AYRSHIRE NOTES

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Rear View of Holmston House in 2020. Built as Kyle Union Combination Poorhouse it became an old people's home, then the Social Work HQ for Ayr Sub-Region of Strathclyde Regional Council and now put up for sale by the local authority but largely derelict due to absence of prospective buyers

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Ayrshire Poor Law Records

by JF Jamieson

"Remember the poor" said the Bible "for they will be with you always". Even a very cursory examination of the types and quantities of records generated by the workings of various poor laws and welfare efforts reminds of the inherent truth of that statement. The provision made for poor relief and the social circumstances lying behind the substantial legislation is a fascinating story.

An early effort was made to address the problem by the Scottish Parliament in 1424 when an act was passed trying to suppress vagrancy and to regulate begging. This act drew a distinction between the destitute sick and impotent and the able bodied poor or the unemployed with rigorous measures to be enacted against them. For example, those caught begging without tokens issued by the sheriff could be branded and banished.

This permission to beg lasted until 1579 when further legislation was passed making provision for a compulsory assessment to supplement church door collections, mortifications and other sources of income for the relief of the poor. Under the terms of this act each parish was held responsible for the relief of its own poor while the right to receive relief arose either from birth or from seven years residence within the same parish. Those unable to show seven years residence could be branded as vagabonds and forcibly removed to their parish of birth. The headman of each parish could make tokens and issue them to beggars and no-one was to be given relief without a token. Vagabonds and other idle

persons were to be punished by imprisonment or put in the jougs or irons. Searches for vagabonds were also introduced and anyone caught harbouring a beggar could be fined.

The next act of 1672 allowed the establishment of correction houses for idle persons and vagabonds and also charged the minister and elders of each parish with the duty of making up lists of the poor within their parish and lists of persons to be sent to the houses of correction. The rather harsh terms of this act were tempered by reducing the term of residential settlement from seven to three years.

The lack of success of this legislation can be judged by a proclamation of William and Mary in 1692 which required the heritors, ministers and elders of every parish to make lists of the poor and assess the heritors and householders for payment of a rate to relieve the poor. The 1690s were especially bad years for Scotland due to widespread famine and a great many deaths occurred from starvation. The poor law with its inadequate system for gathering payments partly due to the fact that large numbers of people became mobile in search of work or some form of relief made the settlement restrictions very hard to enforce. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun stated in the 1700s that “the country has always swarmed with such numbers of idle vagabonds as no laws could ever restrain … they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who if they give not bread or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in a day are sure to be insulted by them) but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood.”

Parliament attributed this lack of success in provision to the fact that there were no proper houses provided for the poor and the negligence of the various bodies to whom the duties had been entrusted. Given that the people entrusted with the levying and collection of rates for the poor were the same people who paid them, they remained loathe to enforce payment or to set the rate high enough to give sufficient maintenance to a great many of the poor.

It can be seen that from an early date the state made a distinction between vagrants who were presumed to be fit for work but who chose wandering ways of life and maintained themselves by begging whether authorised or not and the deserving poor who were either infirm or unable to work. However paupers held to be worthy of relief could be maintained by their own parish. In practice it was often very difficult to distinguish between the two.

The early administration of poor relief remained in the hands of the church which used the money collected at services and augmented by legacies, bequests and the hiring of mort cloths for the provision of poor relief. Following the Reformation in 1560, this framework was gradually replaced by the new Protestant administration. There remained no central body exercising control over the collection and distribution of relief and the amount and type could vary quite considerably. For example, in Irvine Parish it was coal and not money which was given and the Earls of Eglinton distributed coals to the poor in the village of Halfway (now part of the A77 although the houses on the main street still survive on one side of the road). Sometimes relief was clothes,

food or shelter. Compulsory rates levied on the heritors tended to be common in the south of Scotland although regarded with suspicion by many. In England, rates were compulsory and to a certain degree the history of the poor laws in Scotland shows an increasing assimilation to those of England especially in the nineteenth century.

One of the best informative sources for the attitudes of the poor law authorities comes from 'A Report of the Committee on the State of the Poor Laws and Vagrancy as Applying to the County of Peebles' which was compiled in 1818. This report states 'if the law of the land by exacting contributions for the poor, is answerable for their support, how often will it be felt that private benevolence is a superfluous virtue?' The report then goes on to suggest that 'when application is made for the first time for parochial support, it should be explained that by admission on the regular list of ordinary or permanent poor all the property belonging to the pauper becomes transferred to the parish and though the use of it is left necessarily undisturbed, an inventory will be made, so as to render it forthcoming on his death. The mark of lost status is striking and will often induce a restriction of the application of supply merely of a temporary relief.' Later the same report states 'in distribution of the fund, care should be taken that the pauper should find his situation beneath that of the labouring classes.' Probably the most famous exponent of this view was the Rev Thomas Chalmers who led the walkout from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1843 which resulted in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland. Chalmers held that any regular allowance encouraged the poor to dependency by reducing their motivation towards self-help and that discrimination in the distribution of a small voluntary poor fund had a beneficial effect upon the donor and recipient.

With this background it is not surprising that it became obvious in the course of the nineteenth century that that the amounts collected were too small to provide anything other than irregular and inadequate relief. Even if the sums collected were regarded as supplementary to any resources provided by the family or even acquired by the pauper's own efforts, there continued to be almost no provision for the relief of the able-bodied poor.

This continued to be the case until 1921 although the case of Pollock v Darling which went to the Court of Session in 1804 did give the opinion that the able-bodied were entitled to a moderate allowance from the parish where they had acquired their legal residence. Against this view Sir Ilay Campbell stated 'that the present system of our poor laws does not include the industrious poor.' In general it was left to individual parishes to decide who were the deserving poor.

Social distress became acute at the start of the nineteenth century when there were bad harvests in both 1799 and 1800. The Farmers' Magazine in 1801 commented wages bore no affinity to the common prices of the necessities of life. Unemployment and the growing industrialisation following the Napoleonic Wars led to led to even greater distress especially amongst weavers and agricultural labourers. In England this increased pressure on an increasingly inadequate system led to the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1833. The Scottish Poor Law Amendment Act which was closely base on the English one was passed in 1845. This act was to become a milestone in poor relief and social provision.

