Kilwinning at the Time of the Reformation
and its First Minister
William Kirkpatrick

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At a time when the mid-twentieth century inhabitants of Kilwinning and district are aware of changes which affect not only environment and ways of life but even questions of personal possession and community identity it is interesting to try to reconstruct the life of the area in an earlier period of change and uncertainty. In building a picture of sixteenth century Kilwinning the lack of the kind of material which would undoubtedly have been to hand in the lost abbey records is frustrating but not entirely disastrous. There are a number of sources from which we may gather information on the abbey's role of landlord and on the condition of the tenants on the regality.

Firstly, we have a few records which were kept in or were issued from the abbey itself. There is a rental, in the form of chamberlain's accounts, which gives the impression of having been compiled at one time — possibly for the information of an official body — and which relates to the 1560's[1]. Again, although the chartulary, in which would be enrolled all grants of land and of other privileges to tenants, is so far untraced we do have a considerable number of the grantees' copies of such transactions — either the original charter signed by the abbot and convent or the instrument of sasine which records the tenant's entry into the property. These papers, retained by individuals as their title-deeds, have, in many cases, found their way into the private muniments of the families into whose hands the land, or other right, eventually came. The widespread process of feuing on ecclesiastical estates throws a perfect flood of light on the changes which were taking place within Scottish society in the sixteenth century. In an attempt to control this process, and at the same time "cash in" on it, the government continually insisted that a feu charter would be held valid only if it had been presented for crown confirmation. As a result, the registers of the Great Seal and Privy Seal are stuffed with confirmations of ecclesiastical feu charters; among them are 89 issued by the abbot and convent of Kilwinnng between the years 1539 and 1587. A register compiled in the Lord Treasurer's office for the purpose of recording the confirmation fees or " compositions " charge yields another 14 Kilwinning charters.

1 Transcript in Society of Antiquaries Collection (SRO) GD 103/2/22. Original in the possession of Irvine Town Council.

Secondly, information on the locality is to be found in records kept by the central government such as the Register of the Privy Council or by other bodies such as the central and local courts, civil and criminal. The Register of Sasines which in the case of Ayrshire begins in 1599 records the inheritance of family property in Kilwinning parish by the children and grandchildren of people who had witnessed the Reformation. The Registers of Testaments, both of Edinburgh commissariat which had a general jurisdiction and that of Glasgow, contain details of the lives of people who died towards the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth. It is from central and local records such as these that I have attempted to draw the following pictures of Kilwinning at the time of the Reformation.

The abbey estates in Cuninghame comprised lands in thirteen parishes. The scattered tenants, who shared a common landlord, lived in settlements of the pattern common to most areas before the agricultural changes of the eighteenth century. A place-name which might now appear on the signpost of an individual farm would then have indicated a "toun" with its houses, arable and pasture land jointly cultivated by a group of tenants who were responsible for the rents due to the abbot from that particular piece of land, and under whom were a number of subtenants, cottars and labourers. There were upwards of fifty of these townships in the parish of Kilwinning[2], suggesting a considerable population in the area.

The number of inhabitants varied from one " toun " to another: it included not only those tenants whose names appear on a rental but their wives and families, the subtenants, who are not always named, and the cottars and labourers, also with their families. We might take the lands of Auchinmaid as an example. Here, twelve tenants are named in the records of the 1560's, and one subtenant: John Mure who feued ten shillings worth of Auchinmaid which was occupied by Nicholas Mure his father; William White and James White his son, the latter being a feuar; Luke Garven and his son John Garven who were both feuars; Thomas Gemill, his son John Gemill and his two nieces, Bessie and Janet Blair, who were tenants in their own right. If we count the wives of the nine men, two children to each family (a very moderate estimate for the times) four other subtenants, six cottars and two labourers, all with their families, we arrive at something like ninety inhabitants at Auchinmaid. In working out population figures we have to bear in mind, however, that under the run-rig system a man might cultivate land in several places adjacent to one another and there may be no way of telling where he had his

2 Calculated from the rental. Dr. John Strawhorn in Ayrshire Collections, Vol. 8, 1969, wrote, " The evidence all tends to suggest that Ayrshire in the 16th and 17th centuries was suffering from relative over-population . . . " (p. 13).

house ; we thus run the risk of double-counting. Again, a feuar, if he was not the " sitting tenant," ought not to be counted among the inhabitants since he would live elsewhere while his sub-tenants carried out the cultivation. Nevertheless, even with those reservations, the parish appears to have been pretty highly populated. The number of named tenants on one or two other lands may be of interest. There were 10 at Pottertoun; 4 on the mains of Montgreenan; 14 at Nethermains, though of these one definitely resided elsewhere; 4 at Over Auchentiber; 3 at Guslone; 11 at Overmains; 7 at Braid Meadow; 7 at Kilrig, or Oxenward, one of whom was non-resident ; 4 at Over Whithurst; and 5 at Little Auchinmaid or Outermure. The walkmill at Groitholm was worked by Andrew Walker and his son with their families and servants[3].

There are some indications of continuous occupation by the abbey tenants. Land names such as "Cultura-Ritchie," applied to part of Nethermains, "Cultura-Masoun" and "Smeithstoun-Garven," occupied by tenants of these surnames suggests that the land had been in the possession of their families for some time[4]. This also indicates that the practice of 'periodic runrig' by which tenants were moved around the cultivation strips from time to time had died out in this area by the sixteenth century. There is fairly frequent mention of nineteen-year leases, some of which were converted into feus[5].

