart from the cupola above the dome, which replaced a cone-shaped, slated roof, the church is largely in its original state. Built of local stone on the site of an earlier horse market, it was deliberately placed here—to the west of the eighteenth-century town—in order to encourage a movement of settlement in this direction, and away from the ducal policies.

Built into the east wall is the *memorial stone* to Covenanting martyrs, John Parker, Gavin Hamilton, James Hamilton and Christopher Strang, executed after the failure of the Pentland Rising in 1666 **figure 11**. This is a reminder of the close association of Hamilton with the Covenanting movement.

Street frontages have, in recent urban excavations, proved the most rewarding in terms of the preservation of archaeological deposits, despite the problem of cellarage. Although there has been no opportunity to examine any of the street frontages in Hamilton, evidence of earlier structures in the form of wall foundations and floor surfaces may be expected, sealed beneath the eighteenth- or nineteenth-century standing buildings. Recent excavations in Perth, Dunfermline and Arbroath have also shown that the width and alignment of the main streets in burghs have changed over the centuries, so that earlier cobbled street surfaces and contemporary buildings can be preserved up to three or four metres behind the line of the modern street frontage. The *northern end of Castle Street (west side)* is perhaps the only frontage in Hamilton where pre-eighteenth century archaeological material is likely to be preserved.

Church Street was laid out in the eighteenth century, to conduct the populace up the hill from the Hietoun to the newly built church (*see* **figure 16**). It gradually began to be built up, and in 1816, or soon after, a Trades Hall was erected on the south side, now *nos 16–20 Church Street.* In a dilapidated state, it still reveals some of its original dignified classical structure. That it was a building of some note and size is indicated by the fact that it functioned not merely as the meeting place of the Hamilton trades, which had combined to build it, but also as a tavern. It was the venue of a dancing academy around 1824. By the early 1840s it was used as meeting rooms for both the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics of Hamilton, who had yet to build their own churches. By the twentieth century, it was functioning as a furniture restoring premises and storeroom.

From the seventeenth century, **the burgh records of Hamilton** are largely extant. Extensive use has been made of these manuscript sources, available in Hamilton District Library. A systematic, more detailed assessment of these documents is, however, recommended, as there is a wealth of information still to be analysed. A clearer understanding of the functioning of the burgh and its relationship to the Hamilton family might be gained. The events immediately prior to Duchess Anne's assumption of superiority over the burgh and the loss of royal burgh status would particularly merit attention.

Fuller analysis of the **accounts in the burgh records** could give a vivid picture of routine town existence, not merely in Hamilton but in many other small burghs in the seventeenth

archaeological objectives for the future

Preparation of the Hamilton 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 25**). 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 update 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 Hamilton and on its function in the Roman sphere of influence and early medieval period.

3 The degree and nature of cellarage along Castle Street/Wynd could not be systematically examined during preparation of this report. More accurate information would be most useful to managers and curators of the archaeological resource in assessing the archaeological potential of this and other main street frontages in the burgh.

4 Engineers' bore-holes and test-pits 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' bore-holes in and around the core of the historic burgh could be collected and collated. Bore-hole results, especially those in the hands of private contractors, can prove 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 and curators of the archaeological resource.

5 Opportunities should continue to be taken to increase public awareness of the potential archaeological interest of Hamilton, both generally and within and beneath historic standing buildings. This survey represents an important first step in this direction.

and eighteenth centuries. The **kirk session records**, now deposited in the Scottish Record Office, are extant from the seventeenth century. These, too, merit attention.

Hamilton, while not a large burgh, was closely involved in national events, because of the proximity of the ducal family. An interesting assessment of affairs of national historic importance as experienced in a locality, might be gained from an overview of all this source material.

The systematic removal of the old part of Hamilton by the dukes was a harsh reality experienced also by other settlements which fell victims to local landlords. In Hamilton, however, there is an unusual opportunity to monitor the gradual removal of a town and the public's reaction to it.

history

The excellent **cartographic sources** in the Hamilton District Library, some on loan from the Duchy of Hamilton Estate Papers, deserve more detailed analysis. It may be possible

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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' bore-holes, or systematic survey of cellarage on the main street frontages. In particular, the colour-coded map **figure 25** could perhaps be revised and re-issued at regular intervals.

priorities for future fieldwork

So little archaeological work has so far been undertaken in Hamilton that the priorities for future archaeological fieldwork are fairly rudimentary. The following priorities should be borne in mind, however, during preparation of future project designs.