In 1843 the Disruption had taken place which led to the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland. As a result of this the old ecclesiastical parish poor law system broke down and and a Royal Commission on Poor Law was appointed and made its report in 1844. The resulting Scottish Poor Law Amendment Act in 1845 did not repeal any of the existing legislation, stating only 'that all laws statutes and usages shall be repealed only so far as they are at variance or inconsistent with this Act.' Hence the name Poor law Amendment Act.

The Act of 1845 enacted the following main provisions -

I. establishment of a central board of control
II. local parochial boards to be established in each parish
III. parochial boards given the power to levy a poor rate

The central board of control in practice had very few powers of compulsion and tended to act as an advisory body. Based in Edinburgh it was composed of the Lord Provosts of both Glasgow and Edinburgh, the

solicitor general for Scotland, the sheriff deputes of Perth, Renfrew, Ross and Cromarty and others appointed by the Crown.

The local parochial board was to consist of a committee whose membership was open to every owner of property of £20 yearly value and above in the individual parish. But owners of property under £20 and tenants or occupiers could be elected to the board whose number was fixed by the Central Board of Control, six nominees of the kirk session or less if the session was smaller, and the provost and baillies of any royal burgh which happened to be within the parish to a maximum of thirty members.

The parochial boards had powers to levy the poor rate. The existing records are therefore full of appeals against this payment as it became increasingly important for the boards to make this rate regular and endeavour to make it adequate for relief. Again relief was meant for the casual and permanent paupers but not for the able-bodied. The boards themselves considered that they had discretionary powers to relieve the unemployed and did so until 1866 when a House of Lords decision forbade them to do so.

As stated above the relief envisaged was primarily that of outdoor relief (ie admission to the any existing poorhouse was to be the very last option). In parishes of more than five thousand inhabitants the parochial boards were empowered to provide a poorhouse. Should an individual parish be too small then it could unite with neighbouring parishes to form a combination poorhouse. This was the case with the Kyle Union Poorhouse which was established in Ayr to replace the old Ayr Poorhouse located in Mill Wynd. Several parishes including Ayr, Maybole and Kirkoswald were involved in its foundation.

Ardrossan Parochial Board minutes show them declining to join with Kilwinning Parish in 1853 for the formation of Cunninghame Combination Poorhouse although other parishes such as Irvine did join. Carrick Poorhouse was set up in 1893 when the southern parishes finally managed to combine. The extant records for these bodies are held by Ayrshire Archives. Those for the Kyle Union Poorhouse are particularly

well preserved as they include not only minutes but records of admissions, deaths and even a block plan of the layout of the poorhouse in the mid nineteenth century.

In Scotland, generally, there were 21 poorhouses in 1850 and this number increased to 66 by 1868. The able-bodied were not to be admitted to these institutions and if a man were found to be able-bodied after admission be could be turned out. In England the workhouse test was applied and gradually Scots poor law became more and more assimilated to the English. From 1870 onwards the able-bodied were admitted to the poorhouse and submitted to the poorhouse test. In a circular of 1895 the Local Government Board said that the necessity of a test in certain cases at least is now generally acknowledged and the only practical effective test that can be applied is the offer of indoor relief and that without recourse to the poorhouse, the authorities were powerless to curb the growth of pauperism. The conditions within these institutions were fairly harsh.

The original Ayr Poorhouse which was in Mill Brae and dated from the 1750s has left us an interesting set of records. Although the predecessor of this institution was probably the town's hospital, which appears to have been built about 1603, according to the burgh accounts. The Exchequer Rolls for Scotland contain the following entry for 1698/99 'the burrow maill of Ayr disponit to the puir of the hospitall of Ayr extending to 20lib.'

The extant minute books themselves date from 1756 when the institution appears to have acquired a new building at Townhead in Ayr possibly just down from the site of the later Kyle Union Poorhouse. These minutes give details of not only the names of the inmates but their ages, place of birth, relationship, and what possessions they are bringing into the poorhouse. Paupers treated in this way were naturally reluctant to give details of all their possessions to the authorities and the minutes are full of complaints about not being able to list the possessions and sometimes ejecting those who have refused to give up their goods. The minutes also go to great lengths to assure any reader that the inmates are happy and gainfully employed usually in spinning. But cases of absconding are also

fairly frequent and probably reflects more accurately what the inmates thought of their conditions. The emphasis throughout is on the cost of provision and at one point they record the purchase of potatoes wasted by frost to feed the inmates as cheaply as possible. This minute book formerly in the Carnegie Library is now held by Ayrshire Archives.

1878 circulars from the Central Board of Provision in Edinburgh list those who should not be given outdoor relief. These categories include -

i. mothers of illegitimate children including widows with legitimate families who may fall into immoral habits
ii. deserted wives
iii. persons having grown up families settled elsewhere
iv. persons having collateral families in comfortable circumstances
v. wives of prisoners sentenced to imprisonment or penal servitude
vi. generally all persons of idle, immoral or dissipated habits

These rules echo the stringent provisions of earlier legislation and try to put pressure on the relatives to provide for their relations.

This policy seems to have been at least partly successful and the numbers of those on outdoor relief did diminish although how much this was due to the legislation and how much was due to improving social and economic conditions is debatable. The relief given was not usually the full amount and it could be supplemented where necessary from charity or any earnings a pauper could make. It could be in kind or clothing.

During the course of the nineteenth century these parochial boards began to have functions relating to public health and hygiene and evolved into the local authorities we recognise today. Their history and development is really the start of what was to become modern local government.

Education was also mentioned in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845 allowing parochial boards either to provide a poorhouse school or pay fees for children attending a local school. Some parishes set up ragged schools to provide education for pauper children such as the ragged school established in Ardrossan in 1851. Ardrossan Parochial Board

minutes for 3rd Oct 1856 also state 'the Board recommend the teachers in this place that has poor children paupers at their schools do reduce the school fees to a sum below the regular charge ..examination of pauper children at the different schools be once in three months.' School fees were not abolished until 1883 and elementary education, itself was not compulsory until the Scottish Education Act of 1872.

Those paupers on outdoor relief were to be visited at least once a year by the local inspectors of the poor or his assistant to inquire into their circumstances. These local inspectors were a crucial link between the Central Board of Supervision and the local parochial board as they were responsible for the effective implementation of the Poor Law within their parish.