Continuous possession, however, did not of itself give a tenant security in the eyes of the law. Formal leases or "letters of tack" were, of course, valid title deeds but only for the duration of the tack which, for a variety of reasons a landlord might not wish to renew. More secure in his possession than the leaseholder was the "rentaller" who at the time when he was enrolled as a tenant was given a copy of the entry in the register making him rather like an English copyholder. As long as he held on to his 'rental' and paid the dues laid down in it he could demand recognition in a court of law — in theory. Rentals were normally granted for life and were given, in most cases to the nearest heir to the previous rentaller[6]. This form of tenure was virtually the rule on the barony of Glasgow, common on the regality of Paisley, including that house's lands in Kyle, on the barony of Kylesmure belonging to Melrose, and on the Kilwinning estates. It also occurs on the barony of Crossraguel. In other words, it seems to have been a fairly general practice over a wide area of south-west Scotland.
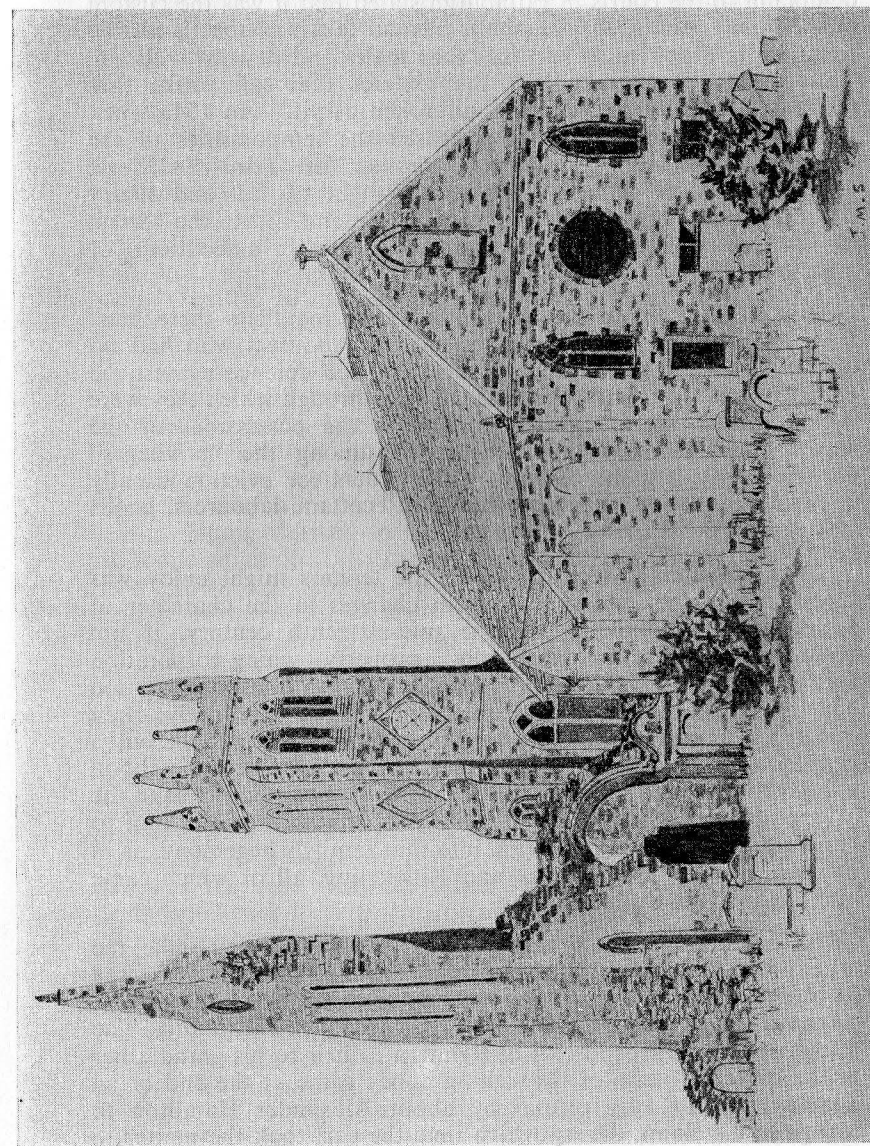
3 Andrew Walker had died by 1566 (RMS 5:819); See also SRO: GD 167/1/1.
4 RSS 52:f. 169v; Ibid.f.166; Ibid.f.138.
5 SRO:GD 86/62, GD 167/15/1, GD 167/1/1.
6 For the ' rental ' of Gilbert Swan, tenant in Beith parish see SRO: CH 8/12.
7 SRO: Acta Dom. Con. & Sess. Vol.4 f.2.

The later church on the site of the monastic choir. (See page 126)

In February, 1533/4, six Kilwinning tenants, in taking a complaint to the courts in Edinburgh stated that it was the custom of the abbey "that quhat tennentis havand takkis of that landis be rentaling in thar rentale and pais thar males and dewties with ane gratitude to everie abbot at thar interes thai sall bruke that malingis for lyfetymes, quhlk is unbroken as yit."[7] In 1543 when the abbot, Alexander Hamilton, leased the temporalities of the abbey to William Cunningham, provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, he reserved to himself the right of "all and sindry rentalling and assedacionis making . . . . settand . . . to the nerrest of kin and kindliest that hes the landis now in assedatioun or rentale . . ."[8]

But in addition to the leaseholders and rentallers there must have been a large number of cottars and labourers who had no official legal recognition and no means of self-defence against the effects of the social and economic changes through which they were living. Cottars were regarded almost as the possessions of the superior tenant; they are often listed among the "privileges" accompanying a grant of land, while orders for eviction usually commanded a man to remove himself, " cottars, labourers, goods and graith."

Any measure of security which the tenants might enjoy was threatened in this period by certain changes in the character of ecclesiastical landholding. In the mid-sixteenth century, if not before, a monastery was essentially a property-owning corporation and the abbot an estate owner, especially if the house in question had become the hereditary perquisite of a particular family, often under a commendator who was not an ecclesiastic at all, but a layman, as in the case of Dryburgh or Melrose; or where the abbot, although an ecclesiastic was head of more than one house, as in the case of Scone; or, with members of his family, was working to integrate the regality in question into that family's hegemony, as in the case of Arbroath, Paisley and Kilwinning, all of which came into the hands of the Hamiltons.

Such a situation could lead to trouble with the abbey bailie, the latter's role of administrator of the regality's affairs being resented as interference in what the commendator regarded as his private property. This was precisely what happened at Kilwinning. The infeftment of the second earl of Eglinton as heir to his grandfather in the office of bailie of Kilwinning abbey came at the end of an almost two-year long refusal by abbot Alexander Hamilton to recognise his claim, during which time the earl took the matter to the courts[9]. His son, though he did manage to extract new charters

8 SRO: Acta Dom. Con. & Sess. Vol.8 f.155.
9 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD3 2/80/17, 2/80/18, 2/80/19.

of his office from commendator Gavin Hamilton, fared little better after the abbey passed to the son of the earl of Glencairn in the 1570's. This time the question was taken to the Privy Council who at one point stated: "it is notourlie knawin quhat inimitie standis betwixt the said erll and the said commendatar . . . quha . . . for sindrie . . . caussis baith of deidlie feid and utheris, hes obtenit his haill tennentis and servandis exemit fra the said erll's jurisdictioun in all civile and criminall caussis . . . "[10]. We can imagine the predicament of the tenants who were thus faced with the rival demands of two "local authorities." A bailie could, of course, be obstructionist in his turn. In May, 1546, John Masoun, a tenant of lands in Corsehill and Pathfoot in which his father had previously been "rentallit," complained to the Lords of Council that the earl of Eglinton had postponed his infeftment in the property, ignoring the precept which the abbot had issued for that purpose[1].

The feuing movement on ecclesiastical estates, which commenced in the late fifteenth century and accelerated in the sixteenth, was one of the most serious threats to the security of the "kindly tenants," those who claimed possession of their land on the basis that they were "kin" to the previous possessor. The factors behind feuing derived partly from the political, religious and economic situation. The clergy, who were being heavily taxed by both Crown and Roman Curia in the first half of the sixteenth century, saw this as a means of recouping themselves; business-minded lay titulars and worldly-minded ecclesiastics were able, through feuing, to raise capital on their estates and increase the rentals, while many who felt some kind of crisis to be approaching which might in some way affect their personal circumstances prepared in this way for the uncertain future. Pressure may have been brought to bear on smaller tenants so that even the smallest unit of land might yield higher returns, for the granting of a feu charter always required a "down payment" and a feu duty which was nearly always greater than the previous rent. One wonders if this was the case with the large number of inhabitants of the Bridgend-Corsehill-Nethermains area of Kilwinning who feued their cultivation patches from Gavin Hamilton between the years 1557 and 1560.

