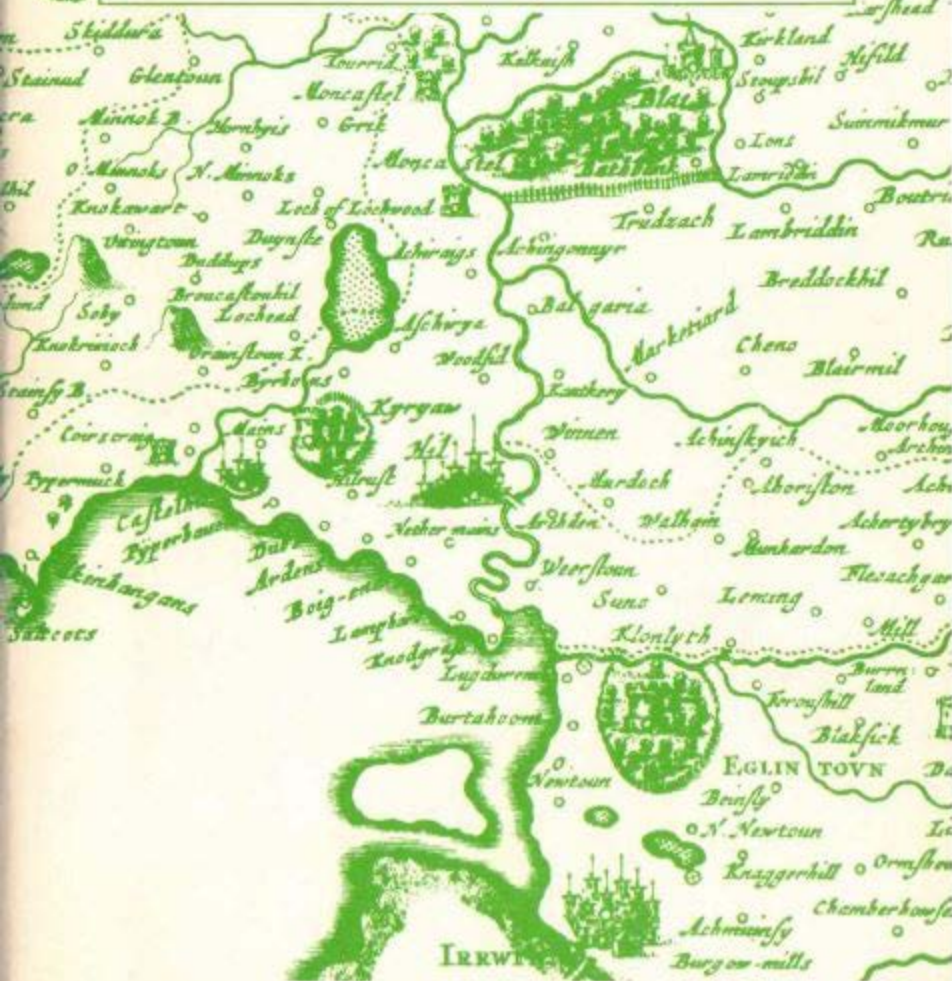


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The People of Sixteenth Century Ayrshire

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MEDIEVAL AYRSHIRE PARISHES



In most local histories written in the 19th and early 20th centuries coverage of the pre-1700 period was sketchy and tended to be concerned with how big events affected the locality, usually how local notables got involved, or consisted of pen-portraits of famous local residents. The circumstances of life of the majority of the inhabitants tended to be neglected. With the recent expansion of documentary-based local studies the life of communities has been put on the historical map, but still mostly for the period post-1700 so that our knowledge is still somewhat uneven. For the earlier period itself we tend to know more about the burghs, thanks to the growth of urban archaeology and the amount of burgh record in print, than about the life of the countryside where most people lived. More work on rural communities would help to make the earlier period less mythological, bringing it into the real world of the 18th and 19th centuries with which we have become so familiar and the early 20th century which has the help of photography and oral history to bring it to life. A lot of work has recently been done in general Scottish history of the medieval and post-medieval periods which should help to provide a framework for local studies. At the same time, more local studies could provide the groundwork for more general books; the two areas are complementary. While much primary source material is still in the original manuscripts a lot of it has been transcribed and edited and is available to hand in print, not least in the publications of historical societies, raw material waiting to be used; these publications were meant to be the starting-point for research. Even the printed indexes to the registers of testaments before 1700, published many years ago by the Scottish Record Society and regarded hitherto as being of primarily genealogical interest, are a key to material that is a prime source of early social history. This paper is intended to give a flavour of the kind of information that can be found in the source material of the 16th century and the kind of picture that emerges from it of Ayrshire communities in that period.

Possession of the land and the use of its produce underpinned almost all organised activity. The 16th century may have seen the high watermark of continuity of possession by the tenants in Scotland based on the well-established principle of customary inheritance known as kindly tenancy, which entitled the nearest of kin to succeed to the holding and to acquire the lease.¹ As it happened, the same century

became a watershed in their rights of possession for many tenant families, notably those on church land - a fair slice of the best farmland in Scotland - due to the rapid spread of feu-ferm tenure.² This gave many families formal legal security once and for all on the basis of a feu charter of the family holding, of which they thus became owner-occupiers. At the same time, those who could not afford to take feus found themselves demoted to the rank of the subtenants of those who took feus 'over their heads' or even found themselves facing eviction as an outsider moved in. Closer examination of the feuing process, however, has shown that it may have been less devastating than used to be thought, that far more tenants were able to feu their holdings than was at one time realised. This was certainly true in many parts of Cunninghame and Kyle. Meantime, on the lands of secular landlords the old customary tenures continued into the 17th century where the tenants were to weather other storms.

However they held their land, countrypeople knew their rights, partly through attendance at the barony court but largely through a knowledge of local practice that was transmitted with the land itself - 'the lovable custom of the barony', as they called it. This customary practice was recognised in the central civil courts. Tenant farmers, who account for the majority of the rural population, may not have left many records of their own behind them but a great deal of information about them is available in the records of others. When we look at what happened in particular communities, to particular families or even individuals, we can see just how knowledgeable and resourceful these people could be. One of the benefits of doing research on the local scale is that one can take time to look at individual experience, which helps to qualify the generalisations of the textbooks.

It would be difficult to find a more vulnerable individual than Alan Fulton, 'ane puir blind man' from Stewarton, whose case came before the court of session in the winter of 1565.³ The Fulton family, like their neighbours, were crown tenants, in their case holding a small portion of Blacklaw on the royal lordship of Stewarton. They were, technically, 'rentallers', that is, they held their leases for life, a fairly settled pattern of tenure quite common in Ayrshire.

John Fulton, Alan's grandfather, had been entered to the holding in 1517 and had died in 1536. The heir, David Fulton, had two sons, Adam, the elder, and blind Alan. As occasionally happened with tenants who rather took their possession for granted, David Fulton had neglected to have himself formally served heir to his late father but simply carried on farming his holding.⁴ Formalities of tenure were sometimes allowed to slide on both secular and church estates provided the land was continually occupied and the rents were regularly paid, something of which there are plenty of examples from different parts of the country.

Trouble began for the Fulton family when the elder son, Adam, died during his father's lifetime. David Fulton, either on his own initiative or as the result of an approach by one, Alexander Muir of Armsheugh, took steps to cut his younger, blind son out of his right to succeed to the holding. The court record states that 'throw persuasioun and tysting of the said Alan', in 1553 David sold 'all his ryt and kyndness that he [i.e. David] had' to Alexander Muir who then got himself rentalled in the holding through the King's bailliar court of Cunninghame, of which his brother, John Muir, happened to be clerk. As a tenant David Fulton had no right to *sell* the land but he got round this difficulty, as others did, by selling his right to it, his kindness. After his death, however, blind Alan with the help of relatives (who may have seen themselves otherwise faced with taking responsibility for him) got himself formally served heir to both his grandfather and elder brother, Adam, and then raised an action in the court of session for recovery of his rightful inheritance. His action was successful, twelve years after his father had sold off his right.

The judges decreed that as his father, David, had never been served heir to *his* father he had had no right to dispoise his kindness. They also judged that 'for the mair abundance the said Alan is nocht onlie nerrest and lauchfull air to... Adam his broder, but als the said Adam the tyme of his deceis left in his latterwill all ryt and kyndness that he had to the said... land' to Alan. One could not technically bequeath land in the 16th century any more than sell it but tenants also got round this by bequeathing their right to it - the kindness, often to make sure that the holding passed safely to the next generation. The important point here is that the central court recognised kindness as a well-established right and that it also recognised the tenant's

right to use it to suit family circumstances, even to the extent of selling or bequeathing it.

Alan Fulton's case is also interesting for the parallel it shows between customary and feudal law. In feudal law there was a means by which an heir could recover land which an intruder had acquired since the death of his ancestor - known as a *brieve of mortancestor* - by which the crown recognised a vassal's right and authorised his reinstatement in his property. This was what was done, in effect, for Alan Fulton; what the feudal vassal could do the customary tenant could also achieve. Alan's case was fought on the technicality of his father's failure to have himself entered heir to the holding at the appropriate time but he could also have claimed that he had been forced to agree to the sale of his right.

It was all very well for rentallars like the Fultons with their leases for life to look upon continuity of possession as a normal state of affairs, but what of those tenants who held on short leases? In the court book of the barony of Alloway on the Kyle and Carrick border, where the tenants had the royal burgh of Ayr for their landlord, there are recorded the regular annual settings of the ground at the Whitsunday head court.⁵ The leases were often for one or three years at a time. While these settings were for short duration, however, they were normally let to the same tenants as before, year after year. The tenants pledged themselves to pay the grassum or down-payment and the rent at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, neighbours commonly standing security for one another in the matter. In the case of rentallars, that is holders of life-leases, land might be set to a tenant's widow, or her liferent-use of the holding would be formally recognised when it was let to her son. In 1531 the late Thomas Cunningham's mailing (holding) was 'set to the twa wedowis', probably his own widow and her mother-in-law. A son and widowed mother might receive a joint lease. One holding was let, with the widow's consent, to her son-in-law and daughter; 'and', ordained the bailies realistically, 'if the said Margaret and Gilbert her gud son can not dwell togidder in the houssis that ar biggit, the said Margaret sall haif the houssis that ar biggit and scho sall help the said Gilbert to the bigging of ane hous of ane cuppill'.⁶ There was a case very like that

of Alan Fulton at Stewarton, where a tenant complained that during his minority someone else had wrongly claimed 'the best kindnes' to the family holding and that the bailies of Ayr had been wrong in entering this claimant, which the bailies admitted in court.⁷

These details which cover a variety of family circumstances show that while arrangements were made in the name of the superior of the land (the burgh), they were actually made at the request and to suit the interests of the inhabitants of the barony; the kind of situation reflected in the entry, 'the tenandis of Cotlaw askit at the aldermen and bailies divisoun of the meddowland of Lochrudding and they grantit to thaim the same at Michealmas'.⁸ To the superiors the annual revenue from the barony lands, mills and fishings was what mattered most. The occupation of the land was carefully monitored to that end. To the tenants, however, the greatest concern was their families' continued possession and they therefore arranged matters, with the landlord's consent, to suit their circumstances.