Under the terms of the Act fit and qualified persons were to be appointed. But due to the nature of the local boards, qualified covered a range of conditions. As the inspector was frequently in touch with the Central Board, he was often better equipped to deal with legal problems than the ordinary board members. Although the inspectors were appointed locally but they could only be dismissed, censured or suspended by the Central Board. In some cases the lack of local control led to the inspectors abusing their power. As residential settlement was an important part of the Act, the inspectors had to inquire into the paupers' parish of birth. Claims by one parish on another often led to litigation and in cases of dispute the Central Board was asked to intervene. This point is well represented in the surviving inspectors' letter books which are full of claims on other parishes. Kilmarnock parish has left us a particularly fine series of letter books dating from 1846 and again these form part of the collections in Ayrshire Archives.

Gradually too parochial boards were made responsible for functions such as vaccination, administration of burial grounds, public health and public libraries by the passing of acts such as the Nuisances Removal Act of 1856.

Assessment rolls for the collection of the poor rate are really the predecessors of what was to become rating and valuation which was

enacted in 1855and which of course has now been replaced by the modern community charge.

In 1894 parochial boards were abolished and replaced by parish councils, which were elected every three years. A new central government authority was created called the Local Government Board. Gradually too various categories of pauper were removed from the poor rolls such as persons over seventy years of age by the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, the unemployed by the provision of National Insurance, the sick by the creation of the National Health Service in 1948 and various lunacy acts and children by social change.

All of these authorities left a variety of interesting and informative records although many are not extant. Applications for relief not only give particulars about the applicant but where they were born, the length of stay in the locality where they are claiming relief, their families and the reason for the application such as old age, lunacy or disability.

Further Reading

Ian Levitt: Poverty and Welfare in Scotland 1890-1948, Published by Edinburgh University Press 1988

David Monypenny of Pitmilly: remarks on the Poor Laws and on the Method for Providing for the Poor of Scotland (available on Googlebooks and provides background for case of Pollock v Darling in 1804)

National Records of Scotland GD16/40/83 [Printed] Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Bill. 1845

National Records of Scotland HH23 Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, minute books 1845-1894

National Records of Scotland GD3/5/1343 contains details of distribution of coal to poor of Halfway

National Records of Scotland Lord Advocates Department Miscellaneous Papers AD58/8, 63, 64 and 9/1 all have correspondence about the workings of the Poor Laws

From Upper Class to Underclass:

Ayrshire Popular Novels

as Historical Sources, 1914–2012

by

Neil Dickson

Ayrshire's most famous novel reader, when challenged by her husband her about her reading habits, defended herself: '"Ah well… it's an unco thing if a body's not to have a moment's rest after such a morning's darg! I just sat down wi' the book for a little".'[1] Undoubtedly, the 'frowsy paper-covered volume' which Mrs Gourlay is reading in *The House with the Green Shutters* (1901) is a popular novel, which, according to Ken Gelder, offers entertainment.[2] In Gelder's paraphrase: 'Literature is 'dull' while popular fiction is, simply (and perhaps simplistically, depending on your loyalties and point of view), exciting.'[3] It is just for such absorption in a 'good story' that Gourlay makes his sarcastic comment.

The placing by George Douglas Brown (1869–1902) of the conflict between husband and wife in fiction reading is remarkably similar to that which Janice Radway found among

female readers of romance novels in the American Midwest in the late twentieth century. In her sympathetic ethnographic study of reading romance novels, Radway's interviewees claimed they read them because they offered something different from their daily routine and the demanding pressures of their families. The act of reading was an escape which enabled them to deny their physical presence in an environment that was associated with responsibilities. At the same time, Radway's female readers felt guilty because it drew them away from family life and made them less productive in an industrialized society which valued hard work.[4] The conflict in the Gourlay household over novel reading symbolically situates Gourlay's capitalist concern with the work routines of his subordinates and his wife's need to deny her physical presence in his family. Like Radway's readers, Mrs Gourlay has little room in her life for the self-interested pursuit of pleasure, and reading popular fiction supplies her with her only emotional release.[5] Reading was, if not quite emancipatory for Mrs Gourlay, providing escape by offering respite from the tyranny of the domestic routine and her bullying husband.

In this article I will examine popular novels with an Ayrshire setting, or with substantial scenes set in Ayrshire. Popular fiction is marketed through genre (i.e. the type of fiction it is), and its readers also buy and read it by their favourite genre, something that can be readily seen from how it is usually displayed in bookshops. The commercial significance of genre for popular fiction constricts what gets published, and the

contemporary dominance of publishing from London means that increasingly certain types of genre are preferred. For example, there is a current demand for Scottish crime fiction, or ‘tartan noir’, which can be attributed single-handedly to the popularity of Ian Rankin who reputedly accounted for ten per cent of all mass-market fiction in Britain at the turn of the millennium.[6] Consequently, as a successful sub-genre, London publishers want to have one tartan noir writer in their catalogues, which has had the curious effect of stimulating regional crime writing in Scotland, although for consumption by a British audience there are constraints on how ‘Scottish’ these can be, primarily in matters of dialect, which further constrains the type of writing which can reach a large readership. For example, as Tony Black, the crime writer who was based for a number of years in Ayr, has maintained, it would make it difficult for a new Irvine Welsh to emerge.[7]

These constraints of commerce, consumer expectation, and genre conventions, mean that the popular novel most usually reflects shared assumptions about its contemporary society. This is even more the case with the bestseller. ‘They are snapshots of an age,’ writes John Sutherland. ‘Given their diversity, bestsellers can, but often don’t, repay close literary-critical attention. But for what they tell us about the host society in which, briefly, they came good, bestsellers are among the most informative literary-historical evidence available to us.’[8] They are indispensable sources for understanding society. In this article I will

examine how useful a selection of popular novels with an Ayrshire setting are as historical sources through looking at one specific issue: their representations of social class.