Several dangers faced the kindly tenant as a result of feuing. The commendator might combine several small holdings and grant them in one charter to an outsider who could afford to pay for it, or, as often happened, to one of his own relatives or friends. In February, 1533/4 a group of Kilwinning tenants who claimed family possession for 200 years complained that abbot Alexander Hamilton had feued their lands to Hamilton of Cambuskeith who

10 RPC, Vol.3, p.145.
1 SRO: Acta Dom. Con. & Sess. Vol. 20 f.124.

intended to take his claim to heritable possession to the arbitration of the courts[2]. Small tenants must often have suffered from a rise in rents as a feuar attempted to recoup himself for the outlay incurred in obtaining his feu charter; indeed, the feuing movement often introduced the "middle man" with all the evils which usually accompany this situation.

Some tenants even faced eviction. In July, 1585, Andrew Nevin of Monkredding bought an action in the bailie court in which he called for the removal of John Rogg, elder, and John Rogg, younger, from the lands of Bannach, and of Michael and Matthew Lyn from the lands of Gaitmureland. Nevin was able to produce in court the sasine granted to his father who had feued these lands from the abbot, and the defendants were ordered to " flit and remove " taking their families, cottars and goods with them.[3] There were probably other cases of hardship which have not found their way into the records, including cases where a feuar introduced his own tenants and cottars on to the land in place of those already occupying it.

One of the points made by contemporary legislation on feuing was that this was not to be to the prejudice of the kindly tenants, but this remained an ideal only. Lip-service was paid to it occasionally; a feu charter granted by Gavin Hamilton to his son in 1566 stipulated that the grant of a number of small pieces of land in and around Kilwinning "non cederet in damnum cuiquam tenentium et possessorum aut habenti LIE KYNDNESS, et eorum successoribus quin possiderent dict. terras. . ."[4]

On the other hand, pressure may have come at times from the tenants themselves. A feu charter meant that hereditary possession was settled once and for all at the granting of the charter and did not have to be guaranteed anew on the death of a tenant, as in rentalling. Feuing often carried more extensive rights over the land than in rentalling, the use of minerals for example. It meant greater security and an incentive to improve the property and, since a feu duty was fixed, while the value of the land rose, the feuar benefited in the long run at the expense of the superior. In spite of the opportunities for injustice, rack-renting and eviction which existed, 69 per cent of the feu charters on Kilwinning regality went to the "sitting tenant" — a fairly democratic situation, if we may use an anachronism. 21 per cent went to persons other than the sitting tenant and in the case of the remaining 10 per cent the position is not entirely clear. The transformation in the pattern of tenancy and landholding produced a new prosperity among the inhabitants and multiplied the number of small proprietors by the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth.

2 SRO: Acta Dom. Con. & Sess. Vol.4 f.2.
3 SRO: GD 242/72/1.
4 RMS 4:2633.

In March, 1557/8, Patrick Montgomery feued £3 2/8d of the lands of Sevenacres which he and his father had previously held in rental and by the end of the century the family were fairly substantial "bonnet lairds".[5] Thomas Nevin, whose son Andrew has already been referred to, feued the 20 shilling lands of East Monkredding in 1539, those of Guslone and Bannach in 1543 and those of West Monkredding and Gaitmureland in 1545.[6] He was lucky in that his lands contained coal and the family became rich enough to build a tower house, which still stands. Men like Nevin were the "new rich" of the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth, distinct, on the one hand, from the medieval baronage such as the Blairs of Blair and the Mures of Rowallan and, on the other, from those lairds like Cunningham of Caprington who were really cadets of the ennobled houses and on whose heels the new men were rapidly climbing the social ladder.

Having looked at the pattern of tenancy in the parish as a whole, we must spend a few minutes in the town of Kilwinning itself, for it appears that there was a " toun of Kilwinning " at the time of the Reformation, even on the west side of the bridge over the river Garnock.

It has been traditional to insist that "old Kilwinning" was the Bridgend-Pathfoot-Corsehill area and that, until some time in the eighteenth century, only the abbey and its immediate precincts stood on the west side of the river Garnock. This theory, which has been passed from one local historian to another, derives from the remark of Timothy Pont in the early seventeenth century that the river Garnock " glyde betwix the toune and Abbey over passed with . . . a faire stone bridge . . ."[7]

George Robertson in his **Topographical Description of Ayrshire** published in 1820, does not make this point but says of the town of Kilwinning, "this place which is set down on the summit of a pretty steep bank on the west side of the river Garnock is partly very ancient and partly modern. . . in this is included those who dwell in the adjacent quarters of Corsehill and Bridgend on the east, and Byres on the west. All may indeed be considered as in one town — the intervals betwixt them being very little."[8]

John Shedden Dobie, on the other hand, who published an edition of Pont's work in 1876 which had been prepared by his father, James Dobie, of Crummock, says, "where the old town stood there is a suburb now called Corsehill . . . there are no titles existing to any of these houses (those now on "Main Street") which date during the rule of the abbots, the oldest of them being not

5 RMS 5:852.
6 RMS 3:3245.
7 Pont, T., Cunningham Topographised, ed. J. S. Dobie, p. 21.
8 Robertson, G., Topographical Description of Ayrshire, pp. 186-7.

more than about 150 years back."[9] He was of the opinion that the house occupied by Alexander Wreittoun, the second minister of the parish, was properly a part of the abbey buildings.

The Rev. William Lee Kerr, whose history of the town was published in 1900 states categorically: " the abbey with its towers and its dwelling places for abbots and monks, and its mill and dovecot were the only structures on the west side of the river" ...."there is an entire absence of any notice of residenters on the right bank of the Garnock."[10]

In examining the evidence which tends to modify this theory we must note, first of all, that we do not have Timothy Pont's manuscript account of what he saw at Kilwinning, but only a transcript by Sir James Balfour in which several statements have been found to be at variance with the facts. Whether these errors are due to author or transcriber is immaterial, the point is that Pont's description as we now have it may yet contain inaccuracies; after all, the account states that Blair House stands on the brink of the Garnock, which it does not. Besides, details in a number of abbey charters and other documents reveal that there were houses and, indeed, "residenters" on the west side of the bridge in the sixteenth century. In all fairness, we must point out that when local historians, such as Mr Kerr, were writing some of the sources from which such information comes were not in print, or were not readily accessible.

In the sixteenth century charters distinction is made between property "in Corsehill", "at the Bridgend" of Kilwinning and "in the toun of Kilwinning". The highway, called variously "the hiegait", "the common way of Kilwynning" and, at the appropriate times, "the kingis streit" or the "quenis streit" of Kilwinning, ran as it still does through all these areas; from the "tounheid" to "pathfute" and on to Irvine. A lease to John Brown, the abbey brewer, in 1487 speaks of the "Hiegait" on the west side of the bridge[1] while a contract of 1599 describes part of the "hie streit of Kilwinning" on the east side of the river.[2] Corsehill would appear to have been a run-rig area cultivated by the tenants who lived in the Pathfoot and Bridgend. There were smallish settlements at Nethermains, Longford, Kilrig, which is also called Oxenward, and at " Byris of Kilwinning." There is reference to someone living in "the almouswall."[3]

9 Dobie, p.268.
10 Kerr, Rev. William Lee, **History of Kilwinning**, pp. 17-18.
* One cannot help wishing that the " High Street " of yesterday might be restored, replacing the prosaic " Main Street " of today.
1 SRO: GD 86/36.
2 SRO: Register of Sasines RS 11/1 f.70.
3 Ibid., 11/3 f.252.

