combination of unfortunate circumstances, over which I possessed no control, has prevented me from reaping any benefit from a discovery, which, in the hands of a more pushing, or more lucky individual, might have raised him to opulence and distinction.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Sir,

The Right Honourable

Your most Obedient, and

Very humble Servant,

President of the Board of Trade,

London.

JAMES TAYLOR.

Ayshire Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century

J. T. Ward, M.A., Ph.D.

Since the publication of the first of Professor David Spring’s pioneering studies in 1951 1 a new dimension has been added to the examination of the 19th-century Landed Interest. Uncritical hagiographies of titled families and equally prejudiced ‘radical’ assaults on landowners as a class may at last be replaced by accounts recognising normal historical criteria. And the new approach to the landed estates and their proprietors, aided by the increasing availability of estate and family papers, has importance for many fields of historical study. For instance, the long-presumed dichotomy between Land and Industry, as constantly announced by the Anti-Corn Law League, can no longer be treated seriously. Furthermore, analyses of landed families’ positions on such a major political issue as the repeal of the Corn Laws reveal greater variations than were often suspected and certainly make elementary economic or ‘class’ explanations untenable. 2 The landed classes were, indeed, much more complicated, much more active and much more involved in every contemporary activity than has been commonly supposed by sycophant and enemy alike.

The extension of the new examination must involve the investigation of both the economy of particular estates and the families and properties of wider areas. Apart from one inevitably general though importantly seminal article, 3 Scottish landowners of the 19th century have received little attention from the new school of researchers. The present paper on the landed estates and landowning families of Ayshire is offered as a contribution to a debate which has hitherto relied primarily on English evidence. It is, of course, only a preliminary survey of a large subject.

I.

Nineteenth-century Ayshire was not a particularly ‘aristocratic’ county by Scottish standards. Its number of landowners—9376—


was surpassed only by Edinburgh and Fife. Its acreage (721,947) was exceeded by Aberdeen, Argyll, Inverness, Perth, Ross and Sutherland, and its gross estimated rental (in 1873) of £1,121,253 was inferior only to the values of Edinburgh, Forfar and Lanark. But the 'New Domesday' Return officially reported that 286,332 acres rented at £307,569 were owned by sixteen proprietors. Nine families each owning between ten and twenty thousand acres shared 134,543 acres and £89,326 a year. Six families in the 20-50,000 acre range drew £182,404 from 175,774 acres. And the Marquess of Ailsa owned more than a tenth of the county, receiving £35,839 from 76,015 acres. Over a third of Ayrshire was thus owned by sixteen individuals; and most of the rest of the county belonged to lesser lairds.  

The landed families, socially (and, in general, economically) secure and 'established', almost inevitably dominated the social and organisational life of Ayrshire. The great houses were the cultural centres of the county, and in winter the gentry and their families—'from the county, from India and from public service'—made Ayr a gay place. 'There was a party every day at one or other of the houses of the Kennedys, Boswells, Crawfords or Dalrymples; lots of colonels and worthy old ladies; and to get up a ball nothing was wanted but for someone to suggest it,' recorded Lord Cockburn.  

Local government was managed by the landowning hierarchy, headed by aristocratic Lords Lieutenant. The Parliamentary representation of the county and Ayr Burghs was largely dominated by the lairds. The Yemanary Cavalry and the West Lowland Fencibles, both raised in 1793 by the future Earls of Cassillis and Eglinton respectively, were commanded—as were their successors among voluntary military units—by members of the great families. The Church of Scotland received patronage, finance, leadership and several ministers from the same families, while the 3rd Marquess of Bute and the 6th Earl of Glasgow devoted much time and money on the Roman Catholic and Scottish Episcopal communities respectively. Every aspect of county life—the repair of parish churches, the provision of local schools, the organisation of Ayr races and various local sports (especially the Eglinton Hunt), membership of the judiciary, charitable works of all kinds, patronage of local writers, the commemoration of Burns (whose attacks on increased rents did not end some lairds' good-will), the encouragement of local inventors and innovators—was largely dominated by the landed gentry.  