Upper classes

Early twentieth-century popular novelists in this selection concentrated on the upper classes. Although Annie Swan (1859–1953), the immensely popular novelist of the early twentieth century, whose professional writing career had commenced in the previous century, had a largely lower middle-class and working-class readership,[9] her *Meg Hamilton: An Ayrshire Romance* (1914) is set among what Swan calls 'county society'. One character, Mrs Dove, is an *arriviste* and a 'scheming Englishwoman'. She sees the eponymous Meg, who is from the landed classes, as a 'stepping-stone' to reaching county society.[10] When Mrs Dove's mild husband, a retired naval surgeon-general, dismisses the importance of ancestry, she replies, '"Oh! but they care here yet—care about them above anything else on earth!"'[11]

Ayrshire society is represented as deferential. When Mrs Dove's daughter, who functions as a narrative foil to Meg, marries a local baronet, his estate employees turn out to greet him and his wife, and they unyoke the carriage and pull them to the door of his ancestral mansion. The baronet gives short speech declaring how happy the relations had

always been between him and the people on the estate, both tenants and employees. When Meg herself is married she and her new husband take their place in the family pew in Alloway kirk, ‘amid a great congregation that had come out from Ayr to behold them.’[12] But Swan was aware that society was changing. Meg narrowly avoids being married off by her father to Morris Bien, the nephew of a Dutch Jewish money lender, but she is saved by the symbolically named David Sillars, who is aghast at the proposal. ‘To marry her to such a man—one of an alien race, a money-lender who had her price in his hand—it was appalling!’, he thinks.[13] Although Sillars has adopted the manners and lifestyle of the upper classes (including their anti-Semitism), his origins, however, are not among them. He has bought the Ayrshire mansion house of an impoverished ancient family, and his money is made from his own family’s sugar refinery in Greenock, a business which his father had built up from nothing. The capitalist world in which Swan’s ethnically Scottish readership lived would recognise that some *arrivistes* were acceptable.

The changing of the old order is more marked in *Huntingtower* (1922) by the prolific writer of thrillers, John Buchan (1875–1940). Buchan’s hero is Dickson McCunn, a grocer from Glasgow, who is on a walking tour of Carrick. In the wake of the Great War, he finds south Ayrshire being depopulated. He stays in the coastal village of Cruives (possibly based on Ballantrae), where his landlady Mrs Morran, has a son in South Africa, and one daughter a lady’s maid in London and the other married to a

schoolteacher. Her son had found village life dull after his army service, and she tells McCunn, '"There's no' a man body in the place. Naething but auld wives."'[14] The war has had a devastating effect. One local laird, Sir Archie Roylance, gives McCunn an inventory of his servants. His butler has lost an arm, his gamekeeper carries a Turkish bullet in his thigh, his chauffeur has lost half a foot and the laird himself limps. He concludes, ' "Only cripples, I'm afraid".'[15] The social order, too, is changing. When McCunn queries her about the local mansion house, the Huntingtower of the novel's title, Mrs Morran tells him its last laird was killed in the war, and it is now lying shut up, before launching into a lament:

> Mrs. Morran's tone grew tragic. "It's a queer warld wi'out the auld gentry. My faither and my guidsire and his faither afore him served the Kennedys, and my man Dauvit Morran was gemkeeper to them, and afore I mairried I was ane o' the table-maids. They were kind folk, the Kennedys, and, like a' the rale gentry, maist mindfu' o' them that served them. Sic' merry nichts I've seen in the auld Hoose, at Hallowe'en and Hogmanay, and at the servants' balls and the waddin's o' the young leddies! But the laird bode to waste his siller in stane and lime, and hadna that much to leave to his bairns. And now they've a' scattered or deid."[16]

The rhythmical lyricism of the Scots in this passage tells us where the sympathies of Buchan, a future Scottish Unionist MP, lay. He felt deeply pessimistic about Britain and the future of civilization after the war, in which a brother had been killed.[17] One character in *Huntingtower*, undoubtedly reflecting Buchan's view at the time, states, ' "it sounds ridiculous, I know, in Britain in the twentieth century, but I learned in the war, that civilization anywhere is a very thin crust."'[18] For Buchan, the depopulation of the countryside, and farms in France and Italy, as well as Scotland, going uncultivated due to lack of manpower was one effect.[19] The decline of the older, deferential order, of which Mrs Morran, a former table-maid, is a survivor, was another. The most significant indicator in the novel of the changing of the social orders is that it is lower-middle-class McCunn and his working-class band of boys, the Gorbals Die-Hards, who come to the rescue of civilization. Both Swan and Buchan show the landed classes as not entirely blameless in their decline. Meg's family are at risk of losing their estate due to the improvidence of recent lairds, principally her father who has a gambling addiction cultivated at the Ayr races. Buchan sees that the building of large mansions as another way in which money has been wasted.

Buchan was too early in his pessimism over the decline of the landed classes in Ayrshire. The post-Second World War thriller by Bernard Fergusson (1911–80), *The Rare Adventure* (1954), has as its hero Allan

Larg, one of its members. The novel opens with Larg entertaining guests, which include a neighbouring landowner and his wife, who are suffering the inconvenience of having their shooting let out. Larg's son is at Eton, and after dinner Larg takes the guests on a tour of the family portraits which include a Ramsey and a Raeburn—a detail based on Fergusson's own upbringing at Kilkerran, the estate in the Girvan valley of the landed family to which he belonged. Larg's estate, however, is only a small one, for the party has had to be content with shooting only twenty-seven brace of grouse. Nevertheless, Ayrshire county society still exists. If the working classes had turned up in these earlier twentieth-century popular novels, then it was most usually as servants. Mrs Morran, the former table-maid we have met, and her deceased husband, the gamekeeper. But servants are often invisible. In *The Rare Adventure* when the Largs arrive back from a holiday in Tunisia, where they have met with the adventure of the title, hot coffee and a brightly burning log fire are awaiting them in the business room, but how the coffee and fire achieved these conditions, is a mystery. True, there is Thom, the odd man (an Anglicised version presumably of 'orra man') who brings Larg's car to Stranraer and then, from his place in the back seat, tells him of the developments at the house. Mercifully, it appears, the electricians and painters who had necessitated the holiday in Tunisia are among the invisible for they have done their work and departed. The gamekeeper, who presumably gave Thom news of the woodcocks which are clamouring to be shot, is unmentioned. [20]