Chapter house and corner of the cloister.
(See page 126)

Around the abbey itself were to be found the houses and premises of the various tradespeople who normally clung around such an establishment and of other people whose business tended to flourish beside the king's highway: masons, brewer, baker, flesher, miller, the king's messenger, the notaries and the monks' servants. The "chambers and yards" of the monks themselves stood along the " Greenefute ".[4] Although all these buildings were legally abbey property, since they were built on the barony, they were not necessarily part of the complex of conventual buildings, but stood on both sides of the highway. A few examples may serve to illustrate the point.

1557, Nov. 8: Feu charter to Robert Hamilton of Dalserf of "the house and yard" of sir Eumonides Henrisoun (the curate) and of "other houses on the north side of the Queen's Street of Kilwinning," "a house adjoining the kirkyard dyke" occupied by John Allasoun, "a house on the side of the Queen's Street" inhabited by James Bennet. (Reg. Feu Charters, vol. 1 f. 202). In a sasine of 1606 there is mention of "a house" formerly occupied by John Allasoun "in the toun of Kilwinning between the cemetery on the south and the common way on the north." (RS 11/3 f. 294v).

1568, June 6: Charter to Thomas Ezat, younger, of a yard occupied by his father lying to the north of the abbey green extending from the gate of the abbey to the "kingis gait" "opposite the house of the late John Flegger." (Reg. Feu. Charters vol. 2 f. 129). Another charter to him, confirmed in 1580, of "a house and garden" occupied by himself and Allan Wilson "lying on the north of the common way." (RSS 7; 2673). In a sasine to his daughters in 1606 this house was said to be "between the houses and gardens of "the late Andrew Fledger on the west and the house and garden of Florence Hamilton on the east." (RS 11/3 f. 294).

1566, December 4: Feu charter to John Miller who operated the corn mill at the west end of the bridge of "a house in the toun of Kilwinning on the north of the mill-hill" (RMS 5; 341).

1583: mention of John Patrick, occupant of "a furnace and bakehouse on the south of the common way of Kilwinning." (RMS 5; 653).

The evidence suggests that in the sixteenth century there were houses on both sides of what is now called "Main Street" providing the nucleus of a growing township.

4 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD3 2/89/1.

The amount of dislocation brought about by the religious settlement of 1560 has frequently been exaggerated in the past. "For the time the occupations of our forefathers would be gone," wrote one historian, "and the good farmers of Auchinmaid and Auchenteber would scarcely know who was their laird or to whom they were to hand their tons of cheese and pounds of wax which hitherto they had paid as rents to the abbots. There would simply be a condition of chaos among the people of Kilwinning three hundred and thirty years ago."[5] In fact, the " Reformation " made virtually no difference to the economics of life in the parish. Gavin Hamilton, who had been something of an absentee landlord before 1560, remained commendator and continued to be involved in family and national politics. Robert Hamilton remained chamberlain and his officers, with those of the bailie, whose activities constituted the tenants' normal contact with the abbey, continued to collect the rents and hold courts. Many tenants, especially feuars, appear to have paid their rents in money; the payments in "kind" would be sold and the money which was realised passed on to "my lord of Kilwinning." The tenants continued to take their grain to the abbey mills, a burden which still existed at the time of the first Statistical Account, by which time the earl of Eglinton was landlord.

There was no "time of abandonment" or "dissolution" of the monastery. The conventual mass and recitation of the Divine Office ceased, the Privy Council sent representatives to dismantle the apparatus of the proscribed worship, but any "casting doun" which they did, would, for the most part, be confined to the choir — the monks' part of the kirk.[6] The nave, where the parishioners had been accustomed to attend mass, continued to be used as the parish kirk — stripped of its altars and images. Out of the eight monks who signed a charter in the abbey in January, 1559/60, two conformed. The others "retired on full pay," as it were, and continued to live in their chambers at the Greenfoot for a few years more. One of the conformists, William Kirkpatrick, became the first minister of Kilwinning.

The earliest appearance of William Kirkpatrick as a member of the convent, which I have so far discovered, is in December, 1544, a difficult time both nationally and locally[7]. The cost of the Scottish government's war with England was then straining the budgets of burghs such as Irvine and Ayr with constant demands for special taxation and requisition of ships for government use[8]. On top of war conditions came the plague. In 1545, permission was

5 Kerr, p.20
6 Knox, **History of the Reformation**, Vol.1, p. 364.
7 SRO: GD3 2/80/8, GD 242/71/5.
8 **Ayr Burgh Accounts**, passim.

given for the young earl of Eglinton to be served heir to his grand-father in the burgh court house of Irvine since plague was raging on those Cunningham lands of which he was to have been given sasine[9]. The following year the Irvine magistrates were given special powers to help them cope with the epidemic[10]. In Kyle a current of religious unrest followed the preaching tours of George Wishart[1].

At Kilwinning, abbot Alexander Hamilton was on exceedingly bad terms with his neighbours in the 1540's. In 1541 he lost his case against a tenant whose writs he had refused to hand over[2]. Two years later he, with sir Eumonides Henrisoun the curate, William Hamilton the subprior and John Docheon, probably one of the monks, complained to the Lords of Council and Session that John Mure of Rowallan had taken forcible possession of some abbey lands[3]. One day in April, 1545, William Kirkpatrick and his fellow monks assembled in their stalls, heard the curate read out the earl of Eglinton's claim to the hereditary bailiary of the abbey; but it was almost two years before the abbot recognised it[4]. Once in the summer of 1546, the abbot failed to return from a journey, having been set upon near the kirk of Stewarton by the earl of Glencairn, William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead and some others — one of whom was James Campbell, heir to the laird of Stevenston and future father-in-law of William Kirkpatrick![5]

Two tacks by Alexander Hamilton give a glimpse of life at the abbey at this time[6]. Some of the "communal" aspects of monastic life had disappeared. The monks lived in their own chambers and yards and had their own servants. Each had his "portion," or salary, allotted to him from the monastic revenues; in 1588 that of Alexander Henderson was worth £33 6s 8d, about twice the minimum stipend of a parish curate and somewhat more than some Ayrshire curates were actually receiving. There is mention of the monastic servants: cook, baxter, ledar, porter, gardener, "child of the hall," barber, washer of the clothes, "child of the cellar," maltman and bellman. Reference is made to the "freris almus usit and wont" given to Black Friars, Grey Friars and Carmelites. There was also a duty to "ressave freris" which may refer to a practice developed during the pre-1560 reform movements within the church of appointing friars to preach to monastic communities[7]. There were several altars in the abbey kirk but so

9 Fraser, Vol.2, p. 113.
10 **Muniments of Irvine**, Vol.1, p. 47.
1 Pitcairn, Vol. 1a*, p. 353.
2 SRO: Acta Dom. Con. & Sess., Vol. 16, f.150.
3 SRO Acts & Decreets, Vol.1, pt.2 f.289.
4 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD3 2/80/11.
5 Acta Dom. Con. & Sess. Vol. 20 f.170.
6 Ibid., Vol. 8 f. 155: Ibid, Vol. 23 f. 15.
7 **Essays on Scottish Reformation**, p. 212.

far I have not been able to trace the dedication of any of them. Two chaplains, Alan Hamilton and Leon Jack, are mentioned in the years immediately prior to the Reformation[8]. The first earl of Eglinton, who died in 1545 and was buried in the choir, founded an obit for his own soul and those of his ancestors[9].