Active and often expensive 'social' roles of this sort were made possible by the increasing incomes of many families. Ayrshire played an important part in the Scottish agricultural revolution, and the gentry were far from being inactive recipients of rents. Indeed, the county provided some celebrated names in the roll of agricultural improvers, men who were concerned with every type of rural change, providing the capital and dynamic for major schemes of reclamation, afforestation, crop improvements, more selective breeding of animals, a developing dairy and cheese industry, the reorganisation of tenancies and provision of better farm buildings and labourers' cottages. At least some of the greater proprietors engaged themselves in a variety of such activities. The Statistical Accounts, despite some early authors' tendency to belaud any activity of local lairds, provide considerable documentary detail of parochial changes.  

Landowners' participation in the economic development of Ayrshire did not end with the purely agricultural interests which attracted the immediate attention of any energetic laird. 'This county possesses a rich store of mineral treasures, besides inexhaustible beds of coal', reported a gazetteer in 1825: it abounds with free-stone, lime, iron, lead and copper; antimony and molybdaena have also been discovered; and in the hills of Carrick are agates, porphyries and other valuable fossils. This advantage of an easy and cheap supply of coal and limestone has significantly contributed to promote the rural and manufacturing interests. Many lairds had long been aware of the vast potentialities of mineral development. Valuable blackband ironstone was conveniently close to rich seams of coal, and the ancient coal-workings of the county faced huge expansion as the iron industry grew from the late 18th century. Such industrial expansion brought about a social revolution in the county and a massive increase in some landowners' incomes. But the 'take-off' was only possible with the enthusiastic co-operation of the landed families; indeed, it was often inaugurated by landowning entrepreneurs, who developed

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5 The 'Return' is analysed in P.P. 1876, LXXX, Return to Address of House of Commons, 4 May 1876, vol. 22 et passim. See also 'Return', 28-9.
6 Quoted in J. E. Shaw, Ayrshire, 1856-1955, A Social and Industrial History of the County (Edinburgh, 1953).
8 See J. S. Strachan, Ayrshire at the Time of Burns (Ayr, 1939) 111; Shaw op. cit., 159, 162.
9 W. McCarter, Ayrshire (1832 edn.), 182-3, 204.
10 Robert Burns, Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect (Kilmarnock, 1786).
11 See J. A. Symon, Scottish Farming, Past and Present (Edinburgh, 1959) 147, 174 et passim.
13 See William Fullarton, General View of the Agriculture of the Country of Ayr (Edinburgh, 1793), William Ation, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr (Glasgow, 1822) 30-3.
15 Pigot & Co's New Commercial Directory of Scotland for 1825-6 (London and Manchester, 1829) 216.
and managed their own industrial enterprises until the scale of operations grew beyond their financial means and they let going concerns to mineral partnerships. Typical of lairs' attitudes was Admiral Keith Stewart's belief that it was (1787)\textsuperscript{17} very much for my Advantage as a Land Proprietor that as many different Veins of Coal and Mines should be opened as possible both as to Establishing the Character of the Country as also Tending towards making Roads and bringing Inhabitants, but above all as a substantial encouragement to Iron Masters. And the infrastructure of the new industry was largely provided by the same families. It was the landowners who first concerned themselves with the improvement of the county's transport facilities—particularly roads and short canals. They built new harbours to deal with the coal trade to Ireland. And they played a prominent part in the development of Ayrshire's railways.

As a class, Ayrshire's owners were energetic in many fields. They included major agriculturalists like the 3rd Earl of Marchmont at Cessnock, who introduced Durham cattle to the county from 1750, the Earls of Eglinton, Glasgow, and Loudoun, and such lairs as the Dunlops, Boswells, Fergussons, and Kennedys. They were the county's administrators, politicians, patrons, and industrial pioneers. They were never reluctant to participate in trading ventures—and many of them had bought their estates with mercantile profits. Their participation in such schemes was not invariably successful. In particular, the collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772 was a disaster to many lairs.\textsuperscript{18} But this active, venturesome group included a wide variety of men, distinguished and unknown, rash and careful, popular and disliked. Such a range of individuals and their one common link—their land—deserve investigation.

II.