Servants can be troublesome. In an interchange between Meg and her father after her marriage, he asks: '"Servants coming in to heel, Meg? But I need hardly ask you that, for you know how to manage work-folk." "There will be no trouble on that score," she answered quietly.'[21] The reduction of 'work-folk' to the equivalent of a well-trained dog by Meg's father can be paralleled in Buchan. He catches the tone and attitude exactly when he has Roylance address his butler: '"Sime," he shouted to the servant, "clear away this mess and lay the table again. [...] Tidy up the place for there's a lady comin'. Quick, you juggins!"'[22] These characters are signs which remind us that, in Bruce Robbins's words, 'the servants of life are themselves signs—signs of the master's status'.[23] As with the reduction of Sime to a 'juggins'—archaic slang for 'fool'—servants function as comic fools. When Meg runs away from her threatened Jewish marriage to Sillars, who will eventually become her husband, he debates what to do with her, and he briefly considers sending her to one of his Jamaican plantations. His housekeeper, Mrs Dunlop, whose first name, unusually, we learn, comments ' "Among blecks!—the very thocht gi'es ye the cauld shudders." '[24] It is not only the excluded Afro-Caribbean people who are expected to cause the reader amusement, but so too is the representation of work-folk candour. The bluntness of the colloquial Scots adds to the comic effect. The use of Scots, however, is most often a sign of a character's dependability. The reliable Thom, in the one sentence of direct speech given to him, uses Scots. Buchan does have a villainous innkeeper in *Huntingtower* who speaks in Scots, but,

more typically, the beauty of Mrs Morran's lament shows her to be dependable.

Middle class versus working class

In the novels of Dorita Fairlie Bruce (1885–1970) it is an absolute rule that a character speaking Scots is utterly trustworthy—a stereotype of the Lowland Scot that can trace its literary ancestry to Walter Scott. Bruce was one of the four novelists in the first half of the twentieth century who dominated the market for stories set in girls' schools,[25] and in the 20s and 30s was the most skilful practitioner of the subgenre. It was she who popularised the concept of a series of stories set in the same school[26]—her characters are therefore literary ancestors of Harry Potter. Although born in Spain, Bruce's maternal family came from West Kilbride, where she would holiday as a child on her grandparents' farm. She never married, and 1949 she settled in Upper Skelmorlie.[27] Eighteen of her novels—the majority—were set in the north Ayrshire coast around Largs. She was, in fact, the most prolific Ayrshire writer of all.[28]

Among her Ayrshire novels are a series of historical ones set in West Kilbride for the young adult market and their sequel, five novels for young adults with a contemporary setting. Two of these are placed in 'Colmskirk', which is a thin disguise for Largs,[29] and in them the middle class takes centre stage. In *The Serendipity Shop* (1947) the Scots-speaking Old Jeems bequeaths his lapidarian shop to the orphaned

daughters of a local doctor. This inheritance symbolises these middle-class characters as the guardians of the history and traditions of the town. Post-Second World War, Colmskirk is undergoing transformation, and the principal agent of that change is Samuel Bartle, another parvenu who is the thrusting owner of a Scotland-wide chain of wholesale stores and emporia. He tells the heroines '"What the west coast of Scotland needs is a few rattling good towns like they have by the sea in England, but you can't get that without enterprise."'[30] Bartle is Gourlay without the latter's demonic energy. His schemes include pulling down 'a fine old house' and replacing it with workmen's flats, building bungalows on a prominent landmark on the sea-front, and demolishing the historic town square and replacing it with a large emporium which will offer cheap goods to locals and summer visitors. The heroines, who do not want to see the town become a cheap copy of Brighton or Margate, resist his schemes. During the town-council elections, the Liberal candidate tries to discredit Bartle, but the girls convince Bartle that he has no alternative but to accept that his land acquisition should not be for commercial gain, but to provide philanthropic public benefits to the town, and he is duly elected to the council. The heroines, products of the professional classes, have succeeded in winning Bartle from his new demotic capitalist schemes to an older, paternalist Tory ideology. It is a victory for 'the little thatched cottages that have been here for hundreds of years' against the bungalows which are 'a lot of common little shanties'.[31] *The*

Serendipity Shop shows how closely linked were post-war issues of town planning with class and competing visions of Scotland.

The vision of Scotland as expressed in small-town Ayrshire which Bruce had advocated was to vanish under the pressures of late capitalism which she deplored. William McIlvanney (1936–2015) expresses the defeat most clearly in his literary novel, *The Big Man* (1985). Graithnock, his fictitious name for Kilmarnock, was:

> Never a handsome place, it had at its centre some fine old buildings that had some history. They were demolished and where they had been rose a kind of monumental slum they called a shopping precinct. As a facelift that has failed leaves someone looking out from nobody's place in particular so Graithnock had become a kind of nowhere fixed in stone. The most characteristic denizens of its new precinct like the ghosts of industry past, were alcoholics and down-and-outs.[32]

Post-war town planning in Graithnock is the triumph of the unreconstructed Bartle, sweeping away what is distinctive about a townscape. It may stand as a marker for the way market forces were eliminating Ayrshire's sense of itself as a distinct region. McIlvanney's post-Thatcherite take on Graithnock sees the emergence of a new underclass singled out by the ironic use of 'denizens'. At the same time,

the rise of the middle class was unstoppable. The comic *bildungsroman*, *Red Guitars in Heaven* (1994), by the journalist and broadcaster Tom Morton (b.1955), is set in 'Bittermouth', his fictionalised version of Troon. In it embourgeoisement even affects the working-class sect of the Brethren in which its hero grows up in the late 1960s. In the Brethren, 'The youngish, better-off members were beginning to feel slightly ashamed of the Brethren's slightly ridiculous image. … It was a social liability, the Gospel Hall'.[33] Embourgeoisement is a source of guilt for McIlvanney's characters who have been born into the working class, and it is to be ideologically resisted. It is the central problem of *Strange Loyalties* (1991), the final novel in the Laidlaw trilogy, which is McIlvanney's exercise in genre fiction that is not 'intimidated into imagining that popularity equates with superficiality',[34] and the only one set in Ayrshire. McIlvanney was himself born into a working-class family and wrote from within working-class experience. The traditional working class which his Glasgow detective Laidlaw remembers with affection is disappearing. He discovers that Dan Scoular, the central character of *The Big Man* (1985), who had tried to reconstruct his working-class identity in Thatcherite Scotland, had been murdered in a hit-and-run car accident by Glasgow gangsters. On his trip back to Ayrshire on his quest for the reasons for his brother's suicide, Laidlaw journeys through the industrial villages outside Graithnock, and thinks:

> I had come into what I took for manhood among these parts of Ayrshire and they had meant much to me, not just as a geography but as a landscape of the heart, a quintessential Scotland where good people were my landmarks and the common currency was mutual caring. Why did it feel so different to me today, a little seedy and withdrawn? Had I dreamed a place?[35]

Laidlaw's brother, symbolically named Scott, as a student had also been involved years before in a hit-and-run in which a man had been killed. Immediately prior to the accident, Scott had proclaimed to his friends his personal credo. The opportunities that education had opened up, he had said, one friend tells Laidlaw, '"would all be meaningless unless we related it to what mattered, to where we came from. We were from working-class backgrounds. The chance we had was held in trust for others, he said. Whatever talents we had belonged to the man in the street."'[36] Ironically, as the parable with which the novel ends points up, by literally running over a man in the street and abandoning him, Scott had betrayed his class and his ideals at the outset. The guilt leads to his suicide.