Officially, a member of a religious order had no personal property; in practice, this meant that he "made over" the rights which he inherited to the community or to another member of his family. On 11 March, 1548/9, dene John Culper renounced his claim to 20 shillingsworth of the lands of Bridgend easter, a third of the mill on the north of the bridge, the fishing rights which went with these lands and 10 shillingworth of land on Corsehill in favour of Alexander Culper, his brother[10]. It is possible that John Culper entered the monastery at this time, which would account for his renunciation; the earliest example of his signature which I have found occurs on 7 March, 1551/2[1].

There were seventeen monks at Kilwinning in 1544: Charles Stule, John Docheon, John White, John Deyne, William Wright, William Hamilton, James Brown, James Mechell, Patrick Flescher, Robert Curry, Alan Steyne, Thomas Brown, Alan Wilson, Gilbert Dawson, Robert Edward, William Kirkpatrick and John Deyne, younger. Some of them, at least, may have come from local families as later did John Culper who may not, in fact, have been the first member of his family to enter the monastery since in 1511 there is mention of some land at the Bridgend which belonged to "dene Fergus Culper."[2] In January, 1551/2, John Docheon signed a charter to John Docheon of lands at Doura[3]. Patrick Flescher shared his surname, admittedly quite a common one, with two recorded inhabitants of Kilwinning and two tenants on the barony of Beith[4]. The Deynes may have belonged to the family of that name who lived at Over Auchentiber[5].

There were some men with an interest in learning and the arts in the Kilwinning convent. Charles Stule was incorporated at Glasgow university in 1519 as a "monk of Kilwinning."[6] A small printed book entitled **Compassio Beate Marie**, printed about 1520, carries the colophon "Impressu Edinburgi p. Johane Story nomine et mandato Caroli Stule," and was possibly printed for the Kilwinning monk[7]. Dene Thomas Brown had built the organ for

8 SRO: GD 242/71/5.
9 Fraser, Vol. 2, p. 132.
10 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD 3 2/86/1.
1 Kilwinning Charters, p. 196.
2 SRO: GD 8/62.
3 SRO: GD 90/1/146.
4 Reg. Feu Charters, Vol. 2 f.129; SRO: RH 7/1434.
5 **RMS**: 5:854.
6 and 7 Dickson and Edmond, **Annals of Scottish Printing**, p. 100. Text of this book
  printed in the Bannatyne Club edition of the **Aberdeen Breviary**.

the kirk of St. John the Baptist at Ayr in 1536. He may have been the Kilwinning monk who returned a few years later to mend it, when the magistrates asked him to bind the service books at the same time. From 1544 to 1548, a notary signed the abbey charters on his behalf, suggesting that he may have gone blind[8]. William Kirkpatrick himself had a collection of books worth 10 merks at the time of his death, some of which he may well have acquired during his monastic days[9]. According to Dempster, the prior of Kilwinning at the time of the Reformation, whose name he did not know, wrote a book entitled **Pro Alphonsi Tabulis contra fratem Jacobum,** in which he defended the traditional Alphonsine astronomical tables which had recently been attacked by "James of Kelso," and a less controversial work, **Nova Musica ex Platone.**[10] I have been unable as yet to identify the prior among the list of monks for this period. Alexander Scott was prior in 1512 but does not appear by the 1540's[1]. William Hamilton was subprior in 1543 but had gone by the 1550's[2]. John Culper was subprior in 1559 and James Mechell in the 1580's[3].

In the case of William Kirkpatrick himself we have details from which we can piece together the family background which brought him into direct contact with the progress of Reforming opinion and activity. It is possible that the family had connections with the Kirkpatricks of Dumfriesshire; William's nephew, Thomas, loaned £200 to the laird of Closeburn, the debt being outstanding at the time of Thomas's death[4]. At any rate, by the 1550's they had settled in the burgh of Ayr, where two of William's brothers, Laurence and David, were merchants and shipmasters[5]. His third brother, John, was a merchant and prominent magistrate in Ayr[6]. His wife Janet Wallace, was the daughter, or, more probably, the sister of Mr Michael Wallace, bailie and later provost of the burgh, a signatory of the 1562 "Band" to defend the Reformed faith. John was himself a bailie from 1550 to 1553 and in 1561 and Dean of Guild for the year 1554-5. In the burgh accounts for 1550-1 bailie John Kirkpatrick and Thomas Nicol were given £18 travelling expenses which they had incurred in riding to Edinburgh to defend the town on a charge of "intercommuning with the rebels." He and Mr Michael Wallace went as delegates of the town council to the Queen Regent with the request for a discharge from military operations, John Kirkpatrick's horse-hire on that occasion amounting to £2 13s 4d. In the accounts for