Many holdings at Alloway were said to be 'let with consent' of the sitting tenant, a phrase that is constantly met with in rental books for other parts of the country, which implies, although it does not always reveal, an underlying family arrangement. In some cases the farmer, perhaps getting on in years and semi-retired, wished to have his heir entered to the holding during his own lifetime, an arrangement which helped to smooth the transfer when the time came and one which was often used by greater landed families who held by charter, as a result of which the son of a feudal landholder was known as the *feir* of the property. At Whitsunday 1533 the provost and bailies of Ayr 'with consent of auld Wille Patersoun and his wyf' set Willie's mailing in Meikle Corton to Robert Paterson, their son, for his lifetime, that is, as a rentaller, 'the said Wille and his wyf bruiking [using] sameikle as thai do labor with thair awin gudis for thair lyf and Robert to be enterit to the rest'.⁹

In the town of Alloway arrangements for the Lathis family were more thoroughly dealt with. The holding of Arthur Lathis, a substantial tenant who often stood surety for his neighbours' payment of rent, was let with his consent to his son, Thomas, for life. Arthur retained the liferent and Thomas was admitted to half the family holding, with use

of half of the family house while his father lived. Thomas's mother, Bessie Glassford, was also provided for: when she became a widow she was to have half the holding 'during hir wedowheid onlie'. On her death or if she remarried Thomas was to have the whole.¹⁰

Robert Gibson's widow, in Meikle Corton, outlived her son, John, as well as her husband and had her liferent confirmed when the holding was let to Henry Cunningham who may have been her son-in-law.¹¹ One man was granted a third of a holding while his wife's parents kept two-thirds of it for their lifetimes; the kind of arrangement which may have been included in the younger couple's marriage contract. Liferent provision for Elizabeth Kyle, widow of John Wilson in Alloway, was quite detailed: the holding was let to Thomas Panton for the large grassum of £10, while Elizabeth herself was to have half of the acres of the croft, half of the field-land, half a yard beside that of John Neil, grass for one cow, the animal to be herded at Thomas's expense and the calf to be kept with his calves 'quhair thai ar gressit', and she also had 'mos leif' – that is, permission to cut peat in the moss. Thomas was probably her son-in-law although the record does not reveal their relationship.¹²

Stepfathers did not acquire the right to a holding as long as there was an heir who had the kindness of it. When the bailies of Ayr, 'with the advice of the maist pairt of the neytbouris present for the tyme', let to Robert Fairry his late father's holding they stipulated that his mother and her second husband, David Glassford, should work the holding until Robert was seventeen years of age. If the mother died before then, Glassford was to continue to farm it as arranged until Robert's seventeenth birthday after which the latter was to be entered to the farm.¹³ When a young woman who had the kindness of her late father's holding married, her husband was entered with her as the joint tenant, through *her* right, but she transmitted the kindness to their children, she being named as the previous 'occupant' in any documents relating to the kindness.

It is worth taking time to look at these Alloway families because their legal status, like that of all tenants, is of basic importance to an understanding of life in the 16th century. Legal documents may not seem the most attractive of material at first glance but they are the life-blood of early

social history, both national and local. We need to become familiar with them if we are to appreciate the extent of the peasant farmer's interest in the land upon which he and his family were entirely dependent. Once we have come to understand this we can perhaps go on to search for signs of what we might call the quality of life, family relationships, standards of living, attitudes and so on. These people did not leave behind them letters, diaries or comments – few people from any social group in this period have done so – but how they acted within the legal framework of their lives may help to suggest what kind of people they were.

The barony was the basic unit of local government – it was also home to most people. The pages of the barony court books are where we come nearest to the rural tenantry and in the account given of what they said, as rendered by the clerk of the court, who spoke as they did, we hear their speech. Life was shared and public to an extent which we should now resent but which brought them reassurance and support. The barony court book of Eglinton covers only a few years in the 1570s but the world which it encapsulates can undoubtedly be backdated, and projected, for a generation or two.¹⁴ In a real sense the tenants *were* the court, taking their turn on the assize or jury, judging the affairs of their neighbours. Although the landlord, in this case the earl of Eglinton, had the last word, his complaints against his tenants had to be made through the mechanism of the barony court. In any case, the tenants were just as concerned as he was that cultivation should be carefully monitored and that the lovable custom with regard to the possession of the land should be upheld. All land was held at the superior's will in the end, no matter by what time-honoured right, and there were several cases at Eglinton in which the tenants who resisted the earl's wishes, or who failed to reach agreement with their neighbours, were threatened not only with termination of their rentals and leases but with loss of their kindness itself.

The flavour of life is preserved in the fragmentary court book. At this distance it all seems like good parish pump stuff, but we have to remember that all possessions, every handful of the hard-won crop and each valuable animal were worth the attempt to recover their value. Many debts were contracted among the rural population, the result of

helping out neighbours who were short of grain or work animals or could not pay their rent. Payment of arrears of servants' fees was enforced in court, both the money part of the fee and the linen or harden that represented work—clothes. All kinds of people who served the community sued for payments, from alewives to an apothecary; the latter had not been paid his £3 'for cureing Willie Dickie in Stane' — curing meant caring for or giving treatment.¹⁵ Crops eaten by straying animals had atto be compensated for: 'the quhilk day John Steill, eldar, is decernit to content and pay to Peter Garven 2 peckis corne quhilk his guidis [stock] eit and destroyit, pryce of the boll 32s, als meikle to the bailie'¹⁶ — the earl's bailie collected a fine as well as the injured party his compensation.

Breakdowns in personal relations were taken to court and many attempts were made to heal quarrels. These included surreptitious attempts to filch the occasional sheep by changing its marking; one accused admitted that 'he reckleslie markit hir' — unintentionally. Cases of slander were severely dealt with: 'thaim that sclanderis uthiris withyn the barronie of thyft and preivis nocht, the first falt £5, the secound falt £10, the thryd falt tynsall of thair mayling'. There were not many cases of assault in the three years or so covered by the court book but one man was accused of 'stiking and bludding John Wylie, hird in Weirstoun'. A more serious incident was an attack on Patrick Hunter, some of whose assailants bore his own surname: 'wyth forseyt [foresight] felony thai wait on hym to have slane hym... and stikkit hym with ane quheyne [whinger or short sword] behynd the ryt lug... and spulzeit from hym his quheyne and his purs with fyf pundis mone thairin, and his bonat'.¹⁷ The attack seems to have been well planned and, as one participant was a cutler from Kilwinning, possibly well-equipped as well. Of course, nearly all men, even those of humble means, carried weapons.

The Eglinton tenants pushed to the limit their freedom to sort things out among themselves, occasionally beyond what was lawful. They reached mutual agreement with neighbours about the allocation of land, which was acceptable provided they intimated their intentions first of all to the earl, but they did not always do so. Some of them persisted in retaliation in defiance of attempts to settle disputes openly in court. They stalled over the payment of

compensation and debt even when threatened with punishment. When a judgement was given they immediately 'askit instrumentis' of the clerk – their own copy in writing. They questioned the findings of the jury (who were their neighbours) and defiantly offered to prove that the other party was in the wrong. They readily spoke up for themselves in court, although Thomas Gardner was fined for sending a servant to answer for him. Servants were particularly vulnerable. In trying to clamp down on the removing of horses' shoes in Eglinton wood, thus cheating the barony smith out of his trade and trespassing in the earl's wood at the same time, it was enacted that if the culprit was a servant 'he to be stikit throw the lug and the maister to pay the unlaw [fine]'.¹⁶

The inhabitants of late-medieval Ayrshire were not only barony men and women, they were also parishioners. The church was an essential service at the heart of life in a period when no firm line was drawn between spiritual and secular – everything in life happened at the will of God. The parish priest of pre-Reformation times was particularly close to the people in their everyday concerns, often doubling as a notary who handled their legal business for them, he himself probably belonging to a local family of humble standing; in the last two decades before the Reformation this was certainly true of sir Robert Leggat at Prestwick, sir James Mitchell at Mauchline, sir Eumonides Henderson at Kilwinning, sir David Neill and sir John Wylie at Monkton, sir William Hume at Auchinleck and sir John Howie at Kilmaurs, to name only a few. It is paradoxical that the post-Reformation minister, university-trained and often from outside the parish, should be readily identifiable in the records while the locally-born parish priest is a much more elusive figure. We are thinking here not of the parsons and vicars who held the teinds that formed the parochial benefices, who may rarely if ever have visited their parishes, but of their paid deputies who were resident in the parishes and served the parishioners.

The distribution of the 43 Ayrshire parish kirks reflected that of the population, being mostly concentrated in southern Cunninghame and northern Kyle, nearer to the coast and its immediate fertile hinterland than the upland regions of the eastern part of the sheriffdom. The revenues

of all the Ayrshire parishes were appropriated to monasteries, canonries and offices within Glasgow cathedral or to other ecclesiastical institutions. This suggests that deputies in the parish churches were probably the norm, with perhaps a few exceptions. In 11 parishes at least there were formal arrangements for the payment of a curate, in the sense of a chaplain or removeable priest: Dailly and Kirkoswald, which were appropriated to Crossraguel abbey; Beith, Kilwinning and Loudoun which belonged to Kilwinning abbey; Barnweil belonging to Failford, the Trinitarian friary; and Largs, Prestwick, Riccarton, St Quivox and Auchinleck belonging to Paisley abbey. In 15 other parishes there is a record of a curate at work, suggesting a similar arrangement for which the formal evidence has not yet come to light: Ardrossan, Dalry, Dreghorn, Kilmaurs, Kilmarnock, West Kilbride and Irvine in Cunninghame; Dundonald, (where the vicar, Mr Hugh Montgomerie, paid two curates one of whom may have served the chapel at Crosbie), Dalmellington, Mauchline, Monkton, Symington, Ayr and Tarbolton in Kyle; and Maybole in Carrick. Arrangements have not yet been verified for the remaining 17 parishes but it is quite likely that they were in the everyday charge of curates. To a considerable extent the pre-Reformation church in Ayrshire was a curate's church.¹⁹

The provincial council of the Scottish church laid down the sum of £13 6s 8d as the minimum stipend of the parish priest. Evidence reveals that the curate of Kilmaurs had £13 and that of Dreghorn £21 although both were paid by Mr Andrew Laing who held these vicarages.²⁰ The two curates of Dundonald each had £13 6s 8d while that of Tarbolton had £20 to himself. Those of Coylton and Dalmellington each survived on £12. Whatever it amounted to, the curate's salary would be considerably less than that of his superior, the absentee benefice-holder: the curate of Tarbolton received his £20 from the holder of the parochial revenues, Mr James Chisholm, canon of Dunblane, who leased his Ayrshire benefice for £140 a year. There are glimpses in the records of the curates at work: saying the parish mass, in burgh churches taking sasine (formal possession) of property donated to the chaplains and choristers, inducting the vicar (or his proxy) into the benefice, inducting the parish clerk on his appointment and handing over the altar vessels and service books to newly-appointed chaplains, proclaiming the banns of

marriage and conducting the marriage ceremony, performing the baptismal service, visiting the sick and administering the last rites to the dying, reading public, diocesan and municipal announcements and pronouncing sentence of excommunication and other disciplinary measures against wrongdoers.

There is an affectionate glimpse of the parish priest of Kilmarnock, sir James Mason who died in 1537, in the depositions of witnesses in a dispute between a later vicar—pensioner and the abbey of Kilwinning over the use of the parochial manse and glebe, in 1557.²¹ Robert, Lord Boyd, said that sir James had been his godfather. Andrew Tannahill had known him for 15 years and testified that the priest had lived in the manse which was 'inclosit within ane yett'. Mr William Hamilton, a canon of Glasgow, recalled how 'he had yeirlie drank at the kirk and manse oftymes'. John Adamson, born in Kilmarnock parish but by then living in Kilwinning, told how his father had been sir James's servant and that the old priest had been blind for six years before his death. It is good to have this record of the elderly sir James, faithfully carrying out his duties in spite of his handicap and remembered by his parishioners.