Underclass

In popular novels written in the early twenty-first century the vanished traditional working class is replaced by the underclass, or the closely-related precariat—so-called because of the precarious nature of available jobs. It is into this class that William Anderson is born. Anderson is the narrator of *Cold Hands* (2012), a thriller by John J. Niven (b.1968). He is one of a trio of second-year bullies at their secondary school, Ravenscroft Academy, where the teachers generate an atmosphere of violence. He narrates his childhood story, placed in 1982, in scatological language that is familiar from the narrative voice of *Trainspotting* (1993). Anderson's family has been plunged into the precariat the year before when his father's work closed down, 'like so much else in Ayrshire around then ('that fucken hoor Thatcher')',[37] and thereafter is in a sequence of temporary jobs or is unemployed , while Anderson's mother does part-time cleaning work. His parents become alcohol dependent, and their relationship degenerates into a series of rows. Even worse is the home life of the leader of the trio, Derek Bannerman, or 'Big Bannie'. Born as a result of an underage pregnancy, his parents have divorced and do not take responsibility for the children. They allow Bannie and his friends to watch pornographic videos and encourage them in underage drinking. Worse, Bannie's father sexually abuses him, and Bannie, in contradiction to his hard-man image, is a repressed homosexual. The violence culminates in the brutal torture and killing of the principal target of their

bullying, a fellow pupil, nicknamed ‘the Professor’ because he is the class swot, who is from a middle-class home and had previously attended Hutchesons’ Grammar School until the economic downturn had made the fees impossible.

In a manner reminiscent of the killers of Jamie Bulger, the trio are demonised as the details of their dysfunctional childhood emerge, and they have to be given new identities. The novelistic present is set in Canada where Anderson is now living under an assumed identity and where he is a successful journalist and screenwriter. The parallel strands of the narrative are printed in different fonts. The Ravenscroft strand is in sans serif, more commonly used for advertising or headlines, and its stark simplicity is unsettling, like the reality which it creates.[38] The deranged mother of the murdered boy tracks Anderson down, and in scenes of gothic horror, she proceeds to torture and kill his family. Anderson survives the onslaught, and in the postscript, as a father himself, and from his own comfortable middle-class perspective, he admits to understanding the mother’s response to her son’s murder. His confession to the killing, extracted under torture, offers her ‘A kind of peace’.[39]

The underclass also makes an appearance in Tony Black’s tartan noir crime novel, with a title taken from ‘Tam ’o Shanter’, *The Storm Without* (2012). The Ayr of the novel is polarised financially. Property prices in the area in which its detective narrator, Doug Michie, grew up, an estate on the edge of Alloway, are now so inflated that even families earning

two salaries cannot afford them. ‘Money, greed, it had taken over. Everywhere. This was Ayrshire.’[40] Michie himself owns an Audi TT, and at one point a drunk threatens to spew beer over it. Aggressively Michie confronts the ‘yob’, who looks ‘Neanderthal’, and the man backs down. The drunk represents a type for Michie: ‘The tin-pot hard men, the coat-hanger shoulders poking beneath the Old Firm tops, the ever-handy bottle of ginger or compensatory chib. It was pathetic; made me ashamed to be Scottish. I couldn’t believe we were perpetuating the lineage at this point in human development.’[41] The physical undernourishment of these men shows they represent the precariat, but association of the type with the narrator’s embarrassment at his Scottish identity indicates they are being offered as a pervasive archetype of the Scot. The underclass has become a representative of the nation.

The object of contention between Michie and the drunk is his expensive car, which is a signifier of the private wealth and geographical mobility of the middle class. As with Anderson’s final, unsparing observation of his younger, underclass self, the precariat appear as a threat of random violence to a more comfortable existence. Neither Niven nor Black write from within underclass experience. Niven was born into an upwardly mobile, skilled working-class family in Irvine. His father was an electrician who eventually became the manager of Irvine New Town’s principal shopping mall.[42] Black was born to Scottish immigrants in Australia who later returned to Scotland, and his father was a professional

rugby player who was capped for his country.[43] The violence of the secondary school in *Cold Hands*, generated by bullies and teachers, apparently reflects Niven's own experience, for he confesses he was 'not a particularly popular kid', who found Ravenspark Academy in Irvine, the prototype for Ravenscroft Academy in the novel, 'a terrifying, barbaric ordeal.'[44] His earlier comic novel, *The Amateurs* (2009), rhymes another fictional version of Irvine in Ardgirvan, in which the promise of a better life to 'the poor huddled masses of Glasgow' failed to materialise in the mid-1970s due to the economic slump.[45] As in *Cold Hands*, the novel offers us a polarised version of class through the brothers who are its two central characters. One belongs to the lower-middle class, and he fantasises rather than offends; the other belongs to the precariat and has a criminal past.

In these recent novels the stereotypical underclass—drunk, violent, sexually incontinent, with dysfunctional families—has become the dark side of urban spaces. No longer invisible, working-class characters represent a very particular horror to their polar opposites in the middle classes who increasingly lead geographically segregated lives. The determining influence of genre should not be overlooked. The constant undertow of violence by the underclass forms an essential part of the noir setting, or of the gritty urban horror which is the source of the gothic shock of the thriller. Scotland as a location for violence is another stereotype that has a long literary genealogy.