1 Ascertain whether the earliest settlement developed around the motte at Nethertoun, and determine a date for the shift in focus to the settlement at Hietoun.

2 Compare and contrast the date of origin, nature and extent of the settlements at Nethertoun and Hietoun.

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

4 Identify any sequence of planning in the layout and expansion of the burgh, and determine any variations in street alignment and width.

5 Locate the most important features of the medieval townscape—the tron, market cross, old parish church, school and ports—of which no archaeological evidence has yet been found.

to produce, from this source material, a reconstruction of the demolished old town.

John Burrell's Journals have been used for this Survey, but they deserve closer attention than was possible in the time available. Although they deal primarily with the routine matters of the Hamilton estate, his innovations in agricultural practice and tenure impinged also on the town.

It has not been possible to assess the **10,200 seventeenth-century letters in the Duke of Hamilton's archives**, listed in R K Marshall, 'The house of Hamilton in its Anglo-Scottish setting in the seventeenth century' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970). Other material, such as **building and estate accounts**, exists for this century, as it does also for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although their primary concern is with matters relating to the duchy of Hamilton, an assessment of the burgh of Hamilton cannot be complete without taking cognisance of this source material.

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6 Ascertain the dating and sequence of the gradual shift in settlement up the hill to the west—in particular, the development of Church Street.

7 Ascertain the exact location and nature of the ferry and other types of river crossing, and any associated features, to the east of the burgh.

8 Recover any archaeological evidence for the lay-out of the palatial complex, its gardens and designed landscape, and recover any artefactual or architectural debris which may survive in the area.

9 Although outside the study area, it would be highly desirable to test the hypothesis of this survey that there may be a late medieval pottery kiln site at NS 733 551, from where more than 600 sherds and tile fragments have already been recovered (*see* **gazetteer**).

areas for further archaeological research

1 A reconstruction of the lay-out and physical setting of the burgh and palace of Hamilton, based on *all* the cartographic, historical, archaeological, aerial photographic and other types of evidence, should have the highest priority for the future. The final product should ideally take the form of a series of overlays arranged at appropriate chronological intervals. This would be particularly useful when assessing the impact of any future developments, as well as be an excellent method of presenting the current state of knowledge.

2 There are a number of earthworks and stone castles in and around Hamilton, and early references to them are confusing and possibly misleading. In particular, the names 'Cadzow Castle' and 'Hamilton Castle', which may in fact refer to one and the same site, have caused some confusion in the documentary sources. Further research, both desk-based and in the field, may help to clarify this matter.

gazetteer of previous archaeological work and chance finds from in and around Hamilton

The following entries have largely been extracted from the database of the National Monuments Record of Scotland. Their record card numbering system has been included for ease of reference.

prehistoric and Roman period

Hamilton NS 71 55
stone adze A Neolithic stone adze, acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities, was probably found in or near Hamilton. RCAHMS NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 20.

Ferniegair NS 739 545
stone axe A fragment of a Neolithic stone axe was found at Ferniegair. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 12.

Ferniegair NS 7396 5401–7389 5381
Bronze Age burials; cists In 1936 and 1939 a small cemetery was uncovered during sand-quarrying operations in undulating parkland about 500 m south of Ferniegair, between Châtelherault and the Hamilton Golf Course at Riccarton. Two inhumation cists and four urned cremations were found in 1936, and in 1939 two further inhumation cists and an unassociated inhumation or cremation burial were unearthed. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 7.

Fairhill NS 7112 5395
Bronze Age cairn This cairn survives as a grass-covered mound of earth and stone measuring about 10 m in diameter and 0.8 m in height. Several urns containing cremations were reported to have been found when the cairn was broken into in the nineteenth century. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 4.

Hamilton NS 71 55
food vessel Two Bronze Age food vessels were found near Hamilton and are now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 19.

Hamilton Low Parks, Heron Hill NS c 72 56
possible cairn A mound in Hamilton Low Parks, known locally as 'Heron Hill', may have been a Bronze Age burial cairn. No accurate location is recorded for this feature, however. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 34.

Hamilton Low Parks NS c 72 56
mound A cup-shaped mound was described as being in Hamilton Low Parks but no accurate location or dating is recorded for this feature. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 35.

Bothwellhaugh NS 7307 5777
Roman fort The Roman fort of Bothwellhaugh, which now lies in Strathclyde Country Park, occupies a strong defensive position at the west end of a broad, level promontory which falls steeply down to the banks of the South Calder Water and the River Clyde. The remains of the fort are covered by scrub vegetation and rough grassland, and occupy an area of 1.65 hectares.