8 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD3 2/80/8. GD 90/1/130; **Ayr Burgh Accounts,** pp. 28, 112.
9 Edin. Tests. CC8/8/9/ 26 July, 1581.
10 Dempster, **Historica Ecclesiastica,** Vol. 2, p. 423.
1 **Kilwinning Charters,** p. 180.
2 **SRO: Acts & Decreets,** Vol.1 pt. 2.
3 SRO: GD3 2/86/8; GD 242/71/1; GD 90/1/211.
4 Glasgow Testaments, SRO: CC9/7/14 21 Apr, 1618.
5 Coquet Book of Ayr. SRO: E 71/3/3 f.1.
6 **Ayr Burgh Accounts,** passim. SRO: Acts & Decreets Vol. 4 f.291.
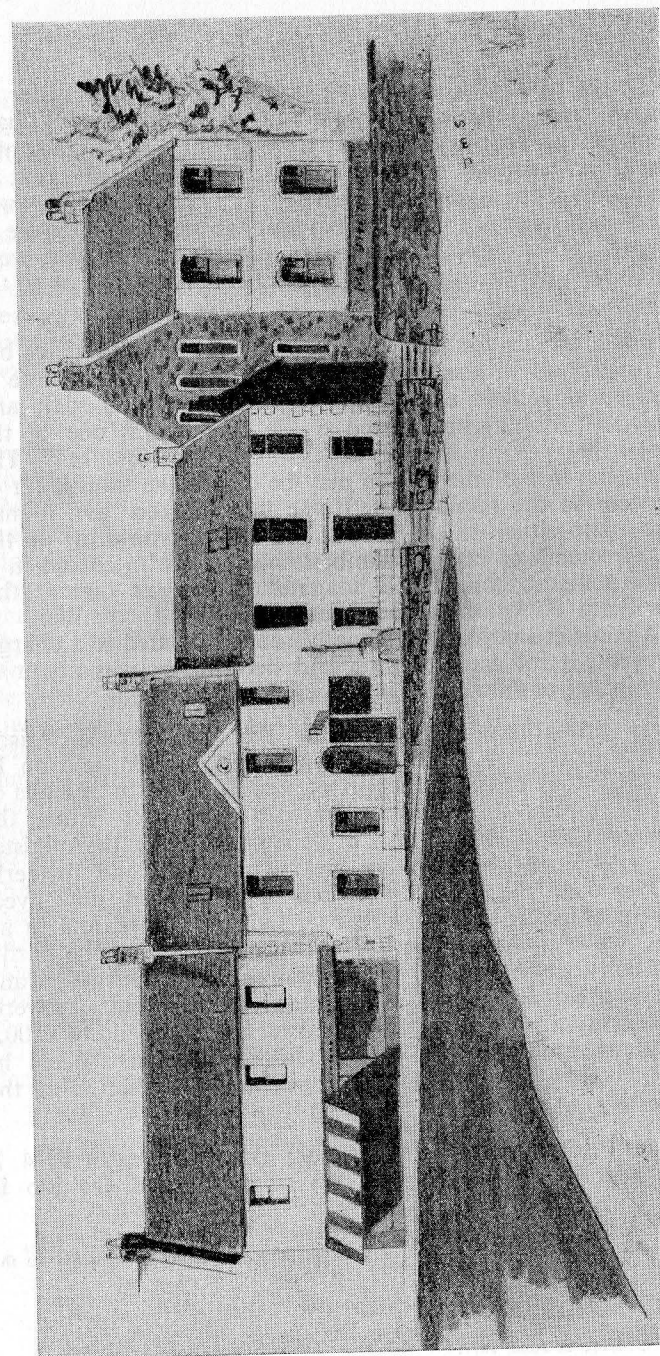
Eighteenth Century Houses on 'Crossbrae.' (See page 126)

1560-61, he is mentioned as having accompanied the minister of Ayr to parliament. There can be no doubt that his brother William at Kilwinning was kept in touch with developments as the face of a Reformed kirk gradually emerged in the burgh of Ayr and that he came to support the Reformed doctrines. The fact that he was appointed minister, not merely exhorter or reader, as were a number of his conforming neighbours, suggests that he was well-acquainted with the teaching which it was his duty to pass on to the parishioners.

It is difficult to decide just when his appointment took place but there is one clue. In the abbey chamberlain's accounts there is engrossed an agreement about rents between the chamberlain and John Boyd of Bollingshaw dated 6 March, 1562/3, one of the witnesses being " William Kirkpatrick minister of (blank) "[7]. The frustrating gap in the information may be due to the transcriber or it may occur in the manuscript. If the latter is the case, it may represent a slip either on the part of the notary who drew up the original agreement or of the chamberlain's clerk who copied it. It may, with some stretch of the imagination, suggest that at this stage, William Kirkpatrick had been pronounced "qualifeit" to become a minister but had not actually been appointed to a charge. In any event, it indicates that he had become, or was about to become minister of Kilwinning in the winter of 1562/3.

It was probably about this time that he married Alison Campbell, daughter of James Campbell of Stevenston, and on 11 August, 1567, they received the gift of a pension worth 20 bolls of victual, 12 stones of cheese and £20 in silver from the commendator Gavin Hamilton[8]. In September, 1568, the minister and his wife feued the chamber and yard which had formerly belonged to dene Patrick Flescher but in which they now lived, probably in addition to William's own living quarters, and in all likelihood set up house in the abbey precincts[9]. But if the laird's daughter had to bring up her three children, Martha, Marion and William, in a somewhat make-shift manse, the Kirkpatricks were, nevertheless, comfortably off. The minister had a stipend of £100,[10] his monk's portion and the commendator's pension. When he died he left free estate of over £636[1], while his brother John, the merchant, left only £172[2].

William Kirkpatrick's charge was an exacting one. In 1574, it included supervision of the parishes of Beith and Dunlop in

7 SRO: GD 103/2/22 p.1. I should be most grateful for further information on this
   point from anyone who has seen the original manuscript.
8 RPC, Vol.3, pp. 409-10.
9 Register of Feu Charters, Vol. 2, f.54.
10 Reg. of Min., Exhort. and Readers, p. 85.
1 Edinburgh Testament. SRO: CC8/8/9. 26 July, 1581.
2 Ibid., CC8/8/5 12 June, 1577.

addition to Kilwinning itself. At the last mentioned he had the help of David Mylne as reader till 1576[4], at Beith that of Thomas Boyd[5] and at Dunlop of Hans Hamilton[6]. At Kilwinning he would hold his services in the nave of the abbey kirk — no longer in the choir to which he had been accustomed — and tackle the job of educating the parishioners into the unfamiliar responsibilities of membership of a reformed congregation. The only glimpse which we have of the congregation during his ministry is a reference in his testament to the elders and deacons who, at his burial, were to distribute the 5 merks which he left to the poor "amangis the househalders that dow not wark."[7]

For a few years he had as neighbours at the Greenfoot, some of his former colleagues. There were only eight monks at the abbey in January 1559/60: John Culper, James Mechell, James Brown, Robert Curry, Alan Steyne, John Deyne, Alexander Henderson and William Kirkpatrick himself[8]. We know from various documents that John Culper, James Brown, Robert Curry, John Deyne and Alan Steyne were living in the abbey in the decade after the Reformation[9]. Alan Steyne's name appears on a charter in April, 1563[10]. In October, 1564, as "one of the religious men of the abbey of Kilwinning," he disponed his chamber and yard to his servant, James Bennett, reserving to himself the right to live in it if he wished; he made his will at Kilwinning in August, 1569[1], James Mechell, Robert Curry and John Deyne continued to sign charters until 1581[2] and James Mechell, alone, signed a tack in 1589 and another transaction in 1592; he was, probably, one of the last surviving members of the convent[3]. William Kirkpatrick, as a member of the community, signed charters in 1563, 1566, 1572 and 1574[4]. Alexander Henderson, who first appears at Kilwinning in 1554 and may have been one of the younger monks, became exhorter at Ardrossan, reader at Stewarton and finally at Kilmaurs[5]. In 1588 his "portion" was granted as a student's allowance to his son David, then attending St. Andrews University[6]. David became the first full-time minister at Kilmaurs[7]. The parish priest of Kilwinning, sir Eumonides Henrisoun, had been at the abbey for at least 45 years when he is last heard of living in a house beside the

4 Fasti, Vol.3, p. 22.
5 Ibid., p. 81.
6 Ibid., p. 90.
7 Edin. Test. SRO: CC8/8/9, 26 July, 1518.
8 SRO: GD 90/1/162.
9 Eglinton Coll. GD 3 289/1; Reg. Feu Chrs. Vol. 1 201-2.
10 SRO: GD 90/1/166.
1 SRO: Eglinton Coll. GD3 2/95/1; 2/86/14.
2 SRO: GD 242/71/1.
3 SRO: GD 90/1/211; GD3 2/77/2.
4 SRO: GD 8/176; GD3 2/86/11; GD 242/71/5; GD3 2/81/9.
5 Fasti, Vol.3, pp. 78, 112, 124; RCP, Vol. 3, p. 649.
6 RSS, Vol.58, f.69v.
7 Fasti, Vol.3, p. 112.