Conclusion

How useful are these popular novels as historical sources? The rural and cultural historian, Keith Snell, maintains that 'Historical methods reliant upon literary sources have too frequently lacked appropriate caution, independent confirmation from other sources, and a defined and delimited social and regional focus.'[46] Among the potential pitfalls for historians that Snell detects are having no idea of setting bounds to what a writer may know and be able to express about his society, and not being aware of the genre traditions of a work. For example, to return to our Ayrshire sample, it would be a mistake to argue that the region suffered badly from a violent, excluded underclass, without having some understanding of literary noir as a label which includes representations of violence, or of the commercial demand for such fiction from Scotland. Levels of violence in early twenty-first-century Ayrshire and its causes would need to be derived from sources other than a few novels. The trustworthiness of Annie Swan as a guide to the existence of a 'county society' in Ayrshire before the First World War is undermined by the discovery that when she wrote *Meg Hamilton* she was living in Hertford in England where she found 'The "County" the overweening influence governing social affairs', and thought it deeply traditionalist and hierarchical.[47]

Nevertheless, as I have tried to show with the other novels, Swan is an invaluable source to the evolution of class within Ayrshire and the

balance of ruling interests, even if only through her perception of them. In other words, popular novels function as a source like any other for the historian. The purpose and conditions of their production and the interests of the writer need to be assessed, and weighed against other evidence.[48] A good example of such practice which is germane to this discussion is Jean Aitchison's Ayrshire Monograph, *Servants in Ayrshire 1750-1914* (2001), which, in examining an earlier period than this article, uses, among others, evidence from the poetry and novels of Burns, Galt, and Brown. The discussion in this article has been limited to one aspect only of these popular novels. Their value as historical sources is not limited to it, and like all useful sources, they suggest further research, such as the rural manpower shortage suggested by Buchan, or the role of ideology in town planning suggested by Bruce, McIlvanney, and Niven. Above all, these are regional novels, which give a sense of what it has been for some people to inhabit Ayrshire during the last 100 years.

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[1] George Douglas Brown, *The House with the Green Shutters* (1901), chpt 4; Gourlay pronounces the word as 'novelles', which, according to the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, preserves the original French pronunciation with the stress on the second syllable that was in oral use until the early twentieth century.

[2] Ken Gelder, *Popular Fiction: The Logics and Practices of a Literary Field* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-11; Gelder is drawing upon the work of Bourdieu, *The Field of Culture Production* (1993).

[3] Ibid., 19.

[4] Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (1984; London: Verso, 1987), 87-93.

[5] Cf. ibid., 93-6.

[6] John Sutherland, *Bestsellers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 104-5.

[7] Tony Black in a talk, 27.6.2012, in Troon Public Library; I owe the points in the previous sentence to the same source.

[8] Sutherland, *Bestsellers*, 3, 29.

[9] Beth Dickson, Annie S. Swan and O. Douglas: Legacies of the Kailyard', in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (eds), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 329-40.

[10] Annie S. Swan, *Meg Hamilton* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), 45.

[11] Ibid., 187.

[12] Ibid., 249.

[13] Ibid., 159.

[14] Buchan, *Huntingtower* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1922), 57.

[15] Ibid., 218.

[16] Ibid., 58–9.

[17] Juanita Kruse, *John Buchan (1875-1940) and the Idea of Empire: Popular Literature and Political Ideology* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1989), 100-9.

[18] Buchan, *Huntingtower*, 177.

[19] Kruse, *John Buchan*, 109.

[20] Bernard Fergusson, *The Rare Adventure* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1954), 243.

[21] Swan, *Meg Hamilton*, 248.

[22] Buchan, *Huntingtower*, chpt 10.

[23] Bruce Robbins, *The Servant's Hand: English Fiction from Below* (New York: Columbia Press, 1986), 15.

[24] Swan, *Meg Hamilton*, 149.

[25] The others were Angela Brazil, Elinor Brent-Dyer and Eslie J. Oxenham. All four are still in print at present due to the nostalgia publisher, Girls Gone By Publishers: <http://ggbp.co.uk/>, accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

[26] Eva M. Löfren, 'Dorita Fairlie Bruce', in Sue Sims and Hilary Clare, *The Encyclopaedia of Girls' School Stories*, 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) Rosemary Auchmuty and Joy Wotton (eds.), 82-3.

[27] Eva Margareta Löfgren, "*Schoolmates of the Long Ago": Motifs and Archetypes in Dorita Fairlie Bruce's Boarding School Stories* (Stockholm/Stehag: Symposium Graduale, 1993), 81-113.

[28] For Bruce, see Beth Dickson, 'Dorita Fairlie Bruce's Firth of Clyde', *Ayrshire Notes*, No. 2018/2 Autumn 2018, 12–17.

[29] The most prominent church in Largs is called St Columba's, which doubtless suggested the name.

[30] Dorita Fairlie Bruce, *The Serendipity Shop* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 38.

[31] Ibid., 36, 161.

[32] William McIlvanney, *The Big Man* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), 18.

[33] Tom Morton, *Red Guitars in Heaven* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), 38.

[34] William McIlvanney, 'The Courage of Our Doubts', in *Surviving the Shipwreck* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream, 1991),156.

[35] William McIlvanney, *Strange Loyalties* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 142.

[36] Ibid., 271.

[37] John J. Niven, *Cold Hands* (London: William Heinemann, 2102), 81.

[38] Cf. the comments on this font in Mark Haddon's *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (2003), John Mullan, 'Letters Patent', *The Guardian*, Saturday 8 May 2004, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2004/may/08/markhaddon> accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

[39] Ibid., 252.

[40] Tony Black, *The Storm Without* (Alnwick: McNidder & Grace, 2102), 53.

[41] Ibid., 21.

[42] David Sharp, 'Interview: A&R Man Turned Author John Niven', *The Herald*, Tuesday 6 November 2012 <http://www.heraldscotland.com/books-poetry/interviews/interview-a-r-man-turned-author-john-niven.19254346>, accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

[43] 'New in Noir Land—Tony Black interview', *The* Scotsman, 16 June 2008, <http://www.scotsman.com/news/new-in-noir-land-tony-black-interview-1-1080658> accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

[44] Sharp, 'Interview'. Sharp notes: 'Anyone —especially male—who attended a comprehensive school in Scotland in the late 1970s or early 1980s will recognise this world as it's rendered with chilling accuracy by Niven in Cold Hands'.

[45] John Niven, *The Amateurs* (New York: Harper Perennial), 17.

[46] K. D. M. Snell, 'The Regional Novel: Themes for Interdisciplinary Research', in K. D. M. Snell, *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 18.

[47] Annie S. Swan, *My Life: An Autobiography* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1934), 112.

[48] Cf. G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (1967; London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1969), 100-1.