Many small chapels filled out the parish service. There were a good many of these 'chapels of ease' in Ayrshire, some of them, especially in the upland parts of Kyle, acting as a kind of church—extension. The chapel of Auchindrane three miles north-east of Maybole was dependent on the parish church. That of Kildominie in Girvan parish served the southern part of the parish as late as 1639, when the parishioners petitioned for its erection into a parish kirk after it had been allowed to fall into ruin, because Girvan itself was too far away for many of them. Also in Girvan parish was the chapel of St Donan and there were two chapels in the parishes of Dailly and Colmonell. Two more were found in Mauchline parish in Melrose abbey's barony of Kylesmure, one of which was erected into the parish of Sorn and the other into that of Muirkirk after the Reformation. In the extensive Cunninghame parish of West Kilbride there were two chapels of ease, one of them on the island of Cumbrae. It is not surprising that mass is said to have been irregularly attended in the pre-Reformation decades, in addition to the fact that many attending mass declined to communicate. It is also probable that in some areas other sacraments were irregularly administered, not

for lack of willingness on the part of the priest but simply from the difficulty of travelling regularly around his parish. The curate of Prestwick or St Quivox could easily ride round his parish in a day but it is doubtful if the curate of Ballantrae or Mauchline could have done so easily. It is likely that parishioners in remote areas may have died without the last rites and that laymen were obliged to exercise their emergency right to baptise sickly infants.

In addition to the services of the curate a regular point of contact between parishioners and the church was the activities of the priest's assistant, the parish clerk. At this point the dividing line between clergy and laity was at its thinnest, for some parish clerks were only in minor orders and may occasionally have been married. Besides, an influential local family might keep control of the office of clerk, which was a piece of property (a collection of rents and other revenue), and pay a deputy to do the work of assisting the curate at church services and in visiting the sick and dying. A further element of lay involvement here was the fact that the parishioners, men and women, had the right to vote for or against the nominee, whose election was often the occasion for discord. In 1524 no fewer than 173 parishioners from Mauchline parish called at the manse over a period of several days to record their votes.²²

Another area in which the layman made his attitude to the church felt was over the payment of teinds, a tenth of all produce in the parish which was deducted for the parson and vicar, nominally for the maintenance of the parish service. By the 16th century, however, the payment of teinds was notoriously difficult to enforce and the register of the court of session is full of actions for their recovery by parsons, vicars and religious corporations – in many cases with no effect. Either the rural population could not afford this burden in a period of rising costs and repeated dearths or they increasingly grudged handing over a tenth of their hard-won crop to someone who was non-resident. It was more important that they should be able to meet their obligations to the landlord, for after all the loss of a holding for persistent non-payment of rent and services was a more imminent punishment than the spiritual excommunication of the church; this attitude reflected the loss of respect for ecclesiastical sanctions which characterised the period. It might be a different matter if the landlord also happened to have a right to the teinds as in the case

of Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning abbey, who had an advantage in enforcing payment of teinds since he was also the landlord of the parishioners.

While the Reformation saw important changes in religious practice and worship it was achieved at parish level with a significant degree of continuity in terms of personnel.²³ In 21 out of the 43 Ayrshire parishes the first charge under the reformed kirk was in the hands of a pre-Reformation cleric who had conformed, while about half of these men continued to serve in parishes with which they had previously been closely associated. More significant still is the fact that most of the conformists were either of humble status or were from outside the ranks of the parish clergy altogether: only 6 were vicars and the others were 3 curates, 9 chaplains, 4 friars, 2 monks, one prebendary from Maybole collegiate church and the master of the song school at Ayr. In the immediately pre-Reformation decades some of these conformists had had associations with the families of reforming lairds and one or two of them with the earl of Glencairn, public leader of the Protestants of the west. This suggests that not only did many parishioners experience continuity of personnel in their churches after 1560 but that many may have been in contact for some time with clergy who were committed to reformed ideas before that date.

There are two particularly interesting conforming clergymen in Kyle, Adam Landells and Rankin Davidson, chaplains, who were among those recommended as fit for service as readers by the General Assembly of December 1560, their names possibly put forward by the lairds of Kyle who attended on that occasion. Landells, who was born in Ochiltree, took on the strenuous duties of reader in three parishes, Cumnock, Auchinleck and Ochiltree, and practised as a notary as well – all this when he was about 50 years of age, and he also got married.²⁴ Davidson became exhorter (an intermediate office between those of minister and reader) at Loudoun and Galston.²⁵ At Galston he kept a little baptismal register, which still survives, a rare record from before 1600. In two places in the book he signed his name as 'exhorter at the kirk of Galston' and 'baptiser of the bairns'. He also scribbled a couplet, indeed several versions of it:

'Methink it is ane plesand thing
'Ane bony las to cum apoun'.

Perhaps he wrote poetry when he should have been doing other things. Landells had pre-Reformation associations with Lord Ochiltree, the earl of Glencairn, and Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, all members of the Protestant party, and Davidson may have been in the circle of Campbell of Cessnock who was influential in Galston parish and belonged to a family long connected with religious dissent.

Among the best documented Ayrshire communities in this period are those in the barony of Kilwinning which lay next to that of Eglinton.²⁶ In addition to a large number of feu charters by which many Kilwinning tenants became owner-occupiers of their holdings in the 1550s and 1560s, the fact that in the case of Ayrshire the register of sasines survives from 1599, in time to record the transfer of these feus to the second or third generation, and the presence in the Eglinton muniments of a great many legal documents relating to the lordship of Kilwinning, which came into the earl's possession early in the 17th century, there exists a long list of those who owed arrears of teinds to Kilwinning abbey in 1559-60.²⁷ This list was drawn up during a court case at the instigation of Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, who was not only the landlord of the debtors and the head of the ecclesiastical corporation to whom the parochial teinds were payable but also a judge in the court of session, in one of the registers of which the list is found. From a comparison with rentals the teind-list appears to contain the names of all the farmtouns in the barony and those of most heads of households who were either tenants or feuars. It provides us with a useful basis for a study of the demographic and social history of the locality in the period before lists of inhabitants were officially drawn up.

From these various sources it is possible to compile a list of just over 500 heads of households for mid-16th century, from about 1550 – 1570. Allowing for spouses, children (a conservative estimate of four), dependent elderly relatives, cottars, servants and labourers there may have been in the region of 3,500 to 4,000 inhabitants in the barony. The 500 individuals named in the sources, however, account for only 126 surnames, an indication of just how close-knit the rural community was. Seventy placenames are recorded.

A rental which from internal evidence must date from before 1539 illustrates the pattern of landholding in the first half of

the 16th century.²⁸ There appear to have been three distinct kinds of holdings: farms which were jointly-held by the tenants, those which were let in defined shares and those which were held by a single tenant. In the first category the land was set to a group of tenants who would divide the settings on the ground among themselves and contribute to the total rent according to the extent of their holdings; in the rental no names of tenants are given for these farms. In the case of shared farms the tenants held those portions and paid that share of the rent laid down in their individual tacks which, in the barony of Kilwinning, were often tacks for life or nineteen years. Single-tenant farms tended to be let to a substantial tenant who may have been a non-resident tackholder, such as a laird or one of his relatives, who sublet the ground to the inhabitants. Subtenants would also be present on some shared and jointly-held farms but they are likely to have been of less substance than those on a farm let to a single, non-resident tackholder.

There is a geographical pattern in relation to these three types of holding. The jointly-held farms, which as it happens account for most farms in the barony of Kilwinning, were to be found to the south, west and north of the abbey: Overmains, Nethermains, Longford, Byrehill, Bogside, Darnbog, Dalgaw, Dubbs, Walkerstoun, Todholes, Myreside, Ashinyards (later known as Ashgrove), Auchenkist, Dalgaven, Birklands and Monkcastle. An exception to this geographical pattern was the jointly-held farm of Auchinmade lying to the north-east of the abbey. The jointly-held farms showed the smallest land-units and the highest number of tenants, whose names, or those of their immediate successors, although not given in the 1530s rental are revealed in the later teind-list and elsewhere: 13 at Overmains, 22 at Nethermains, 13 at Monkcastle, 11 at Dalgaven and 11 at Auchinmade, for example. Overmains and Nethermains represented the original heart of the barony: the Monkcastle-Dalgaven area, near to the boundary with Dalry parish, was probably run as an outlying administrative unit; while Auchinmade was a pastoral farm paying rent entirely in cheese and stirks. The farming patterns in the three areas, that is cultivation of Mains land, the grange system and pastoral farming, tended to rely, in earlier times at least, on direct labour, with the need for only small holdings from which the inhabitants would sustain their families.

Shared farms, where tenants had individual tacks defining their share of the land and rent, included Bridgend, Corshill, Kilrig and Byres (all lying near to the town of Kilwinning) and Gooselawn, Bannoch, Monkredding, Pottertown, Ardoch and Goldcraigs (all more or less to the east and north-east of the abbey). The number of tenants on these shared farms was smaller than on the jointly-held farms, being commonly two, four or six. An exception was Corshill where there were about 20 tenants (who later became feuars), whose small holdings were perpetuated into comparatively modern times.

The single-tenant farms, with the exception of Smithston, were also to be found on the east and north-east of the barony: Mid and Nether Auchentiber, the first set to Matthew Montgomery, probably a cadet of the Eglinton family, the second to John Fergushill of Fergushill, a laird on the earl of Eglinton's estate; Sevenacres let to Constantine Montgomery; Hullerhill held by Patrick Boyd, probably a distant relative of Lord Boyd; and Gaitmureland, Cassiland and Mosculloch, all of which were let to single tenants from humbler local families. Mid, Nether and Over Smithston were known respectively as Smithston-Watt, Smithston-Montgomery and Smithston-Garven after those families to whom they had long been set, whose subtenants' names are revealed in other records. It was not only the earl of Eglinton's relatives who had middlemen's interests in the land; the Cooper family who had held parts of Bridgend since at least the 15th century, and gave more than one monk to the abbey, held the lease of Gaitmureland.

To look at the pattern of landholding as reflected in one rental gives a static picture whereas in reality the Kilwinning tenants, great and small, were affected by important changes in mid-century. Between 1557 and 1560 the commendator, Gavin Hamilton, systematically turned much of the barony land over to feu-ferm, as a result of which many tenants became owner-occupiers of the holdings which their families had long held by customary right on the kindly principle. The feuing of the Kilwinning abbey lands has been discussed in detail elsewhere²⁹ and it has been noted that although only 52% of the feus granted went to the sitting tenants, which looks as if they had just been able to hold their own with outsiders, these feus represented the best arable land. The remaining 48%

can largely be accounted for by the large number of houses, premises and yards, with some pasture, in and around the town of Kilwinning itself which were granted to lairds and their relatives, some of whom were the Hamilton dependents of the commendator. In taking feus of this kind of property these men secured themselves a certain amount of income from the rents of the inhabitants of the growing township of Kilwinning, a very different situation from that at Paisley where the small built-up area which straddled the highway on the opposite side of the river Cart from the monastery had been feued to the inhabitants and created a burgh by the abbot as early as 1488.

One influential middleman who feued a substantial part of the north of the barony was James Hamilton, duke of Chatelherault, who in 1553 received a grant of the lands of Monkcastle and Dalgarnen where, according to other records, there were 24 tenants.³⁰ Chatelherault's feu need not have made much difference to the inhabitants' possession of their holdings but it did create a layer of interest between them and the abbey chamberlain to whom they had previously paid their rent directly. Now they would pay it to Chatelherault's factor. It is a fact, however, that of the 96 feuars on the abbey's baronies of Kilwinning and Beith whose charters have survived 76 were sitting tenants. For them the charter brought formal, heritable possession once and for all with the guarantee that the land would pass to their heirs automatically; in effect, regularising the customary security to which their families had clung so tenaciously over the previous generations. For tenants who were unable to take feus, because of the expense involved, it was another matter. On some farms only some of the tenants took feus while others lost out to middlemen, creating a stratification among neighbours who until then had enjoyed equal material resources, security of possession and social status.