High Street in 1557. He was probably too old to face the responsibilities of a new era even if he were still alive in 1560, and may, in any case, have looked on rather cynically as the earl of Glencairn and his helpers dismantled the choir of the abbey kirk since he could remember the disgraceful attack on abbot William Bunch by the earl's grandfather in 1512[9]. The men in charge of the neighbouring parishes, like the minister of Kilwinning, had been in orders before 1560: sir George Boyd, reader at Dalry[10]; Thomas Andrew, vicar and reader at Irvine[1]; and Mr James Walker, vicar and minister at Stevenston[2].

There were comings and goings between the Kirkpatricks and their relatives at Ayr. The minister bought goods from his sea-going brothers, David and Laurence, who appear in the burgh's Coquet and Customs books between 1569 and 1572, trading in hides, herring, cloth and coal. Laurence's ship was called "The Grace of God "[3] John Kirkpatrick's sons were also shipmasters: David, William, Thomas and John. Thomas is found as master of three ships, "The Maid", "The Elspeth", and "The James Royal". He had a share with Adam Gibson in a ship called "The John of Leyth".[4] John Kirkpatrick himself had a lease of some land on the barony of Crossraguel[5] which in February 1567/68 was feued to his son, William, whose uncles, the minister of Kilwinning and Mr Michael Wallace witnessed the charter[6]. In 1580, William and his wife Janet Aird exchanged this land for an acre and a half in "the middle sands of Ayr", one of the witnesses to this transaction being his uncle Laurence Kirkpatrick[7]. John Kirkpatrick continued to take part in the public life of the burgh. In May 1567, he took sasine in the name of the community of those lands which had previously belonged to the Dominican and Franciscan friars[8]. He died in February, 1570/1[9].

Changes came about in Kilwinning parish in the 1570's. When Gavin Hamilton was killed in 1571, during the civil war, the estates of the abbey passed to Alexander Cunningham, the son of Glencairn. As a result, lands which had previously been feued to Hamiltons were granted to Cunninghams. This may well have affected the tenants on the lands concerned as the displaced landlord resisted the newcomer and both attempted to collect the

9 Kilwinning Charters, p. 180.
10 RMS, 4:932; Thirds of Benefices, p. 263.
1 Ibid., p. 93.
2 Ibid., p. 92.
3 Coquet Book of Ayr. SRO: E 71/3/3 f.1.
4 Ibid., SRO: B6/29/1: July 2, Jan. 11, 1586/7; Jun. 27, 1593; May 1, 1597.
5 RMS, 4:2432.
6 Crossraguel Charters, Vol. 1, p. 178.
7 SRO: GD 25/1/717,870.
8 Charters of the Friars Preacher of Ayr, p. 106. In January, 1562/3 he was involved as a bailie in the case of some merchants from Nantes against Kennedy of Bargany (RPC, Vol.1, p. 229).
9 Edinburgh Testaments SRO: CC8/8/5. 12 June, 1577.

rents. The new commendator got on the wrong side of the bailie on more than one occasion. In 1578, Alison Campbell's brother, George Campbell, then fear of his father's lands, sued the commendator over the payment of teinds[10]. After her husband's death, Alison had to petition the Privy Council for tax exemption of her pension in the face of opposition from the Cunninghams[1]. It is in the Privy Council record that she is called widow of "William Kirkpatrick, minister of Kilwinning and ane of the monkis thereof," the only place where I have found her husband referred to in both capacities.

The minister drew up his testament in April, 1577[2]. This statement of his affairs gives some idea of his way of life. It shows how, like other ministers then and long afterwards, he was personally responsible for gathering in his own stipend, and the monastic portion which was legally his until his death, from the parishioners of Kilwinning and Beith. In the list of debtors for parts of his stipend there are preserved the names of humble folk who would otherwise have been unrecorded: William Fairlie who owed him 12/6 of his "cheis siller", Bessie Hunter and her son Hugh Hill in Monkcastle, William Bailie and Janet Roger, his wife in Dalgarven, Andrew Dunlop in Guslone, William Moreis and his daughter-in-law at Goldcraigs, Thomas Creichtoun in Over Smeithstoun, Peter Burne in easter Bridgend, Peter Broun in Byris and others. The minister owned £30 in stock, £18 of grain " sown in the ground" and 84 ells of cloth of various kinds. He was able to lend money to a number of people including £100 to his father-in-law. His own debts amounted to only £52 compared with over £550 which other people owed to him.

He made careful arrangements for his family. He left £10 to be given to his niece, Janet Kirkpatrick of Ayr on her marriage. He owed his brother David £5, and his nephew Thomas the price of a barrel of herring and some other goods. His own son William, who was then under fourteen years of age, was to benefit from the sale of his father's books, the money being earmarked for his education, and he had 50 merks besides. Martha, his elder daughter, had 100 merks, a furnished feather bed and a kist "lokkit and bundit". Marion's share was 50 merks and a kist of oak "wantand ane lid". " I leve the rest of my pt of the guds and geir," he wrote, "to be delt equalie amangis my thrie barnis exceptand ane fedder bed furnist quk I leve to alesoun campbel my spous. Item, I leve the haill guds and geir appertenand to my self and the barnis to be roupit and prysit and estimat immediatlie eftir my departing and that be my executors or the maist of thame . . Item, I leve my sone Wm to be

10 SRO: Acts and Decreets Vol. 74 f.212, Vol. 75, ff1, 180.
1 RPC, Vol.3, p.409-10.
2 Edinburgh Testaments SRO: CC8/8/9. 26 July, 1581.

put to the scule sasone as possibill is wt sum freindis that will tak him and his geir togidder and the rest of the barnis to rename wt thr moyer and thr haill geir . . . I leve tutors to my sone William George campbell fear of Stevenstoun and William Kirkpatrick by bruyer sone burges of air."[3]

He died in July, 1577; his wife survived him by thirty-one years.[4] In fact, she must have been considerably his junior, he himself being apparently of the same generation as his father-in-law who survived him. Alison remarried twice after his death. Since only Martha and Marion, with her third husband, are named as her executors at the time of her death it is likely that William predeceased his mother. It is not surprising that Alison remarried twice when it is discovered that she was a fairly wealthy widow for someone in her station in life. She had household goods and clothes worth over £230 and left free estate of £1577.