Excavation showed that the fort was trapezoidal in plan. The main defence had been a clay rampart, the inner and outer face of which were originally supported by a stone base. Double ditches protected the north-east and and south-east corners of the fort, with a single ditch on each of the remaining sides. Little is known about the internal buildings or street plan, save that some structures at least were of timber and exhibited two structural phases. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 2; G S Maxwell, *Britannia*, vi (1975), 20–35.

Bothwellhaugh NS 7295 5788
Roman bath-house A Roman bath-house was discovered in 1973 close to the left bank of the South Calder Water, 95 m north-west of Bothwellhaugh Roman fort (NS 7310 5775). It was fully excavated in 1975 before the area was flooded by the (artificial) Strathclyde Loch. It was of normal type with a cold room, two warm rooms and a semicircular plunge bath. The waters of the loch have not in fact covered this area (as was originally planned), and the excavation trenches can still be made out on the ground. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 23; L J F Keppie, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 8 (1981), 46–94.

Airbles, Motherwell NS 7480 5576
enclosure The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1796, records a ditch thought to be of Roman date, enclosing a small area on the edge of a steep slope above the River Clyde. Excavations in 1952 found no trace of any archaeological features and no finds were recovered. A watching brief was carried out during the development of part of the site in 1991, but no archaeological remains were encountered. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 9; *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1991, 70.

Cadzow NS 7343 5347
earthwork; Roman coin This earthwork, possibly a small promontory fort, is roughly D-shaped in plan, measuring about 48 m x 40 m internally. It appears to have consisted of two banks and a medial ditch. The ditch and outer bank are best preserved on the south-west where they run across the neck of the promontory. Elsewhere, however, the ditch is virtually the only feature that survives, and there is no indication that either the banks or the ditch ever continued along the north side. The entrance probably lay somewhere within the wide gap on the west-north-west.

Several seasons of archaeological excavations in the 1980s recovered little dating evidence for this earthwork. However a ditch, a bank edged with stone and a stretch of earth-bonded wall were identified. During the final season of excavation, which aimed to resolve the date of construction of the earthwork, a silver denarius (coin) of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–180) was found. Some stone foundations were also discovered, but no firm conclusion was reached about their purpose apart from those near the lip of the earthwork, which seemed to be the foundation of a rampart. A single post-hole, located near the north-west corner of the trench, may have been part of a palisade. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 10; *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1983, 31; 1986, 36; 1987, 51; 1989, 59.

medieval and later period

Nethertoun Cross NS 7233 5555 **figure 6**
early medieval cross This cross formerly stood in the Nethertoun, now within Hamilton Low Parks (at NS 7271 5674), and was removed to its present position in the graveyard of Hamilton parish church in 1926. Carved from a slab of local red sandstone, it stands to a height of 2.1 m and is decorated on all four sides. The style of decoration suggests that the cross is rather late, probably dating from the tenth century at the earliest, and, more probably, the eleventh or twelfth. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 15; J R Stevenson, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: the Clyde Estuary and Central Region* (Edinburgh, 1985), 108.

Hamilton Low Parks NS c 726 566
possible site of church It is thought that an early church stood north-east of and close to the Nethertoun Cross (NS 7271 5674) and Mote Hill (NS 7270 5662). However there is no archaeological or other evidence to support this, and some of the area which it may have occupied now lies submerged within Strathclyde Loch. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 37.

Mote Hill NS 7270 5662
motte Situated on low-lying ground, this probable medieval motte survives as a small flat-

topped mound. Its maximum height above the adjacent ground level is 2.5 m, while the diameter on its upper surface averages 18.2 m. No defensive ditch is visible. The earliest settlement at Hamilton may have developed around this motte (*see* p 14). NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 4.

Castlehill NS 7294 5478
site of castle This natural eminence by the Coven Burn was traditionally thought to have been the site of the predecessor to Cadzow Castle. The site is now occupied by a modern housing scheme. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 16.

Cadzow Castle NS 7347 5376
castle; well; chapel Cadzow Castle was the occasional residence of David I (1124–53) and his successors, down to Robert Bruce (1306–29). Thereafter, it became the property of the Hamilton family. The castle is situated on a natural eminence towering over the Avon Water. The ruins comprise a strongly-constructed keep with drum towers at the south-west and south-east angles. The area between the north and south walls is occupied by a mound of rubble, beneath which a number of vaulted chambers and passages exist. The remains of later buildings forming three sides of a courtyard are situated on slightly higher ground to the west of the keep, beyond the ditch which encloses it on the west and south sides. The well is now partially filled in, but part of its structure is still visible within the north-west angle of the keep. Traces of the foundations of a strong wall, probably an enceinte, and a length of ditch indicating an outer bailey, also survive to the south of the modern road. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 8.