One success story is that of Thomas Niven who appears as a tenant of Monkredding in the 1530s rental but who, between 1539 and 1545, took feus of his own and his neighbours' holdings there as well as the lands of Gooseloan, Bannoch, Gaitmureland and parts of Corshill, Corseholm and Nethermaines out of which he made himself a profitable little estate. The secret of his and his son, Andrew's, prosperity lay in the coal under the lands of Monkredding where Andrew began to build a tower house

about the turn of the century. He married a relation of the earl of Eglinton to whose son he was made legal tutor. His involvement in public affairs is suggested by the fact that he was a signatory to the Protestant Bond of Ayr of 1562, in company with his neighbour the laird of Fergushill.³¹ According to the teind-list of 1559-60 there were 14 tenants on the lands feued by the Niven family, some of whom had previously been neighbours and fellow-tenants at Monkredding. As feuar Niven was the immediate landlord of these people; his attempt in 1585 to evict some of them from the lands of Bannoch and Gaitmureland suggests unhappy relations and a possible reorganisation of the cultivation pattern on his territories.³²

Over on the other side of the barony two half-brothers, John Watt and John White in Smithston did a deal over the family holdings. In November 1551 John Watt sold his kindness to a holding in Over Smithston, possibly inherited through his mother who had relatives there, to his half-brother, John White, son of their mother's second marriage, for 29 merks.³³ In the late 1550s he feued part of Middle Smithston, or Smithston-Watt, as it was called, which he may have inherited from his father, George Watt.³⁴ John White, in 1577, fell heir to a piece of Wester Smithston on the death of his grandfather, Thomas White.³⁵ This vignette of family relationships illustrates intermarriage among neighbouring families, the descent of the kindness to a family holding and the consolidation of a family's possessions by mutual arrangement.

John Park of Dubbs, on the boundary with Stevenston parish, also prospered. He received his feu charter as tenant of Dubbs and Dalgaw in 1557, paying 100 merks for it.³⁶ He married, as his second wife, Katherine Gray, daughter of an Irvine burgess and his £40 worth of household goods, the figure given in his testament when he died in 1591, suggests a fairly comfortable home; for someone in his position the value of household goods was sometimes as low as £6 to £10. He owned 38 acres of land, 40 cattle of various kinds and 30 sheep. He had sold seed bere and loaned money to neighbours. Although he himself was unable to write his oldest son could do so and subscribed the will in name of his father.³⁷ John Fairlie, tenant in Ardoch, also rose in social status after becoming a feuar, marrying a younger daughter of the laird of Blair in Dalry parish.³⁸ At local level one discovers that the social

compartments of the textbooks were not always exclusive but that there was a social mix through the marriage of the younger sons of the gentry with the more substantial feuars; we may not find the Scottish 'yeoman' on paper but he would have been recognisable in the rural community from his substance and social connections. John Muir at Auchinmade was the fifth generation of his family on record as having held land there and his descendants continued to hold it, as feuars, until well into the following century. Members of the Garven family were to be found on eight farms throughout Kilwinning barony and in parts of the Eglinton estates. In April 1546 John Garven in Auchinmade resigned his holding in favour of his son, Luke, who received a feu charter several months later. Luke's grandson, who was in possession in 1572, wadset the land to an Irvine burgess but it was redeemed two years later. Other Kilwinning feuars, however, got into financial difficulties and alienated their holdings before the end of the century, some to the earl of Eglinton, others to Irvine merchants with money to lend to the struggling rural proprietors.³⁹

The barony millers, who had long been accustomed to using their holdings and craft on a monopoly basis, may have had the mentality of proprietors even while only tenants. Their frequent unpopularity in the countryside may have derived from the fact that they tended to be identified with the landlord and his authority as well as with the irksome duties of thirlage to the barony mills and maintenance of the millstones, at both of which the tenants grumbled. Thomas Miller at the corn mill at Wester Bridgend and his wife, Agnes Hamilton, received a feu charter of the mill, mill lands and house on the Millhill of Kilwinning in 1566.⁴⁰ The family continued to operate the mill into the 17th century as they had no doubt done since medieval times, as their occupational surname suggests.

Another family who had evidently plied their trade for several generations were the Walkers who held the walk mill of Groatholm farther up the river Garnock near the boundary of Kilwinning barony with that belonging to the Blairs of Blair.⁴¹ The Walkers not only feued the walk mill and its lands but diversified their skills by building a corn mill next to it early in the 17th century. The fulling process, whereby woollen cloth was scoured, to cleanse it of superfluous grease and oil, and milled, to mat it together

and give it a firm texture, was the first of the textile processes to be mechanised, the water wheel having been applied to the process in the 13th century.⁴² It was a profitable monopoly in many baronies which brought the landlord revenue as did the corn mill. A variety of skills, carding, spinning and weaving, preceded the passing of the cloth to the walker, a skilled craftsman who appears to have charged highly for his part of the process. It has been estimated that whereas in man-hours the fulling process represented only 1% of the production time of a length of cloth, it accounted for about 5% of its total cost. It was the kind of monopoly that a family was likely to hold on to. The mill itself was a substantial working unit with its water wheel and internal machinery, 'hanging stocks' or scouring mallets and 'falling stocks' or milling hammers that pounded the cloth in troughs filled with water and fuller's earth. There was also an adjacent area where the cloth was afterwards stretched and dried on frames or tenters. Over and above this were the mill lands which the family had to find time to cultivate and on which they grew their own food supply.

The earliest member of the Walker family traced so far is John Walker, who died before 2 November 1537, on which date his widow, Margaret Rankin, about to re-marry, agreed to hand over half the house and gear of her late husband to his joint-executor, Adam Walker, who may have been his brother. Their agreement was drawn up at the parish altar in the abbey kirk of Kilwinning.⁴³ John's son, Andrew, had died by 1566, in which year the latter's son, William Walker, took the walk mill and its lands in feu. His charter conveyed the mill, with dam and lade, the mill lands and houses built thereon, bounded by the river Garnock, the lands of Cockenzie and those of Groatholm.⁴⁴ William was also granted the right to cut peats in the moss of Mosmulloch or Smithston moss, a liberty he may already have possessed as a tenant. Over the following years the family arranged their use of the mill and the lands among themselves to suit their circumstances. On 29 July 1567 William subfeued half the property (in effect, half the income) to his second son, John Walker,⁴⁵ in terms of the latter's marriage contract with Elizabeth Pitcon, who may have belonged to one of the tenant families of that surname living at nearby Woodend, Whithirst or Auchenkist.⁴⁶ The couple were to pay William only a nominal duty of one penny, with £2 0s 4d to the abbey of

Kilwinning. This was apparently done with the consent of the oldest son, James, who witnessed his younger brother's taking possession in company with the family's two subtenants of the mill lands, George Galt and Adam Walker, the latter possibly a cousin; it was quite common for a working miller or rural craftsman to sublet the lands of his holding in order to free himself and his family from the actual cultivation as much as possible. Another witness of this transaction was a friend of the family, John Miller of the Bridgend corn mill who had taken a feu of his property at the same time as William Walker.

In 1570, when the eldest son, James, married Janet Irvine, William Walker made over the mill and lands to him;⁴⁷ by that time the father may have been ready to retire from the business having two married sons to carry it on between them. This time the younger brother witnessed the heir's charter. It seems that James died before 1 April 1574 on which date William infeft the younger brother, John, in the property.⁴⁸ He himself was still alive in November 1578 when he witnessed a land transaction by John Blair of Blair;⁴⁹ the date of his death has not yet been discovered. The lands of Groatholm proper, next the walk mill lands, had long attracted the interest of outsiders, and had been feued to Andrew Hamilton of Newton before April 1534.⁵⁰ An annualrent was lifted from the lands of Groatholm by William Cunningham of Aiket to whom it had been wadset by Andrew Hamilton of Goslington who later assigned his right to it to John Blair of Blair; it was Blair's redemption of the annualrent that William Walker witnessed in Irvine parish kirk in November 1578.⁵¹ With all this outside interest in the neighbouring lands it is interesting that the Walkers were able to take their mill and its land in feu; the shadow of a middleman may have caused William Walker to make a financial effort which in the end proved too much for his descendants' resources. He may have borrowed money to put down for his feu charter of December 1566. Only a month earlier he borrowed £40 from James Robeson, burghess of Irvine, receiving the actual money from the hand of Robeson's wife, Janet Paton, while her merchant husband was absent on business in France.⁵² In return Walker promised to infeft the burghess and his wife in an annualrent of 4 bolls of oatmeal from the mill lands at Groatholm but he failed to make the first payment in January 1567 and also delayed the registration of the contract. Eventually, Janet, by then

widowed and remarried, sued him in the court of session. Unfortunately the court record does not reveal the outcome of the action.

John Walker who owned the walk mill in the first quarter of the 17th century, and who may have been William's grandson, built a corn mill next to the walk mill. One circumstance which may have influenced him into doing this was the family's association with the Millers who worked the corn mill at Wester Bridgend. As we saw, John Miller, the first feuar of the corn mill, was a witness to William Walker's grant of half the mill's revenues to his second son in 1567. In 1583 William's son, John, with other local men, stood surely for John Miller at the Millhill of Kilwinning when he and John Hamilton of Auchentiber, who was probably his father-in-law, agreed to pay an assythment of 250 merks to Hugh Tran, burgess of Irvine, whom they had mutilated in his left arm, and he agreed to grant them his forgiveness in a letter of slains, the ceremony to take place in Irvine parish kirk where Tran's attackers asked his forgiveness by offering him the point of a sword while they stood 'doublat alane, bare heidit'.⁵³ Besides John Walker's connection with a corn-milling family it may be that changes in the local rural economy caused a decline in the demand for walking. There is evidence that the new corn mill at Groatholm had been built by 1614.⁵⁴ In November 1617 John Walker alienated the walk and corn mills and mill lands to Bryce Blair of Blair, the transaction being judicially ratified by Walker's wife, Agnes Hamilton, in January 1622.⁵⁵ Agnes may have belonged to the same family as the wife of John Miller of the Wester Bridgend mill with whom she shared her name and it may be through inter-marriage that the Walkers are found at that mill by the mid-17th century; there is reference to John Walker 'at the corn mill of Kilwinning' in 1636⁵⁶ and to a John Walker 'in the Millhill of Kilwinning' in 1668.⁵⁷ After a long period as tenants and about half a century as proprietors the working owners of Groatholm mill appear to have moved away from the walk mill altogether. Until the surviving legal documents of the 17th century have been fully examined the tenancy of the walk mill after it became Blair property will remain a little obscure, but at least we know that in the early part of that century it ceased to be owned by the miller himself who thereafter was the laird of Blair's tenant, just as the Walkers had been the tenants of Kilwinning abbey before William

took the property in feu in 1566.

The communities that have been studied shared common problems and priorities whoever might have been their landlord: the King at Stewarton, the royal burgh of Ayr at Alloway, the earl of Eglinton or the commendator and monks of Kilwinning abbey. Their common need was possession of the land and the use of its resources. The glimpses we have had of them may appear to be static vignettes, but they are not. Although rural society knew how to use the means of maintaining stability, people also lived through changes which, however slow, called for adjustment in material, social and religious life. It is for the effects of these changes that we are looking when we study their world because history, like life, is not a photograph album of 'how things used to be' but a moving film of constant change.