At the social peak of the hierarchic pyramid of 19th-century Ayrshire landownership was the county's sole ducal proprietor, Portland. The fifth largest owner in the county but the recipient of the largest local income, the Duke was the greatest national magnate to possess an Ayrshire estate. The Cavendish-Bentincks, since 1716 Dukes of Portland, were one of the great Revolution dynasties. By the 1870s 81,605 acres in Caithness, 35,209 in Nottinghamshire, 25,369 in Ayrshire, 10,822 in Northumberland, 7740 in Derbyshire, 894 in Lincolnshire, 591 in Norfolk, and 5 in Buckinghamshire produced an income of £124,925. And ducal seats at Bolsover Castle, Welbeck Abbey, Bilsthede Park, Cessnock Castle and Bothell Castle were further buttressed by £16,199 from Ayrshire mineral lordships, ever-growing London ground-rents in Marylebone and Soho (amounting to about £50,000 a year in 1844) and £10,708 from Troon harbour.\textsuperscript{19} Despite the Dukes' extensive interests and involvements, the Ayrshire property in Cessnock, Duncondarl, Galston, Irvine, Kilmarnock, Mauchline, Monkton-Muirkirk, Ochiltree, Prestwick, Riccarton, Sorn, Tarbolton and Troon was far from being neglected by absentee English landowners.

Kilmarnock and much of its neighbourhood had belonged to the Earls of Kilmarnock until the execution of the Jacobite 4th Lord in 1746. Soon after the restoration of the property to Kilmarnock's 'Hanoverian' son, Lord Boyd (later 13th Earl of Errol) in 1751 it was sold to the 12th Earl of Glencairn. In 1744 Glencairn had married (as it transpired, unhappily) Elizabeth McGuire, whose humble origins were amply compensated for by her inheritance of the Indian fortune of that remarkable Ayrshire man, Governor James Macrae. Now McGuire money was used to purchase and expand the Kilmarnock estate. The 13th Earl was a partner in a local woolen factory in 1749 and sixteen years later built the Kilmarnock-Riccarton road. In 1786, however, the 14th Earl sold the property to Henrietta Scott, the eldest daughter and co-heir of General John Scott of Balclose. The proud Glencairns died out with the 15th Earl, an Anglican priest, in 1796. And in 1795 Miss Scott married the Marquess of Titchfield, who in 1809 became 4th Duke of Portland (1768-1854).\textsuperscript{20}

Miss Scott's trustees had bought Cessnock in 1782, the Dean estate in 1786, part of the Busby estate in 1787 and Hainingcross and the Hamiltons' lands in Kilmarnock. In 1803 the 3rd Duke added the Fullarton estate of the celebrated Colonel William Fullarton (1754-1808), diplomat, politician, adventurer, agriculturist, soldier and author of the classic description of Ayrshire agriculture in 1793.\textsuperscript{21} The Duke and his son were energetic developers. They built roads and lime kilns in Muirkirk, were generous benefactors to the local poor and notably improved forestry and agriculture. The 4th Duke, wrote James Paterson in 1852,
is universally esteemed by his Scottish tenantry as a liberal and considerate landlord, while his name will go down to posterity as one of the greatest agricultural improvers of his time.

The old Duke (as good a landlord as ever Ayrshire had—would that his successor would come down occasionally like his father and see for himself) had some thousands of acres drained...on the regular parallel system with tiles', Sturrock recorded in 1886.

'From 1826 up to 1846 his Grace had tile drained nearly 12,000 acres on his Ayrshire estates'.

The Portlands' contribution to Ayrshire's development did not end with old-style paternalism and agricultural improvement. Their most celebrated venture was 'industrial'. Fullarton's estate included about 3000 acres of coal-land and the coastal village of ordinary caverns under Welbeck and rarely visited his estates.

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...the Rev. Alexander Willison amended the picture, asserting that his successor would come down occasionally like his father and see for himself...had some thousands of acres drained...on the regular parallel system with tiles', Sturrock recorded in 1886.

'Troon Point to Kilmarnock'. Of the eighty £500 shares in Scotland's pioneer railway, Lord Titchfield held 67, his daughter Lady Harriet 10 and Lord Eglinton, Lord Montgomery and Colonel Boyle of Shewalton one each. This famous venture—'a rail-way of a magnitude unequalled in Scotland'—raised high hopes. 'Of...

...William Aiton, '...it is impossible for me to say too much. Kilmarnock may be considered, in Ayrshire, as Manchester is in the county of Lancaster'. Thirty years later, in 1841, the Rev. Alexander Willison amended the picture, asserting that the principle is bad and (the track) is standing in need of constant repair; yet from the quantity of coal conveyed it still continues, we believe, a very profitable speculation.