Cadzow Castle NS 7288 5372–7325 5343
park pale; rig-and-furrow cultivation There is little doubt that this earthwork is part of the medieval park pale attached to Cadzow Castle. The Park of Cadzow, acquired by James, first Lord Roslin, in 1445, was an enclosed game reserve surrounded by a ditch and bank, on top of which was a palisade. The boundary of the park survives as a ditchless bank which extends between two streams and cuts off an area of high ground in an angle of the Avon Water. Rig-and-furrow ploughing can clearly be made out within the park but it is not clear whether it is contemporary with, or later than, the pale. The oaks in Hamilton High Parks were dendrochronologically dated by M Baillie to the 1460s. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 3; M L Anderson, *A History of Scottish Forestry* (Edinburgh, 1967), 235.

Cadzow Castle NS 7285 5425
banks and ditches The ground in this area has been ploughed for forestry and is now covered by plantations. There are many surface undulations but no archaeological features are visible. On the east side of the road which runs north-south through the area, a bank (and possible adjacent ditch) probably only denotes the eastern perimeter of the modern road. NMRS Record Card NS SW 2.

Orbiston House NS 7324 5802
tower-house This sizeable ruin is considered to be the remains of a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century tower-house. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 24.

Hamilton, old parish church NS 7273 5598 **figure 7**
Collegiate church The foundation of the collegiate church dedicated to St Mary was confirmed by the pope in 1451, perhaps on the site of an earlier church. The church continued in use until 1732, when it was demolished (in the name of improvements to the palace and its policies) and superseded by the present parish church, situated at the end of Church Street (NS 7232 5553). One transept of the old church remained standing until the nineteenth century and served as the burial place of the Hamiltons. It, too, was finally removed in 1852 and replaced by the present mausoleum. No remains of the collegiate church are visible today. Before the area where it stood was established as parkland, it was

the site of the town council refuse tip. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 13; D E Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1957), 181.

Hamilton parish church NS 7232 5553 **figure 15**
parish church The present parish church, built in 1732 from a design of William Adam, is situated at the end of Church Street. The interior was recast in 1926 and part of the original pulpit is extant. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 33; G Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches 1560–1843* (Oxford, 1957), 76 and *passim.*

Hamilton Tolbooth NS 7252 5584 **figure 9**
tolbooth; jail The tolbooth, a considerably-altered seventeenth-century building, at one time also housed the jail. Erected in 1643 to replace an earlier one, the tolbooth had at least three shops (booths) on its ground floor, glass window panes, an oft-repaired and heightened steeple, a clock, and the town stocks were in front of it. Iron bars were placed on the windows on the south side of the building where the jail was. The tolbooth was demolished in 1951, except for the steeple which survived until 1954 when it was removed to make way for a roadway. The foundations had become somewhat undermined by the waters of the Cadzow Burn. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 14; D MacGibbon and T Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, v (Edinburgh, 1892), 124.

Hamilton Palace NS 7264 5592 **figure 12**
tower; country house The precursor to Hamilton Palace was Lord James Hamilton's manor-house *The Orchard*, which dated from at least the fifteenth century, and possibly the fourteenth. This may have been incorporated into successive building phases of the palace: walls nine feet thick (as opposed to three feet elsewhere), noted in the north-west corner of the palace when it was demolished in 1927, are thought to have represented part of *The* (original) *Orchard.* Precisely how and when *The Orchard* was elevated into a palace is unclear but the building was repeatedly upgraded. The gardens were established at least as early as the early seventeenth century. In the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Duchess Anne's grand design effected a transformation of both the palace and its grounds; by the time she had finished, the palace was a sumptuous residence, said to rival even royal palaces. The gradual acquisition by the Hamiltons of adjacent land and properties led to the almost complete removal and re-location of the early burgh during this period. The palace was demolished in 1927 because of subsidence into disused coal-workings. No traces are visible today although its lay-out could still be discerned in aerial photographs taken in the mid-1940s (*see* **figure 4**). Before the area was established as parkland, the site of the palace was occupied by the town council refuse tip. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 16; R K Marshall, *Review of Scottish Culture*, 3 (1987), 13–23.