NOTES

- 1 For a discussion of the principle of kindly tenancy see Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (1982), 58-63, 136, 188.
- 2 *ibid.*, chapters 6-8.
- 3 Register of Acts and Decrees (Scottish Record Office, hereafter S.R.O.), xxxvi, fo 72v.
- 4 As a rentaller David Fulton was regarded as virtually a heritable possessor, although only a tenant, and was expected to have himself formally recognised, or 'served' heir to his father.
- 5 Barony Court Book of Alloway (formerly S.R.O.:B6/28/1), 1492-1538: I am grateful to Mrs. S. Andrew, Reference Librarian of the Carnegie Library, Ayr, for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant portions of the court book while preparing this paper.
- 6 *ibid.*, fo 99.
- 7 *ibid.*, fos 23-26.
- 8 *ibid.*, fo 64.
- 9 *ibid.*, under date 1533, p. 5.
- 10 *ibid.*, under date 1531, p. 1.
- 11 *ibid.*, fo. 98.
- 12 *ibid.*, fo. 98.
- 13 *ibid.*, fo. 93.
- 14 Eglinton Muniments (S.R.O.):GD 3 Section 3, Barony court book, 1575/6-78.
- 15 *ibid.*, 12 June 1576.
- 16 *ibid.*, 7 March 1575/6.
- 17 *ibid.*, 25 January 1576/7.
- 18 *ibid.*, 12 June 1576.
- 19 The parish service in Ayrshire in the 16th century is discussed in Margaret H. B. Sanderson, 'Some Aspects of the Church in Society in the Era of the Reformation; illustrated from the sheriffdom of Ayr', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, Vol.XV11. The subject is also examined in a short study of sir Robert Leggat, parish priest and, later, reader at Prestwick, in the author's *Mary Stewart's People* (publication, early 1987), and *The West of Scotland and the Reformation, a Social and Religious History*, (in preparation).
- 20 Details of stipends from G.Chalmers, *Caledonia* (1890), Vol. 6
- 21 Court of session processes(S.R.O.):CS 15/5, 24 May 1557.
- 22 *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros*(Scottish Record Society), no. 726.
- 23 M. H. B. Sanderson, 'Some Aspects of the Church in Society', pp.93-98; same author, 'Kilwinning at the Time of the Reformation and its first Minister, William Kirkpatrick in *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Collections*, Vol.X, 1972.
- 24 Register of the entry of notaries public (S.R.O.); NP2/1, fo 2; *Thirds of Benefices*, ed. G. Donaldson (Scottish History Society), 264; Register House Charters: RH 6/1538;*Protocol Book of Henry Preston* (S.R.S.), no. 43.

NOTES (continued)

- 25 The rare baptismal register kept at Galston by Davidson, which contains interesting genealogical and topographical information, has recently been deposited, with the kirk session records, in the kirk session records, in the Scottish Record Office. I hope to prepare and publish a transcript of it.
- 26 For a fuller discussion of Kilwinning in the 16th Century see Miss I.J.T. Wilson's Chapter on Kilwinning abbey in J. Hay, *Kilwinning Parish* (1967) and M.H.B. Sanderson, 'Kilwinning at the Time of the Reformation', above. Rev. William Lee Kerr's chapters on the abbey and its tenants, in his *History of Kilwinning* were written without recourse to the many contemporary sources that have become accessible since his day.
- 27 Register of Acts and Decrees (S.R.O.), Volume 22, fos 113v-118v, 167v-168v. See Appendix for this and other parochial teind lists.
- 28 Eglinton muniments: GD 3/3/1361
- 29 M.H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 103-5.
- 30 *Register of the Great Seal*, V, 1132; Teind list: Acts and Decrees, xxii, fo 117v
- 31 John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, II, 56.1
- 32 Collection of Shepherd and Wedderburn, W.S. (S.R.O.); GD 242/72/1/1
- 33 Yule Collection (S.R.O.); GD 90/1/138
- 34 Register of the privy seal, 53, fo 139.
- 35 Yule Collection; GD 90/1/184
- 36 Yule Collection; GD 90/1/153
- 37 Edinburgh Commissariat, Register of Testaments (S.R.O.); C8/8/24, fo 21v.
- 38 Register of Acts and Decrees, 40, fo 91
- 39 M. H. B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*, 140-1
- 40 *Register of the Great Seal*, V, 77.
- 41 The mill-site, now occupied by a grain mill, is known as Dalgarven mill.
- 42 R. A. Pelham, *Fulling Mills, a study in the application of Water Power to the Woollers Industry* (The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Pamphlet No 5)
- 43 Photocopy in S.R.O. (Original, Mr James Kennedy, Kilwinning); RH 1/2/623
- 44 *Register of the Great Seal*, V, 819
- 45 Blair Muniments (S.R.O.); GD 167 Box 9
- 46 Teind list; Register of Acts and Decrees, 22, fos 117, 117v
- 47 Blair Muniments; GD 167 Box 9
- 48 *ibid*
- 49 *ibid.*, Box 8
- 50 *ibid.*
- 51 *ibid.*

NOTES (continued)

- 52 Register of Deeds, Old Series (S.R.O.); RD 1/12, fo 133.
- 53 ibid.; RD 1/21, fo 231.
- 54 I have this reference from Mr Eric Miller, Historical Supervisor of the Dalgarven Mill restoration project.
- 55 Blair Muniments; GD 167 Box 8; Box 11, Bundle 1.
- 56 Testament of Mr Alexander Wreiton, schoolmaster at Kilwinning; Edinburgh Commissariat records; CC9/7/27, recorded 11 April 1637.
- 57 Glasgow Commissariat records: CC9/7/36, Testament of John Walker in Millhill of Kilwinning, recorded 3 December 1668.

APPENDIX

THE CUNNINGHAME TEIND LISTS OF 1559 - 60

Like many ecclesiastical superiors in mid-16th century Gavin Hamilton of Raploch, Commendator of Kilwinning abbey, had difficulty in obtaining payment of the parochial teinds annexed to the monastery. In March 1559, for example, he took the parishioners of Kilmarnock to law for 'theft' of the teinds; they had probably harvested their entire crop without waiting for the abbey officers to come and collect it from the fields. About the same time he made a contract with Neil Montgomery of Lainshaw by which he sold the teinds of Stewarton parish to the laird 'at reduced prices'. When Montgomery sold them off for large profits in 1560, a dear year, the Commendator regarded this as a breach of the contract and reverted to demanding the teinds directly from the Stewarton parishioners, some of whom had been in arrears of payment since 1556. He made the laird of Lainshaw accountable for the orderly collection of the teinds by the abbey's officers and their safe transmission to Kilwinning, Montgomery to 'thole na deforcementis' of the officers and if the parishioners should prove obstructive to see that their goods were poinded and carried off. The abbey chamberlain, Robert Hamilton of Dalserf, duly announced this obligation to Montgomery. Both he and the parishioners refused to co-operate, however, as a result of which the Commendator issued letters of cursing against them; an ecclesiastical sanction intended to operate against spiritual and moral crimes but increasingly used to enforce payments. Alexander Cooper of Bridgend, Kilwinning, messenger-at-arms, arrived with officers to poind the parishioners' goods, mainly cattle and stacks of corn. Far from assisting public authority, however, the laird of Lainshaw allowed his brother to assemble a band of the inhabitants who, armed with jacks, spears, Jedburgh staffs and swords, attacked Cooper and the officers and carried off the poinded goods.

In 1561 the Commendator turned to the arm of the secular law for help and raised an action in the court of session, in which he was a judge, against the inhabitants of ten Cunninghame parishes annexed to the abbey of Kilwinning: West Kilbride, Ardrossan, Stevenston, Kilwinning, Beith, Stewarton, Irvine, Dregthorn,

Perceton and Kilmarnock. He handed over in court his 'riding books', the check-lists used by his officers when collecting or 'riding' the teinds and from which the court of session clerks drew up long lists of defenders. In due course the judges ordained diligence proceedings to begin and the parishioners to be put to the horn and their goods confiscated if they failed to obey. One hint of what may have happened in the end lies in the contract drawn up between the Commendator and the parishioners of Stewarton in 1569 by which he leased the teinds to them for five years, the lease to be renewed if thought expedient.

One or two reservations have to be made about these teind lists, especially if they are to be used in an attempt to work out population figures for the different parishes. Since the teinds due consist of quantities of various crops the defenders are tenants holding land in the parish. Secondly, not all those who paid teinds were necessarily on the list but only those in arrears of payments, although other contemporary documents indicate that non-payment was widespread. The people named are what we may call heads of households; members of their families as well as cottars, labourers and their families would need to be included in any estimate of population. Thirdly, a number of people appear more than once; it was common for tenants to have holdings in neighbouring lands, some of which they would sublet. Fourthly, and leading on from this, it is not possible to tell on which of these lands a family actually lived; from a genealogical point of view, however, it is possible to locate a family in a parish or particular part of a parish.

When all reservations have been made the lists provide useful material for a period before official lists of inhabitants were drawn up in a part of the country for which not all that many early estate rentals have survived; Kilwinning parish is best-served in that respect and it is interesting to compare the existing rentals with the parish teind list. The register of the great seal and register of sasines (the latter begins in 1599 for Ayrshire) take account only of proprietors in the matter of land holding, while parish registers and kirk session records survive, with few exceptions, only from mid-17th century. Patterns of settlement are reflected in the lists; the conjunction 'and' almost certainly denotes a joint-holding as distinct from a share-holding, as discussed above. Almost all placenames appear on the modern map, their names demonstrating the dispersed character of Scottish rural settlement; the Over, Nether and Middle towns of the arable land, the settlements at mills, bridges and chapels, the cultivated

ground named after particular holders, sometimes long after they had ceased to cultivate it. On the Mains of baronies there appear the tenants of lairds and nobles: Montgomery of Giffin in Beith parish, Mure of Rowallan and Lord Boyd in Kilmarnock parish and those of the earl of Eglinton in the barony of Stane in Irvine parish. Some surnames have survived in a locality into modern times, like the Tannahills around Kilmarnock. At the same time there is evidence of lairds and their relatives taking leases of land that lay at a distance from their home country, such as the brother of Wallace of Carnell who leased land at Knockewart in West Kilbride parish. Many women are named in the teind lists. Those with a personal right to their holdings, whether by inheritance or tack, are called by their own names. Those widows who held the liferent of their late husbands' holdings are listed as 'Widow X', the surname being that of the husband. Interesting variants on these patterns include the joint-holding of Marion Campbell and her son, William Wilson, at Blacklaw, Stewarton parish, and that of Marion Blairholm (named first) and her husband, Thomas Wanford, at The Law, parish of West Kilbride. The lists evoke the pre-improvement era of landholding when small communities of 20-30 inhabitants, or in some cases as many as 50-100, may have lived on the lands of what are now one-family farms. They have also preserved the names of many of the people of 16th century Ayrshire who might otherwise have been unknown to history.

References: Register of Acts and Decrees (Scottish Record Office), Volume 22, fos 102v-167v, *passim*. I am grateful to the Keeper of the Records of Scotland, Dr A.L.Murray, for permission to use these and other legal records quoted.

PARISH OF WEST KILBRIDE

MONTFODE - John Montfode of that ilk.

MONTFODE BOYD - John White, John Boyd, eld., John Boyd, yr., James Boyd, John Boyd(3), Thomas Young, John Bailie.