Out and About

TEXTILE & MEMORY at Dick Institute, Kilmarnock

Over the past year Dean Castle Textile Team and East Ayrshire Leisure's curatorial staff have worked closely with two textile lecturers from Middlesex University - Kathleen Mullaniff (artist) and Emma Dick (author). Alongside Pauline Mullaniff, textile artist, they have collaborated to create an exhibition of work that team members made at important or special periods in life – stitched in memory. Textile and Memory includes items and artworks in a variety of techniques, including minute crochet, art pieces, embroidery, weaving, dressmaking and gold work. The Loom Room includes displays of paintings by Andrew Law, Sir John Everett Millais, and Robert Gemmell Hutchison.

Archaeology Scotland Summer School

Based at Cally Palace Hotel in Gatehouse of Fleet 15th-18th May 2020

The Study area will be Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the programme has 2 field visits and 2 evening lectures. Registration fees are members £122 and non members £152 (this does not include the accommodation costs).

Further details are available from the summer school director Geoff Waters 0131 449 4610 or gwkildelehte@btinternet.com or from Archaeology Scotland 0300 012 9878 info@archaeologyscotland.org.uk

31st Annual Scottish Association of Family History Societies Conference 2020

Title: It's a Sair Fecht!

(Hosts: ASGRA; Borders FHS; Lothians FHS; SGS)

on Saturday 18 April 2020

at The Brunton Theatre, Ladywell Way, Musselburgh, EH21 6AA 9 am – 4.30 pm

Conference: £35 per Delegate: 4 Speakers (must be pre-booked); Morning Coffee; Lunch; Afternoon Tea; Free entry to Family History Fair.

Family History Fair: £2 entry at door: Around 50 stands, with all your favourite local and family history societies and charities; Ask the Experts.

Booking Forms: Available via the SAFHS Website: www.safhs.org.uk

Enquiries: to SAFHS 2020 Co-ordinator: Janet Bishop

www.safhsconf2020.simplesite.com

The Scottish Local History Forum have a walk and talk arranged for Saturday 27th June exploring the historic burgh of Linlithgow. Meet at 10.30am at Linlithgow Burgh Halls. The cost is £12 for members of SLHF and £17 for non members and includes morning coffee. Please telephone 0131 669 8252 for further details.

The 700th Anniversary of the Declaration of Arbroath 1320 has many commemorative events. https://arbroath2020.com/

See the National Records of Scotland

https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/news/2020/declaration-of-arbroath-anniversary-events

https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/events/

And don't forgot to view the document on display for the first time in 15 years, at the National Museums of Scotland, 27 March-26 April.

Display: https://www.nms.ac.uk/exhibitions-events/exhibitions/national-museum-of-scotland/declaration-of-arbroath/

Events: https://www.nms.ac.uk/exhibitions-events/?theme=36132

Panel discussion 27 March 18.30-20.00. £7:

https://www.nms.ac.uk/exhibitions-events/events/national-museum-of-scotland/declaration-of-arbroath-panel-discussion/ • A History Scotland lecture is on 28 April in Dundee University, 18.00-20.00. Dr Fiona Watson will give a talk, For glory, riches and honours: the rocky road to the Declaration of Arbroath

Book at https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/history-scotland-lectures-the-rocky-road-to-the-declaration-of-arbroath-tickets-81726130055

New Publications

A History of the Irvine Valley, by Robert McBride.

(Newmilns: Loudoun Valley Trust, 2019), 151 pp. £15.00 (+ £4.00 p&p to UK addresses). Available from The Loudoun Valley Trust, 53 Main Street, Newmilns, KA16 9DA.

https://twnews.co.uk/gb-news/new-irvine-valley-book-

spans-300-million-years-of-ayrshire-history

An encyclopaedic study in A4 format of Galston, Darvel and Newmilns in Ayrshire covering huge range of topics and is illustrated with black and white and colour photographs; aerial photographs of the towns and containing a select bibliography. The author lives locally and spent his working life in the printing and publishing industry.

Article by Alistair Henry in Scottish Archaeological Journal – The Excavation of Gourock Burn Homestead, West Kilbride, North Ayrshire.

Information Required

A curling history book is in preparation in Canada, focusing on Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Scarborough, Canada. The authors hope that readers of Ayrshire Notes might be able to help find the curling stone factory account book of Andrew Cowan (1825-1902). Cowan was a curling stone manufacturer in Barbieston in Coylton Parish, Ayrshire. His business ledger runs from 1865 to 1889. The ledger surfaced a few years ago for a short time but was apparently not deposited with a Scottish archives. It is mentioned at https://curlinghistory.blogspot.com/2009/01/prince-of-waless-stones.html and at https://curlinghistory.blogspot.com/2013/09/crawfordjohns.html. The Andrew Cowan curling stone factory ledger might be the earliest known of its kind.

Please contact D.B. McCowan by email at bmccowan@netrover.com

AANHS Publications

Publications of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (AANHS) are available from Mr Denis Rattenbury, 4 Ewenfield park, Ayr KA7 2QG 01292 280593 email: info@aanhs.org

Further information about the AANHS and its publications will be found on the society's website:

www.aanhs.org.uk

Armstrong's Map of Ayrshire 1775 (reprint 6 sheets) £12.00

Antiquities of Ayrshire by Grose (edited by Strawhorn revised 2010) £4.00

11 Robert Adam in Ayrshire (Sanderson) revised 2010 £4.00

13 Toll and Tacksmen (McClure) £1.50

20 Historic Ayr: A Guide for Visitors 2nd edition £2.50

30 The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr 1640-1730 (Barclay & Graham) 104 pages £4.50

33 Dr John Taylor, Chartist: Ayrshire Revolutionary (Fraser) 112 pages £4.00

35 The Masters of Ballantrae (Hunter) 30 pages £4.00

37 Historic Troon and Its Surroundings 40 pages £3.00

38 Excavations in Ayr 1984-1987 (Perry) 140 pages £9.99

39 The Church Buildings of Ayrshire (Hume) 94 pages £7.50

41 Mining and Quarrying in Stevenston (McLatchie) 210 pages £9.50

42 The Battle of Largs (Cowan) 95 pages £8.00

43-45 Ayrshire Collections – 128 pages £7.50

1. Ayr Jails by Jane Jamieson
2. Kilwinning Revisited by Margaret H B Sanderson
3. A Bonnie Lass by Petra Baillie