Hamilton Low Parks NS 7284 5613
gateway; Bishop's Gate Situated in the palace grounds but removed by the town council in about 1925, this solitary free-standing arch, known as the 'Bishop's Gate', may originally have been a gateway in a surrounding wall. There is no evidence for it ever having been part of a building. No traces of it are visible today, the site having been covered by a rubbish tip and then established as parkland. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 7.

Hamilton Grammar School NS 7289 5598
school The original grammar school had close ties with the collegiate church and would have stood close to (east of) the church, in what is now known as the North Haugh. It remained there until 1714 when it was demolished. No traces of the school are visible on the ground surface today and the area is now parkland. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 17.

Nethertoun NS 726 566
deserted settlement The houses of Nethertoun, literally the 'lower town', stood in the vicinity

of the Nethertoun Cross (NS 7271 5674) and Mote Hill (NS 7270 5662). By the mid fourteenth century, the focus of the town had moved south-south-west to the banks of the Cadzow Burn, but settlement persisted at Nethertoun until the later seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century, so little remained that the settlement was referred to as the nether 'houses', rather than the nether 'toun'. The houses were systematically removed in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and today there are no ground surface indications of where they stood. Oral tradition has it that, in the late nineteenth century, vennels, streets and the foundations of houses could be traced in the autumn grass.

Hamilton NS 733 551
medieval pottery Over 600 sherds (fragments) of late medieval pottery, glazed and unglazed, were found in this area and are now in Hamilton Museum. Vessel bodies, bases, rims and handles are represented in the assemblage, together with tile fragments. The nature of the assemblage and the proximity of this site to the Coven Burn and the Avon Water indicate that there may be a pottery kiln site in this vicinity (the on-site presence of water would have been desirable in case of fire and for working the clay). NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 32; *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1976, 71.

Hamilton Low Parks NS 726 566
medieval sword A late medieval sword, measuring 1.12 m in length, was found buried in sand at a depth of *c* 3.5 m in Hamilton Low Parks, on the left bank of the River Clyde, during construction works for the M74 motorway. The pommel and grip had gone, but the blade and cross survived in good condition. The blade is of a type developed in the later fourteenth century but there are no medieval parallels for the cross which seems to be seventeenth century in style. It appears, therefore, that a surviving medieval blade was re-mounted in a seventeenth-century hilt. The sword was acquired for Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 31; J G Scott in D H Caldwell (ed), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications 1100–1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 10–12.

Old Avon Bridge NS 7332 5463
bridge Built in the seventeenth century, this handsome three-span bridge of dressed stone construction now carries a private road. The abutments of the bridge show some evidence of rebuilding, probably to accommodate a mill lade. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 9.

Avon Bridge NS 7351 5475–7353 5471
bridge; toll-house Built to a design by Thomas Telford in 1820, the Avon bridge is a single segmental arch of dressed stone construction. The toll-house is a one-storey and basement, ashlar structure, with a bow front and modern tiled roof. NMRS Record Card NS75 SW 13.

Bothwellhaugh NS 7289 5796
bridge Though traditionally thought to date to the Roman period, this bridge may have originated as a medieval pack-horse bridge. It is probable that this bridge was restored by James Hamilton in the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, a Roman bridge must once have existed here or near here, next to the Roman bath-house, fort and road. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 1.

Bothwell Bridge NS 7108 5776
bridge This four-span seventeenth-century masonry bridge was widened and improved in 1826 and 1871. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 8.

Eddlewood NS 71 54
watermills The original mill of Eddlewood stood on the Hamilton (Cadzow) Burn, on the lands of Laigh Bent. It was burnt down about the end of the eighteenth century and was replaced by the New Mill of Eddlewood (at NS 7112 5478). NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 24.

Hamilton, Windmill Road c NS 718 557
windmill A windmill is marked here on Forrest's map of 1816. This was a tower-mill, probably a large grain mill, and was erected around the late eighteenth century. It was possibly demolished to make way for railway development, but its former existence is preserved in a nearby street name—Windmill Road. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 25.

Hamilton NS 716 560
stone wells During building operations in 1970 for a new extension of Hamilton Technical College on the site of the old barracks, workmen discovered three wells in a line, north to south, about 0.6 m beneath the, then, ground level. The wells were all circular and built of dry masonry, and approximately 3 m apart. They were *c* 0.9, 1.5 and 2.1 m in diameter, and all of them were some 6 m deep. According to W Leeming Esq, foreman, there may have been a slab-covered conduit connecting the wells to each other. They had been bored into solid boulder clay. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 30; *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1970, 30.