TARBET - Margaret Bailie, Alexander Mathie, Robert Wilson, James Andrew, Robert Andrew, eld., Robert Andrew, yr., John Russell, John Morris, John Wilson, Thomas Boyd, Archibald Andrew, Andrew Speir, John Dunlop, John Aird, John Templeton, John Russell, Archibald Boyle, Janet Neilson, John Colville, Robert Wilson, Martin Woodside, Robert Steele, Thomas Orr, Thomas Templeton, Robert Kyle, Andrew Fode, John Wanford, John Kyle, Janet Stevenston, William Wilson, Alexander Fyar and Thomas Fyar, Alexander Boyd, Thomas Fyar(2).

NEWTOUN - John Jack, Hugh Home, Thomas White, John Raith, Archibald Boyd, James Boyd.

THE LAW - Marion Blairholm, Thomas Wanford, her spouse.

UNDERHILL (Third part under the hill) - Mungo Smith, eld., Mungo Smith, yr., John Smith, eld., John Smith, yr., William Smith, Archibald Sym, John White, John Smith(3)

OVER (BLANK) - John Roger, John Templeton, John Fyar, Janet Woodside, Robert Woodside, George Woodside, Robert Fyar, John Smith, John Humphrey.

WOODSIDE - John Alexander, Robert Woodside, Janet Stevenston, James Woodside, Robert Woodside.

DRUMMILLING - James Stevenston, Robert Boyd, Thomas White, James Alexander, John Michael.

CARLUNG - Hugh Cunningham, John Fair, Robert Archibald.

ARDNEIL BOYD - Robert Boyd of Portincross.

THIRDPART CUNNINGHAM - James McQueen, James Service, James Woodside, Thomas James, John Boyd, William Ferrie.

CAMPBELTON - Janet MacClellan, Allan MacClellan, Donald Hunter, Robert Dunlop, Agnes Dunlop, Thomas Fyar, William Thomson, John Young, Isobel Ferrie.

ARDNEIL HUNTER - Hugh Montgomery, John Tarbert, William Assloss.

BLACKSHAW - John Stein, Robert Boyd, Allan Rullie.

KNOCKEWART - John Roche, William Wallace (brother of the laird of Carnell), Alexander Boyd, George Wilson, William Young, John Brown.

PARISH OF ARDROSSAN

LOCHWOOD - George Wilson, William Pitcon, John Young, Robert Service, Hugh Lockhart, John Wilson.

DIDDUP - William Service, Thomas Weir, George Wilson, John Young.

MEIKLELAUGHT - Bartholemew (Bartie) Crawford, John Reid and Janet Orr, William Galston and Allan Robertson, David Scott, Thomas Alexander, Thomas Reid.

LAUGHTLITTLE (MUIRLAUGHT) - Bartie Garven.

SORBIE - Janet Park, John Russell, Margaret Wilson, Alexander Barclay, Peter Logan, John Stevenson, John Roger.

PARISH OF ARDROSSAN (continued)

CADDELL - John Cunningham of Glengarnock.

ITTINGTON CUNNINGHAM - John Wilson, Thomas Boyd.

ITTINGTON RUSSELL - John Russell.

MEIKLE BUSBIE - Henry Crawford, Thomas Brown, John Richie, John Robertson, James Russell, John Richie(2), Thomas Brown, Robert Russell, John Roger, James Russell.

PARISH OF STEVENSTON

BOGEND - Agnes Garven and John Henry, her son, and James Campbell.

ARDEER OVER - Robert Fulton.

ARDEER NETHER - John Mathie, Matthew Glasgow.

PIPERHEUGH - Adam Mure, Thomas Morton, John Wilson, Hugh Young, James Mair, Isobel Russell.

MAINS OF DUCATHILL - James Campbell.

MILLBURN - William Baillie, John Service, Mage Lorimer.

SALTCCOATS AND ROUGHCASTLE - Michael Auld, William Lowrie, yr., John Herbert, Arthur Boyd.

CORSCRAIG - Robert Allason, Malie Watt, Janet Park, James Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, Geillis Wilson.

BRACKLEUCH OVER AND NETHER - Michael Glasgow, John Sparling, John Wilson, Robert Wilson.

HAWKHILL - Thomas Gardner, John Boyd, Janet Fergushill, Ninian Weir.

LOCHCRAIGS - John Service.

HULLERHIRST OVER - Ninian Weir, James Campbell.

HULLERHIRST NETHER - Isobel Boyd.

DUBBS - Finlay Brown, Michael Glasgow, James Morton.

TEMPLE - Michael Todd.

TEMPLEMUIR OF CORSCRAIG - Margaret Mathie.

TEMPLE OF KERELAW - John Russell.

TEMPLE RUSSELL - Margaret Lorimer.

CASTLEHILL - Alexander Pitcon, John Service, Allan Cunningham, James Cunningham.

KERELAW - Alexander, earl of Glencairn.

CORSANKELL - Katherine Campbell, James Glasgow, yr., James Glasgow, eld.

MIDDLEPART - William Mathie.

PARISH OF KILWINNING

AUCHENTIBER OVER - John Dean, Andrew and Niven Dean, John and Thomas Neilson.

AUCHENTIBER MIDDLE - John Hamilton.

PARISH OF KILWINNING (continued)

- AUCHENTIBER NETHER - James Hamilton, Archibald Bar and Marion Cunningham, John Roger, David Murchland, Andrew Murchland.
- CLONBEITH - James Cunningham, John Dyet, Thomas Black.
- AUCHENMADE - Andrew Gemmill, William White, James White, Stephen Garven, John Mure, Edward Mure, Matthew Banks, Katherine Steven, John Lyn.
- GOOSELOAN - John Adam, David Smallie, John Dunlop.
- MONKREDDING - Adam Smallie, John and Matthew Niven, John Adamson, Giles Jamieson.
- HULLERHILL - Cuthbert Rankin, Archibald Lyle, John Dyet.
- SEVENACRES - Patrick Montgomery, James Hamilton.
- GOLCRAIG - William and John Morris, John Mure.
- ARDOCH - Andrew and John Hamilton.
- CASSILAND - Thomas Reid.
- GAITMURELAND - William Roger.
- BANNOCH - Michael Niven and Patrick Mathie.
- MOSSCULLOCH (Monkscoalheuch) - Thomas Watt.
- POTTERTOUN-REID - Thomas Reid.
- BRIDGEND-EASTER - John Blair, William Salmond, Archibald Lyn, Patrick Ormiston, Winning Rankin, William Gray, Archibald Lochrig, Alexander Mason.
- CORSHILL - Alexander Mason, Alexander Tarbart, Alexander Cooper, John Tarbart, John Docheon, John Galt, William Salmond, Thomas Weir, John Burn, Mirabelle Montgomery and Thomas Adamson, Margaret Hart, Patrick Morris, Thomas Brown, Gilbert Morris, James Galt, John Montfode, Archibald Lockrig, John Frew, John Brown.
- BROTHERWELL - John Mulling.
- WEIRSTON - James Weir, John and Thomas Weir.
- BRIDGEND-LUGDOUR - Robert Kidd, Ninian Kidd.
- LADYHAUGH - Robert Hunter, John Steel, Janet Stevenson, Bartholemew Kidd.
- MONCUR OVER - Thomas Stevenson, Robert Miller, John Stevenson, Peter Henry.
- MONCUR NETHER - Alexander Mitchell, Robert Rankin, Widow Armour, Katherine Mure.
- BENSLIE - Isobel Hesselhead and Alexander Hunter, her son, Archibald Ridden, John Fletcher, Robert Roger.
- AUCHENWINSEY - Robert Gray, Janet Steel, Luke Roger, Widow Gray.
- MILLBURN - Andrew Gardner, Edward Gardner, Robert Smith, John Watt, Adam Hall, Archibald Hall.
- NEWTON-GARDNER - Margaret White and John Gardner, Janet Frew and Robert Mure.
- NEWTON-SPEIR - William Speir, David Bogart and Robert Hunter, John Hunter.

PARISH OF KILWINNING (continued)

- NEWTONHILL - Thomas Sparling, John Galston, James Paton, Matthew Marshall, Widow Gardner, John Stevenson.
- FERGUSHILL - Robert Fergushill of that ilk, William Dickie, John Cochrane, David Blair, Hugh Garven, William Garven, John Medder, Patrick Garven.
- BURROWLAND - John and William Bryden, John Glasgow, John Young.
- BLACKSTOCK - Robert Dickie.
- MAINS OF MONTGREENAN - John Thomson and Robert Porter.
- POTTERTOUN - David and John Cumming, William Fergushill, John Roger, John Hay, Robert Dyet, Janet Rankin, widow of late Robert Dyet, Janet Steel, widow of late John Smith, Robert Gibson.
- DOURA (East) - Robert Steel, Cuthbert Steel, Robert Dyet, John Dyet and Janet Rankin, Marion Holmes and Robert Thomson, William Holmes, John Thomson, Archibald Gobson, John Miller, John Dyet(2).
- LONGFORD - George Dunlop.
- BYREHILL - Thomas White, James and Hobbie (Robert) Dyet.
- TODHOLES - Robert Young, John Young.
- DUBBS - John Park.
- DALGAW - William Morris, Widow Mason, Hugh Edward.
- BOG - Patrick Hamilton, John Martin.
- MYRESIDE - John Gray, Alexander Montgomery.
- DOURA-DOCHEON (West) - John Docheon.
- DARNBOG - Finlay Brown.
- WHITHIRST-MONTGOMERY - John Park, John Henderson.
- WHITHIRST NETHER - John Henry, William Henderson, John Ewen, Archibald Bar, Bessie Russell, John Watt, John Braidshaw.
- BIRKLANDS - William Blair, Bessie Watt, John Watt, tailor.
- AUCHENKIST NETHER - John Watt, eld. and John Watt, yr.
- AUCHENKIST OVER - Laurence Pitcon, Alan Pitcon, Robert Kidd.
- ASHINYARDS (now Ashgrove) - John Russell eld. and John Russell, yr., John Logan, Janet Dunlop.
- SMITHSTON-WATT - Thomas White and James Wylie, Thomas Crichton, John Watt and Marion Dunlop, James Wylie.
- SMITHSTON-GARVEN - Archibald Dunlop of Auchenkist, Peter Skeoch, Hugh Boyd, Adam Dunlop.
- SMITHSTON-MONTGOMERY - Elizabeth Colqhoun.
- MONKCASTLE - Bessie Hunter, Katherine Blair, Patrick and John Jack, John Wilson and Matthew Stewart, Malie Raeside, Robert Hill, John Roger, John Weir, John Neilson, William Roger.
- DALGARVEN - John Chalmers, Alan Miller, John Docheon, John Russell and David Mure, John Glasgow and Agnes Wilson, John Wilson, tailor, John Boyd, John Montgomery, Janet Miller, Robert Braidshaw.
- GROATHOLM (incl. walk mill) - William Walker.
- WOODEND - Peter Pitcon.

PARISH OF KILWINNING (continued)

WOODSIDE - James Hamilton, John Watt, Alexander Boyd.

OVERMAINS - James Hamilton, Thomas Shakeshaw, John Watt, Alexander Boyd, Alan Galt, James Garland, William Barr, Patie Patrick, Adam McGie, John Braidshaw, Peter Brown, Gessy Speir, John Wilson, tailor.

NETHERMAINS - John Wright, John Young, John Ritchie, Robert Young, John Lowry, George Dunlop, Hugh Martin, Janet Bunch and William Miller, Robert Kidd, John Donald, William Salmond and Robert Kidd(2), Ninian Kidd, Hugh Garven, John Dean, Matthew Stevenson and Andrew Niven, Mirabelle Montgomery, Alexander Cooper, Alexander Brown, Lowrie Smith, Janet Walker, Janet Burn.