Her testament gives a glimpse of the community at the turn of the century and of contemporary housekeeping. She owed money to Hew Tempiltoun, smith, Alexander Montgomery, merchant, William Steill, cordiner, "for shone," James Steill, tailor, George Homyll, flescher, for "ane skoir of beif", James Mitchell for "ane salmond fische," Alexander Smith for baking, Isabel Campbell "for merchand wares", John Thomsoun for six loads of coal and their carriage, Andrew Ezat for six days harrowing, John Patrick for maltmaking, to her servants Hew Kid, James Mailving and Katrene Park, and to Janet Adamson who had been weeding her garden.

By the turn of the century, Kilwinning had had two more ministers, Alexander Wreittoun and David Barclay[5]. David Mylne, who had worked with William Kirkpatrick at Kilwinning, died as minister of Dundonald in 1617. In 1603 the earl of Eglinton became the effective landlord of the abbey tenants. In the early seventeenth century property which had been feued by the abbots was passing to the sons and grandsons of those who had lived through the changes of 1559/60. Some of this land was subfeued, creating more proprietors. The Register of Sasines records over 140 Kilwinning infeftments between 1600 and 1609.

At the same time we find that people were leaving the district. While Alexander Wreittoun, the second minister's eldest son, became schoolmaster at Kilwinning[6], his brothers John and Daniel

3 Edinburgh Testaments SRO: CC8/8/45. 18 July, 1609.
4 Testament of her second husband, Neil Montgomery, brother of Hugh Montgomery of Smeithstoun, died 23 May, 1591. (CC8/8/23) In her own testament she names her third husband, Neil Montgomery of Greenfoot, as her executor with her two daughters. The family may then have been still living in the house in which she and William Kirkpatrick first set up house in the Greenfoot and of which she would probably retain the liferent.
5 Fasti, Vol.3, p. 116.
6 See Testament of Alison Campbell.

went to Edinburgh, where they became apprenticed to Andrew Hart, printer[7]; John later set up printing on his own[8]. Among the 60 Ayrshire boys who became apprenticed in Edinburgh between 1586 and 1630, were five from Kilwinning parish: the two went to Edinburgh, where they became apprenticed to Andrew Wreittouns already mentioned, Alexander Thomsoun of Ashinyards, apprenticed to Symon Thomson, merchant, who was possibly a relative[9], Simon Watt from Woodside, apprenticed to John Watt, dagmaker, who may have been another local man who went to Edinburgh at an earlier date[10], and Alexander Culper, the great-nephew of dene John Culper of Kilwinning Abbey, who became apprenticed to Archibald Mudy, cooper[1].

There are indications, too, of a drift to northern Ireland from the area, partly due to the "plantation of Ulster". In 1611 "David Montgomery, now in Ireland" owed money to Gilbert Docheon of Doura[2]. According to the testament of Marion Wreittoun, the minister's daughter, money was due to her from Hugh Montgomery " in Lochlernie in Ireland"[3]. In 1624 John Culper of Bridgend, the monk's nephew, sub-feued some land to his "beloved cousins" James Coupar in Ballihaskie in County Down and Daniel Coupar his brother[4]. The drift to Ireland continued, to be dramatically reversed in the nineteenth century.

If the break-up of the abbey regality among an increased number of small proprietors, through the feuing movement, set the pattern of tenancy for the seventeenth century, the amalgamation of small holdings into the larger farms of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reversed the process. It lends a frail thread of continuity to the present dislocation of rural life in the parish to notice that the signposts which a short time ago indicated a single farm once more mark the dwellings of a group of people as they might have done in the sixteenth century, had they been invented at that time, and to admit, wryly, perhaps, that the inhabitants of the new housing estates are the successors of the occupants of the "touns" of an earlier age. It is to be hoped that the urban character of these new settlements may be diminished and the heritage of the community preserved by retaining as many as possible of the names which might have occurred on the signposts of sixteenth century Kilwinning parish.

7 Edinburgh Register of Apprentices, (SRS) Vol.1, 1 Feb. 1609: 12 May, 1613.
8 Bannatyne Club. Misc., Vol.2, pp. 249, 255.
9 Edinburgh Register of Apprentices, (SRS) Vol.1, 19 June, 1588.
10 Ibid., Vol.1, 23 Oct., 1593.
1 Ibid., Vol. 1, 14 Mar., 1604.
2 Glasgow Testaments SRO; CC9/7/8. 3 December, 1611.
3 Ibid., CC9/7/18. 6 October, 1621.
4 Eglinton Coll. GD3. 2/86/21.

APPENDIX

LOCATION OF THE 'MILLER'S CROSS'

A definition of the boundaries of the lands of wester Bridgend runs:—

'. . . . lying at the bridge of Kilwinning as the Water of Garnock descends to the Reid Bray on the east and south parts; and from the said Reid Bray by the march of the lands called **Blacklands** till it comes to **Hanying** westwardly, and by Hanying and **Staynflat**, and the outer marches of Staynflat and **Baynyard** till it comes to the **Miller's Cross** descending from the said cross by the **Peth** to the said bridge on the north and west parts . . . .'

(GD 3 2/86/3: Eglinton Collection).

20 January, 1552/3

Using Ainslie's plan to interpret this passage it would appear that the miller's cross was somewhere in the region of the junction between 'Dovecot Lane' and 'Cross Brae.' On Ainslie's plan, in fact, a small mark at this point, but in the middle of the roadway, may indicate a 'cross.' I am given to understand that the cross on 'Cross Brae' was moved to its present site from the 'Dovecot Lane' side of the street; it may be a descendent of the 'miller's cross' referred to above. The 'Peth' referred to was one which led to the river from the abbey, according to a tack of 1487, which speaks of the 'pethfute.' Presumably this path led originally to a ford before the abbot was given permission in 1439 to build a bridge.

SOURCE LIST

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES IN THE SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE (SRO)

'Rental of Kilwinning abbey.' Transcript made for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is in the Scottish Record Office; the original is in the hands of Irvine Town Council.
(GD 103/2/22)

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Thanks are due to Mr John Imrie, Keeper of the Records of Scotland, for permission to quote from material deposited in the Scottish Record Office.

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THE ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Page 105: The 18th century kirk stands, more or less, on the site of the monastic choir. The modern steeple, like its predecessor, marks the extremity of the parochial nave of the abbey kirk, being ' altogether boyldit upoun the bodie of the paroche kyrk of Kilwynning fer distant from the quier and closter swa that nane haif pretext . . . . to acclame the samin onles it wer the parochin.' (Kilwinning Charters, p. 120).

2. Page 111: Chapter house and corner of the cloister. In 1546 reference is made to ' the chapter house of the said monkis within the close of the said abbey.' The dorter probably lay above this range; the chamber in which William Kirkpatrick lived was said to lie ' between the yard of sir Alan Steyne on the south, the east yards . . . . on the east, the dorter on the north and the green field on the west.' (GD 3 2/81/1: Reg. Feu charters Vol. 2 f.54).

3. Page 117: Eighteenth century houses on ' Cross brae.' The origin of the cross is uncertain; in December 1544 sasine was given ' at the market cross of the regality ' (GD 3 2/80/9). In 1552/3 there is mention of the ' miller's cross ' which presumably stood in the vicinity of the corn mill at the west end of the bridge. (GD 3 2/86/3).

Kilwinning at the Time of The Reformation

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