Bothwell Bridge NS 712 576
battle site This was the site of the battle in 1679 between the Covenanters' army and the royal army, led by the Duke of Monmouth. A Covenanter's wooden helmet and powder horn were found in the area and handed into the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, some time before 1888. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 5.

Cadzow Bridge NS 7229 5562
battle site A plaque on Cadzow Bridge, erected by Hamilton and District Civic Society, records this as the site of the battle between the Covenanters, under Colonel Kerr, and the English led by General Lambert. NMRS Record Card NS 75 NW 18.

Laighstonehall NS 7098 5479
Covenanter's grave One of the Covenanters engaged at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679 is supposed to have fled to this spot where he died of his wounds and was buried. The site, marked by a rough headstone, remained unploughed for some time. Today the area is occupied by a housing scheme. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 17.

Earnock NS 701 547
Covenanters' graves A monument bearing an inscription records a knoll under which three Covenanters, who died at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, were buried. The monument appears to have been later incorporated into the wall of the garden associated with Earnock House. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 18.

Fairhill NS 7110 5396
burial-ground An area, on the farm of Meikle Earnock, may have been enclosed for a burial ground by the proprietors at about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Today the area is occupied by modern houses. NMRS Record Card NS 75 SW 19.

Hamilton, Cadzow Street NS 720 575
plague burials (possible) A number of plague victims are reputed to have been buried here. An archaeological assessment was carried out in 1989 in response to development proposals, but revealed no evidence of any human remains or other archaeological features. *See* Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust, *Archaeological Assessment of Alleged Burial Site, Cadzow Street, Hamilton*, (unpublished report, 1989).

Back Barns

Area 3
This narrow street connected the bottom end of Church Street, near Grammar School Square, with the Post Gate.

Barrie's Close

Area 2
This close, sometimes referred to as the 'Common Way', was incorporated into the ducal policies sometime after 1815. It led from the High Street southwards, and ran behind the properties that fronted onto Castle Wynd. It may have been named after John Barrie, the town miller in 1637, but the town herd, Thomas Barrie, actually lived here in the late seventeenth century. The street itself was often in disrepair. A port was situated here, but was little used.

Broken Cross

Area 3
The name Broken Cross first appears in the eighteenth century. Today, it marks the junction of Townhead Street and Miller Street, but Miller Street did not exist until 1840. John Miller, a yarn merchant, lived at Broken Cross in 1754 and his family gave their name to Miller Street. He was probably a Quaker, for they held their meetings at Broken Cross in the early 1700s.

Castle Wynd

Area 3
Although outwith the early nucleus of Hamilton, this wynd was partially developed by the sixteenth century, and one of the town ports was situated here, at least until 1699. It is not clear which castle the name refers to. Today, Castle Wynd is called Castle Street.

Church Street

Area 3
Also once known as 'Kirk Road', 'High Road' and 'Church Road', this street led from New Wynd and Grammar School Square up to the parish church **figure 15**, which was built in 1732, at the top of the hill. The grammar school **figure 14** was erected by Duchess Anne in 1714 to replace the older school which had existed since 1588. The first houses were built here in 1751. Also in Church Street were the Trades Hall, Hamilton's first Post Office, and the old Hamilton Bowling Green.

Grammar School Square

Area 3
The grammar school (*see* **figure 14**), erected in 1714, was situated in a new purpose-built square at the western end of New Wynd. The original grammar school, founded in 1588, stood near the collegiate church (*see* **figure 7**) and the palace. Duchess Anne had the school transferred to the present Square, and the building remained there until it was demolished in 1930. The area at one time was known as 'Hawkhill', because the ducal falcons were kept there.

Hamilton Cross

Area 2
So named as the site of the burgh cross, at the junction of Muir Wynd, High Street and Castle Street. Nearby stood the tolbooth (*see* **figure 9**), erected in 1642 and blown up in 1953 to make way for a new road.

High Street

Area 3
The High Street, sometimes referred to as the 'Hietoun', was the main street of old Hamilton (*see* **figure 3**). This originally ran from the tolbooth, situated at the junction of Muir Wynd and Castle Wynd, immediately in front of Hamilton Palace. The eastern end of this street continued in the form of a pathway down to the town's ferry. The East Port may have been situated somewhere along here, perhaps just beyond the grammar school.