BRIDGEND WESTER - Alexander Cooper.

KILRIG - Robert Young 'at the cross', Janet Burn.

MEIKLEWARD - James Hamilton.

BYREFLAT - Mirabelle Montgomery.

INNERMAINS - Alexander Rankin, John Wright.

BARNYARD - John Gray.

CRAIGMILL - Andrew Miller

PARISH OF BEITH

CRAWFIELD - Alexander Dunlop, Thomas Stevenson, John Anderson, William Kerr.

MORISHILL AND MAINSHOLM - Alexander Peebles, James Kerr, John Peebles, Hugh Hamilton, Andrew Shedden, Allan Stewart.

MAINSHILL - Allan Stewart, John Hommill.

MAINSMURE - Cuthbert Neill, Hugh Mure.

MAINSNEILL - John Neill, William Neill, John Mitchell.

WOODSIDE - Hugh Ralston.

CRUMMOCK - David Fletcher, William Connell, James Connell.

GRANGEHILL - John Connell, William Connell.

BIGHOLM - Archibald Mure, John Love.

ROUGHBANK - James Clerk, Thomas Clerk.

BROWNMURE - Alexander Montgomery, John Montgomery, Allan Connell and Alexander Connell, James Davie.

BARCRAIGS - Archibald Mure and Janet Stewart.

HILL OF BEITH - William Ross, Neil Stevenson, Robert Weir, Peter Connell, Gilbert Swan, Robert Cochrane, Robert Sym, Ranaid Love, John Love.

MAINS OF TREARNE - Andrew Hamilton, William Stevenson, William Hessilhead, John Mure, John Craig, Robert Little, John Dunlop, Robert Gillies, Alexander Wilson, Widow Anderson, Neil Stevenson, John Henderson, John Anderson.

BOTTOMS - John Dunlop.

WHITECRAIGS - Widow Anderson, James Kerr.

PARISH OF BEITH (continued)

- OVERTON - William Kerr, Alexander Neilson.
CALDSTANE - Alexander Wilson.
WHITESTANES - John Dunlop.
SHUTTERFLAT - Robert Lyle and Janet Hommill, John Peacock, John Wilson, Andrew Walker, John Walker, Widow Lyle, John Craig.
LITTLE HIGHGATE - Edward Wylie, Adam Caldwell, Gilbert Anderson, Robert Crawford, Thomas Anderson, John Walker, Thomas Cumming, David Armour.
MIDDLE HIGHGATE - Robert Crawford, Robert Watt, William Giffin, Robert Fulton, Malcolm Knox, John Gillies, Alexander Gillies, Matthew Watt.
BIGYARD - John Walker, John Anderson, Allan Connell, Thomas Cumming.
BALGRAY - Widow Andrew, Bartholemew Andrew, William Mure, John Love, John Paton, Bessie Wilson, James Mathie, Widow Caldwell.
MAINS OF HESSILHEAD - Hugh Montgomery and Patrick Craig, Alexander Paton, Alexander Knox, William Swan, Archibald Knox, Thomas Miller, Thomas Hopkin, David Fulton, James Swan, William Wylie, Archibald Mure.
BROWNHILLS - Hugh Hommill, Alexander Gillies, John Gillies, Matthew Watt.
GREE - Janet Cochrane, Neil Hommill, John Smith, John Anderson, Neil Montgomery, Matthew Dean, Matthew Montgomery, William Hommill, Robert Watt.
LUGTONRIDGE - Hugh Burn, Thomas Montgomery, Robert Wilson, Peter Wilson, John Neilson, Robert Shedden, William Shedden, Widow White.
MAINS OF GRIFFIN - John Anderson, Alexander Anderson, John Stevenson, Robert Mathie, Robert Wilson.
THIRDPART - Margaret Fraser, Malcolm Caldwell, John Stevenson.
NETTLETHIRST - Constantine Johnston, Robert Swan, Agnes Glen.
DRUMBOY - William Johnston, James Hommill, Alexander Montgomery, John Glen, Robert Patrick.
BARR - James Montgomery and Agnes Boyd, Archibald Lochrig.
BOGSIDE AND HOODSYARD - Peter Connell.
BOGSIDE, BOGHALL AND HOODSYARD - John Cochrane, Margaret Hommill, Margaret Stewart, Marion Fletcher, Gilbert Fletcher, Rankin Walker, Randal Love, John Anderson, Andrew Clark, Robert Cochrane, Gilbert Swan, Archibald Mure, John Love.
ROUGHWOOD - John Hommill.
BROADSTONE - Robert Kerr, George Kerr and Constantine Wilson, William Barr and Thomas Hesselhead, John Gemmill, John Cochrane.
MARSHALLAND - John Dunsmuir and Robert Gemmill, Archibald Lyle.
RAMSHEAD - Thomas Stirling.

PARISH OF BEITH (continued)

- OVERTON - William Kerr, Alexander Neilson.
 CALDSTANE - Alexander Wilson.
 WHITESTANES - John Dunlop.
 SHUTTERFLAT - Robert Lyle and Janet Hommill, John Peacock, John Wilson, Andrew Walker, John Walker, Widow Lyle, John Craig.
 LITTLE HIGHGATE - Edward Wylie, Adam Caldwell, Gilbert Anderson, Robert Crawford, Thomas Anderson, John Walker, Thomas Cumming, David Armour.
 MIDDLE HIGHGATE - Robert Crawford, Robert Watt, William Giffin, Robert Fulton, Malcolm Knox, John Gillies, Alexander Gillies, Matthew Watt.
 BIGYARD - John Walker, John Anderson, Allan Connell, Thomas Cumming.
 BALGRAY - Widow Andrew, Bartholemew Andrew, William Mure, John Love, John Paton, Bessie Wilson, James Mathie, Widow Caldwell.
 MAINS OF HESSILHEAD - Hugh Montgomery and Patrick Craig, Alexander Paton, Alexander Knox, William Swan, Archibald Knox, Thomas Miller, Thomas Hopkin, David Fulton, James Swan, William Wylie, Archibald Mure.
 BROWNHILLS - Hugh Hommill, Alexander Gillies, John Gillies, Matthew Watt.
 GREE - Janet Cochrane, Neil Hommill, John Smith, John Anderson, Neil Montgomery, Matthew Dean, Matthew Montgomery, William Hommill, Robert Watt.
 LUGTONRIDGE - Hugh Burn, Thomas Montgomery, Robert Wilson, Peter Wilson, John Neilson, Robert Shedden, William Shedden, Widow White.
 MAINS OF GRIFFIN - John Anderson, Alexander Anderson, John Stevenson, Robert Mathie, Robert Wilson.
 THIRDPART - Margaret Fraser, Malcolm Caldwell, John Stevenson.
 NETTLETHIRST - Constantine Johnston, Robert Swan, Agnes Glen.
 DRUMBOY - William Johnston, James Hommill, Alexander Montgomery, John Glen, Robert Patrick.
 BARR - James Montgomery and Agnes Boyd, Archibald Lochrig.
 BOGSIDE AND HOODSYARD - Peter Connell.
 BOGSIDE, BOGHALL AND HOODSYARD - John Cochrane, Margaret Hommill, Margaret Stewart, Marion Fletcher, Gilbert Fletcher, Rankin Walker, Ranald Love, John Anderson, Andrew Clerk, Robert Cochrane, Gilbert Swan, Archibald Mure, John Love.
 ROUGHWOOD - John Hommill.
 BROADSTONE - Robert Kerr, George Kerr and Constantine Wilson, William Barr and Thomas Hesselhead, John Gemmill, John Cochrane.
 MARSHALLAND - John Dunsmuir and Robert Gemmill, Archibald Lyle.
 RAMSHEAD - Thomas Stirling.

PARISH OF STEWARTON (continued)

- BLOAK - Arthur Howie, Archibald Howie, Robert Howie, Robert Davie, Janet Fulton, John Howie, Thomas Fergushill, Adam Fergushill, Andrew Fergushill, John Montgomery, Robert Montgomery, John Kerr, John Peebles, John Kerr(2), Thomas Fulton, John Cunningham and Andrew Fergushill.
- KIRKWOOD - John Niven, Alexander Morris, Cuthbert Gibson, Robert Fulton, Roger Fulton, William Boyd.
- KILBRIDE - Cuthbert Lauchlan, Cuthbert Brown, William Walker, John Walker, John Fergushill, James Wylie, Cuthbert Carswell, Robert Fulton and John Thomson, David Cumming, William Fulton, Alexander Hommill, John Thomson(2), Robert Ferguson, Guthrie Walker, Allan Cuthbertson.
- MAGBIEHILL - John Montgomery.
- CREVOCH MILTON - Archibald Lindsay, John Wallace, John Montgomery, Robert Steele, John Steele, Thomas Steele, Janet Walker.
- CREVOCH FAIRLIE (now Fairliecrevoch) - William Craig, Margaret Buckley, Marion Smith, Thomas Cunningham, Agnes Cumming, Robert Greig, James Dunlop, Thomas Stewart, William Paton.
- MILNSTANEFLAT MONTGOMERY - Joint tenants - David Fulton, Robert Fulton, Robert Calderwood, William Calderwood, Peter Henry, John Burnside and Andrew Smith.
- CLERKLAND - Alexander Mure, John Blackwood.
- CLERKLAND HOUSE - John Cuthbertson, Janet Boyd, John Hunter, Robert Armour and Patrick Armour, Widow Allison.
- CLERKLAND BOYD - Robert Boyd and John Hunter.
- GALLOWBERRY OVER - John Calderwood, John Fulton, John Wylie, Thomas Wylie.
- GALLOWBERRY NETHER - Hugh Calderwood, Robert Alexander, John Kerr, John Calderwood.
- HAIRSHAW - Matthew Lauchlan, Thomas Walker, Allan Wylie, John Biggart, John Cuthbertson, John Walker, John Fulton.
- WHITELEE - John Stevenston, Robert Wylie, Robert Young, Adam Wylie, John Kerr, Thomas Wylie.
- CORSHILL THIRDPART - Archibald Mure and Katherine Boyd, Robert Wylie, Janet Buckley and John Mathie.
- COCKILBY - Joint tenants - Alexander Robertson, John Hart and Edward Lindsay.
- BONSHAW - John Boyd.
- CHAPELTOUN AND AUCHENHARVIE - Robert Cunningham.
- CUTSTRAW - John Fergushill, Marion Lindsay, John Fergushill(2), John Gibson, Margaret Lindsay, Andrew Dickie, William Airson, eld., William Airson, yr., Robert Morris and Arthur Harper, Robert Morris and Archibald Gibson, John Henry.
- ROBERTLAND NETHER - Archibald Campbell, Thomas Miller and John Paterson, Matthew Wylie, Geillis Gardner, John Henry.
- PEACOCKBANK - Robert Calderwood, Patrick Johnston and John Johnston, Peter Eglinton and Margaret Thomson, Cuthbert Brown.

PARISH OF STEWARTON (continued)

- NETHER LOCHRIG - Robert Arnot, Patrick Johnston, William Hopkin,
Edward Johnston and William Johnston, David Watt, John Wallace.
FULLWOOD - John Garven, Robert Cuthbertson and Bessie Calderwood.
AUCHENTIBER - John Fergushill, Janet Cochrane, John Cuthbertson,
William Cuthbertson, William Lauchlan, Ronald Fulton.
GABROC HILL - Allan Brown, Andrew Brown, James Brown, John
Paterson, Widow Stewart.
BROWNYARDS - Archibald Murchland.
MILNLAND - David Murchland and Andrew Murchland.
MURCHLAND - John Murchland.
CHAPELLAND MONTGOMERY - James White.
BLACKLAW - Robert Foulis, Paul Foulis, Marion Campbell and William
Wilson, her son, John Walker, Alexander Cunningham of Hill and John
Wallace, Roger Fulton.