Lang Loan

Area 2
Langloan was one of the oldest roads in the burgh and ran from the Hietoun southwards. It started near the palace, at about the point where the 'Road to the Ferry' began, continued towards the Cowan Burn, and then continued on, as the 'Short Loan', towards the Avon Bridge. Because of the boggy nature of the ground, the route by Townhead and Broken Cross must have gained preference over the Langloan when coach traffic was introduced. It disappears from maps about 1830, by which time the Duke of Hamilton had incorporated the road into the grounds of Hamilton Palace.

Muir Street

Area 3
Muir Street is essentially the westward extension of Muir Wynd. The Relief Church, now part of the Auction Mart, stood on the south side of the street. The congregation who worshipped here had seceded from the parish church in 1761. The meal market was located at the south end of Muir Street in an area called the Templelands. Aikman's Hospital, built in 1775 to care for old men left in poor circumstances, also stood in Muir Street.

Muir Wynd

Area 3
The name means a moor or a market garden. Muir Wynd was an important thoroughfare into the town, with its own port, bringing travellers from Glasgow journeying to Carlisle into the town. At the top of Muir Wynd stood the Gallowhill, where the gallows stood. Near the foot of Muir Wynd is a building originally built in 1696 as a dwelling house, which later became an inn or hostelry known as Hamilton Arms and then the Head Inn (*see* **figure 19**). An assembly room, with a musicians' gallery, was added in 1784. In the coaching days, this inn was the last posting station on the road from London to Glasgow. From 1835 until 1963 the building served as office accommodation for the Duke of Hamilton's Chamberlain. It is now used as the town museum.

Nethertoun Wynd

Area 2
This street, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, in the burgh, led from Muir Wynd, near the tolbooth to the Nethertoun and the original site of the Nethertoun Cross (*see* **figure 3**). It disappeared in the early nineteenth century, when the palace grounds were extended.

New Wynd

Area 3
Previously known as the 'School Wynd', this street led from the tolbooth **figure 9** up to Grammar School Square. The grammar school was erected by Duchess Anne in 1714 **figure 14**.

Post Gate

Area 3
This narrow close joined the top of Church Street with Castle Street. It is thought to be named after a sentry post, set up to warn the inhabitants of Hamilton of unwelcome strangers.

Quarry Loan

Area 3
This street led off in a south-westerly direction from Townhead and, by the late eighteenth century, was still developed only at its foot.

Sarah Jean's Close

Area 2
This narrow wynd was situated near to Barrie's Close, but its precise location is unknown.

School Wynd

Area 3
So named as it led to the school, this wynd was later known as New Wynd. A number of important markets and traders were located here in the eighteenth century, including the shoemarket, crockery merchants and sweetmeat dealers.

Townhead Street

Area 3
As the name suggests, this was the top of the town. The lower (northern) end of this street, Townhead, was, along with Castle Wynd, partially developed by the sixteenth century. The siting of the town port in Castle Wynd, however, confirms that Townhead and Townhead Street were established later in date than Castle Wynd.

almshouse	House for the support and lodging of the poor; sometimes a hospital.
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; 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, often under an alderman or *prepositus*.
baxter	Baker.
booths	Small open-fronted stalls, sometimes free-standing but often appended to the front of houses lining the street, where merchants and craftsmen sold their goods.
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* backland). In time, with pressure for space, the plots were often subdivided—repletion. Plots were bounded by ditches, wattle fences or stone walls.
burgess	Person who enjoys the privileges and responsibilities of the freedom of the burgh.
calsay	Cobbled or paved thoroughfare.
close	*see* vennel
common good	Revenues from the burgh courts, the fishings, multures, market tolls, rentals *etc.*
craft	Trade.
documentary sources	Written evidence, primary sources being the original documents.
façade	Finished face of a building.
frontage	Front part of burgage plot nearest the street, on which the dwelling was usually built.
guild	Organisation or fraternity for mutual support, whether economic, religious or social.
hinterland	Rural area around a burgh, to which the burgh looked for economic and agricultural support; hinterland likewise dependent on burgh market.
indwellers	Unprivileged, non-burgess dwellers in a town.

infeftment	(Old Scots Law) investment with heritable property.
jougs	Iron neck-rings; the old Scottish pillory.
pend	A covered access between or under buildings.
prehistory	Period of human history before the advent of writing.
repletion	*see* burgage plot
rig	*see* burgage plot
roods	Divisions of lands.
scarping	Removal of earth, often to provide level ground prior to building.
sherd	Fragment of pottery.
tectonic movements	Displacements in the earth's crust.
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.
tron	Public weigh-beam.
urban nucleus	Original site(s) from which town developed.
vennel	Alley; narrow lane.
£	£ Scots.