PARISH OF IRVINE

- BARTONHOLM - Martin Spark and John Spark.
SNODGRASS CUNNINGHAM - Thomas Spark, John Brown, John Dunlop.
SNODGRASS MONTGOMERY - Thomas Spark, Thomas Brown and John
Brown.
BOGSIDE AND CULTRALANDS - Patrick Hamilton.
OUTER BOGFLAT - James Scott.
INNER BOGFLAT - Stephen Tran.
KNODGARTHILL - William Gemmill.
NEWTON JACK - Thomas Miller, Andrew Ross.
BALGRAY - David Cumming, John Stevenson, Cuthbert Steele, Robert
Porter, Robert Steele.
ARMSHEUGH - Alexander Mure.
HILLHOUSE - John Cunningham, Stephen Cunningham, John Dyet.
STANE (barony) - Robert Speir, John Porter, John Miller, Edward Henry,
George Henry, John Porter(2), William Dickie, John Holmes, Robert
Holmes, eld., Robert Holmes, yr., Robert Gibson, Robert Kerr, Robert
Wilson, John Franche (French), Robert Hall, Thomas Stevenson, William
Speir, Ninian Holmes, John Darroch, David Kerr, John Speir.
BOURTRIEHILL - Laurence Lynn.
TOWERLANDS - Andrew Miller, Henry Dyet.
BROOMLANDS RALSTON - Hugh Montgomery.
MILGARHOLM - John Stevenson, Thomas Brown and Stephen White.
GUDLANDS - Janet Monfode, Stephen Gemmill.
CHALMERHOUSE - William Stevenson.
GALLOWMURE - James Scott, Patrick Hamilton of Bogside, John Auld.
CHERRYLANDS - Thomas Speir.

PARISH OF DREGHORN

WARWICK - David Barclay, Thomas Leggat, Ninian Hunter, Marion Galt.

DOTRESIDE - David Barclay, Laurence Barclay.

REGHOUSE - David Barclay.

BROOMLANDS - John Montgomery.

WALKMILL - John Wilson, John Walker.

PARISH OF PERCETON

CAPROCHSTANE - Robert Buckley, Robert Biggart, John Rankin.

DRUMUIR - Mr David Barclay and John Darroch and Janet Currie.

WARWICKHILL - Hugh Montgomery of Auchinhude and David Blair of Adamton and William Barclay of Perceton.

PARISH OF KILMARNOCK

EAST CRAIG - Alexander Boyd.

WEST CRAIG - Archibald Boyd, Robert Currie, William Stewart, David Boyd, Robert Stewart, Robert Adam.

GREENHILL - Robert Todd.

(?) GREENBYTH - Mungo Andrew, Thomas Ross, Archibald Hall.

THE WALL - John Stewart, Janet Stewart.

PORISKEN - Margaret Fleming, Margaret Frissel, John Templeton, John Lauchlan.

GAINHILL - Robert Todd, John Andrew, George Gilmour, Andrew Craig.

MAINS OF ROWALLAN - John Mure of Rowallan, William Finlay, John Currie, William Smith, John Brown, Alexander Thomson, Janet Currie, James Harper and Janet Ford.

POKELLY - William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead, James Bontein, John Stevenston, William Bontein, John Bontein, William Adam, Arthur Cuthbertson, William Stirling, John Strauchmill, John Gray, James Smith, Margaret Fleming, Margaret Frissel, John Cunningham, Widow Speir.

DARCLEUCH - John Stevenston.

BRAIDMOSS - John Walker, Robert Fulton, Archibald Harper, Archibald Campbell.

BALGRAY - Widow Bontein, James Speir and Widow Speir.

HILL - John Wallace, Widow Wallace, Robert Hamilton, James Wallace.

WARNOCKLAND - James Hogg, Bartholemew Hogg, Andrew Tannahill, Thomas Lauchlan, Archibald Gilmour, James Gemmill.

MUIRYETTS - Widow Wylie.

GARDRUM - John Howie, John Fulton.

SKERNIELAND - Robert Wilson, Andrew Wilson, John Wallace, David Fulton.

PARISH OF KILMARNOCK (continued)

- GLASSFORD - Archibald Powy.
FENWICK NETHER - Robert Arnot, Hugh Crawford, Edward Arnot.
FENWICK OVER - Alexander Cooper, Hugh Crawford, Edward Arnot.
FENWICKHILL - John Mure.
FENWICK (undifferentiated) - John Craig, William Hillhouse.
DALMUSTERNOCK - Edward Kennedy, Edward Currie, Widow Gilmour,
John Blackwood, John Loudoun.
ASSLOSS - James Auchinloss (Assloss), James Fyar, James Smith.
BORLAND - Thomas Ross.
AIKENHEAD - Margaret Blair, Alexander Brown.
CRAUFURDLAND - John Crawford of Craufurdlan, Patrick Loudoun,
Andrew and Thomas Smith, Thomas Miller.
STANEPATH - Alexander Crawford, Adam Smith.
MIDLAND NETHER - Thomas Blackwood.
MIDLAND OVER - Robert Blackwood, William Rankin, Andrew Tannahill.
WYLLIELAND OVER - Thomas Adam.
WYLLIELAND NETHER - John Brown, Widow Brown.
BRUNTLAND - Matthew Brown.
AIRTNOCH - Matthew Robertson, Thomas Adam.
AMLAIRD - John Kennedy, David Kennedy, Robert Gemmill, William
Kennedy, Robert Kennedy.
HARESHAW - James White, John Peacock, Robert Finlay, John Assloss.
BLACKBYRE - Mungo Paton, Isobel Gemmill, Andrew Gemmill.
WHITEHILLS - Robert Torrance, Thomas Finlay, James Finlay.
DALSLAITH - Alexander Assloss, John Assloss, John Gemmill, Bessie
Hamilton, Widow Boyd, Widow Norvell, John Miller, Thomas Paton.
RAITH - Janet Paton, Bessie Brown, John Brown, John Wood, Alexander
Norvell, William Howie, Thomas Gemmill, Alexander Boyd, James
Tannahill, Widow Hillhouse, William Crawford.
WALSTON OVER - William Crawford.
WALSTON NETHER - John Smith, John Hillhouse, John Finlay, John
Chalmers, James Hillhouse, John Crooks.
WARDLAW OVER - Robert Gemmill.
WARDLAW NETHER - John Brown, Robert Boyd, James Hogg, John
Brown(2), John Richie, James Hogg, eld.
MAINS OF DEAN - Robert Lord Boyd, James Adam, eld., James Adam, yr.,
James Assloss, John Lymburner, Murdoch Brough, Thomas Boyd,
Widow Tannahill.
LITTLE DEAN - Janet Tannahill, Janet Boyd, Janet Andrew, Adam Boyd.
MUIRHOUSE - Robert Tannahill, James Paton, James Hillhouse, James
Paterson, Mungo Hillhouse.
REDDINGDYKES - John Assloss, John Gemmill, Alexander Norvell, Janet
Smith, James Tannahill.

PARISH OF KILMARNOCK (continued)

HILLHOUSE BOYD - James Boyd.

HILLHOUSE TANNAHILL - Andrew Tannahill.

HILLHOUSE (undifferentiated) - John Wood, John Wilson, John Brown, John Smith.

MAINS OF GROUGAR - Thomas Wight, Alexander Cunningham, Bessie Tannahill, William Miller, John Steele, eld., John Steele, yr., Edward Holmes, John Connell, Robert Dickie, John Wight, John Connell, eld., Allan Holmes, Thomas Miller.

MONKLAND - Allan Cunningham, Stephen Gemmill.

BLACKWOOD - James Paton, Robert Brown, Edward Holmes, Janet Gemmill, Neil Gemmill, Robert Hemphill, James Kennedy, John Brown, James Kirkland.

RAWS OF GROUGAR - James Cunningham, eld., James Cunningham, yr.

FORESTERHILL - Janet Hamilton, Widow Adam, Thomas Paton, John Paton, Janet Gemmill.

FLEMINGHILL - James Borland, Andrew Borland.

DYKES - Thomas Paton and John Brown, John White, Widow Wright, John Adam, James Paton.

BANKHOUSE OVER - George Ross, Charles Ross.

BANKHOUSE NETHER - Richard Allan, John Wight, William Allan, John Mitchell, John Allan.

MILTON OVER - Thomas White.

MILTON NETHER - Widow Duncan, James Wight, Laurence Wight, Robert Taylor, Janet Boyd, Alexander Tannahill.

SILVERWOOD - John Powy.

TEMPLETON DICKIE - Robert Dickie.

TEMPLETON ASSLOSS - Margaret Assloss.

TEMPLETON (undifferentiated) - John Powy, yr.

RALSTONHILL - Widow Crooks, Robert Paton, James Niven, John Miller, Robert Loudoun, Robert Dickie, Alexander Harper, John Walker, William Gilchrist, John Niven.

MAINS OF RALSTON - John Shaw, James Finlay, James Harper, Andrew Harper.

CROOKEDHÖLM - John Walker, Alexander Harper, William Harper, William Gilchrist.

STRUTHER - William Taylor, Robert Andrew, Thomas Lymburner, Bessie Assloss, Robert Hogg, John Steele.

NETHERTOUN - Janet Boyd, Robert Crawford, John Steele, Rankin Crawford, James Hogg, James Taylor, James Smith, James Hogg, eld., John Niven, John Andrew, Thomas Lymburner.

BRIDGEND - Margaret Miller, Robert Hogg, Robert Mason, John Boyd, John Miller, Robert Hogg, yr, James Taylor, James Smith.

PARISH OF KILMARNOCK (continued)

- GRANGE AND CAMBUSKEITH - Adam Wallace, executor of John W. in Netherford, William Hamilton, William Hamilton of Grange, Robert Naysmith, John Brocket, Patrick Fulton, John Craig, John Lymburner, Robert Woodburn, John Duncan, James Steele, David Dickie, John Boyd, Alexander Woodburn and James Adam, Peter Hopkin, William Dickie, Bessie Brown, Widow Wylie, Isobel Smith, Mallie Smith, John Steele, Widow Craig, Alexander Hopkin, Roger Speir.
- HOLMES - Robert Steele, Stephen Harper, John Steele, Robert Loudoun, Janet Caldwell, Janet Johnston, Alexander Dickie, Robert Dickie.
- BONNYTON - James Adam and Bessie Brown and Widow Wylie, Marion Naysmith.
- KIRKTOUN - John Boyd.
- DAMHEAD - John Wallace.
- DRUMBOY - John Wylie, Robert Harper, Robert Wylie and James Howie, Guthrie Miller.
- GREE - John Miller, eld., John Miller, yr., Arthur Fulton, John Wallace in Dyke, Bessie Wylie, William Wylie, Robert Currie, John Currie, William Currie, David Currie.
- GLASSOCK - John White, Widow Smith, Archibald Gilmour, James Gilmour.
- CLANFIN - Andrew Gemmill, Neil Gemmill.
- MOOR - John Gemmill, Robert Taylor, John Taylor.
- RAITHBURN - Margaret Smith, Thomas Paton, Robert Paton.
- ARDOCH - Robert Lindsay, Widow Lindsay, John Peterkin.
- RUSHAW - Bartholemew (Bartie) Paton, John Paton.
- RATHMUIR - John Gemmill.
- GRASSYARDS - Bessie Brown, Janet Paton.

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