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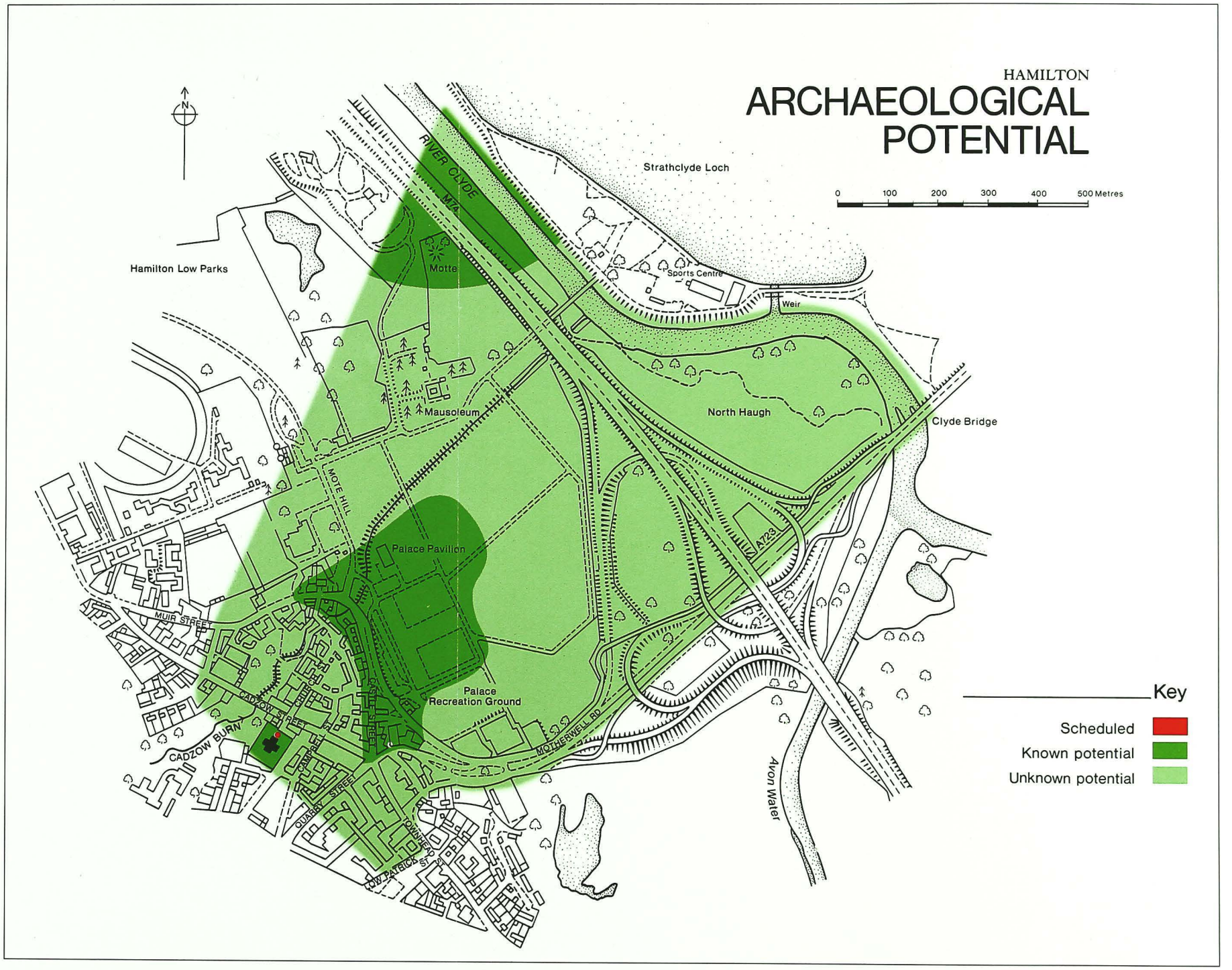

figure 25
The archaeological potential of Hamilton

Historic Hamilton

A settlement has existed at Cadzow (or Hamilton as it was later called) since at least the twelfth century when King David I (1124–1153) held court there. *Historic Hamilton* is an engrossing account of the origins of the town and of the relationship between the Hamilton family and ordinary townsfolk—which reached its zenith with the 'great design' of Duchess Anne in the late seventeenth century. This relationship had a profound effect on the growth and changing fortunes of the town—at times, even on its very location and survival.

Historic Hamilton is a fascinating study of the town's history and archaeology, its historic buildings, its geography and topography, and the origins of its streets and 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.

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