Troon harbour cost £100,000 and 'for depth of water and readiness of entrance was one of the best in the neighbourhood', though 'rather defective of security' from gales. Two dry docks were being constructed. In the 1870s the 5th Duke provided steam cranes to improve the facilities of the ducal port, with its private lighthouse and (leased) shipyard. His income now totalled some £300,000, but his interest in Ayrshire declined. An eccentric recluse, the Duke hid himself in his extraordinary caverns under Welbeck and rarely visited his estates.

Portland's railway, which apparently employed a Stephenson locomotive as early as 1816 and was fully converted for steam traction in 1837, was largely used by the Glasgow, Paisley & Kilmarnock Railway from 1839, was leased to the Glasgow & South Western in 1847 and was finally sold in 1902; Troon harbour was bought by the G. & S. W. R. in 1901. By this time the Ayrshire estates had been divided. On the 5th Duke's death in 1879 Kilmarnock and much other land passed to his sisters, Charlotte (Lady Ossington) and Lucy (later 6th Lady Howard de Walden), while the title and the bulk of the property fell to his cousin William.

If ducal entrepreneurial concern waned, its initial impetus was undoubtedly important. Millions of tons of ducal coal were transported on ducal tracks (with a branch to Sir William Cuninghame's Robertland collieries) to the ducal port. Under the 4th Duke, Troon made 'rapid strides to become...of some consequence...', asserted one observer, in 1825:

...of some consequence', asserted one observer, in 1825:

His Grace has, within the last two or three years, built a fine wet dock with flood gates, a dry dock for the repair of vessels, large store houses, and a lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour; in short nothing has been omitted, which could be expected from the generous exertions of an opulent nobleman...

While making such a substantial contribution to Ayrshire's development, the family also provided such notable politicians as the radically-inclined Governor-General of India General Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck (1774-1839), Member for Glasgow from 1836, and the sporting Protectionist leader, Lord George (1802-1848), neither of whom achieved the stature of the 3rd Duke, Prime Minister in 1783 and 1807. Today the family is remembered in some local street names and, indirectly, through the operations of Lord Howard de Walden's Collective Securities Company Ltd.

By the criterion of county acreage, the Kennedys of Culzean were by far the leading family among 19th-century Ayrshire proprietors. They were keen politicians, and in September 1831, during the crucial Reform Bill debates, the Whig Government promoted the 12th (Scottish) Earl of Cassilis and 1st (United Kingdom) Lord Ailsa to the Marquessate of Ailsa. Descended from Duncan de Carrick, the Kennedys had owned Carrick and Dalrymple land from the 12th century; and King David II had confirmed their possession of 'Castlys'. They did the state some service: Sir Gilbert (created Lord Kennedy in 1452) was a Regent in 1460; the 3rd Lord (created Earl of Cassilis in 1502) fell amidst the aristocratic carnage of Flodden; the 3rd and 5th Earls were both Treasurers of Scotland. After the death of the 8th Earl in 1759 the House of Lords resolved (in 1762) that the titles should pass to


23 Aiton, op.cit. 556-61; N.S.A., 683-4; Gillespie, op.cit., II, 560-3; The Glasgow and South Western Railway (Stephenson Locomotive Society, 1950) 4; Kirkwood, op.cit. 24-6, 52; T.S.A., 118, 35; Gillespie, op.cit., 1, 141; Archibald McKay, History of Kilmarnock (Kilmarnock, 1880 edn.) 354; Pigot, op.cit., 258; Burke's Peerage (1963) 1972.
a cadet branch, represented by Sir Thomas (d. 1775), 4th baronet of Culzean and one of the twenty children of Sir John Kennedy. A younger brother, David (d. 1792), was succeeded by a member of another branch of the family, Captain Archibald Kennedy, 1st Captain of Craighog and Kilhenzie, briefly 11th Earl. The Captain's son Archibald, K.T., F.R.S. (1770-1846), who succeeded in 1794, was a friend of King William IV and became a Marquess.

The Ailsa estate extended over Barr, Coylton, Dailly, Dalrymple, Girvan, Kirkmichael, Kirkoswald, Maybole and Straiton,24 and its owners were periodically involved in agricultural improvement. The 9th Lord Cassilis was a notable developer of forestry and rotations in Kirkoswald. His successor continued this work and rebuilt Culzean Castle to Robert Adam's designs in 1777. And Ailsa joined Sir James Ferguson in presenting plate for the Carrick farmers' competitions. The family also played some part in Ayrshire politics. The 10th Earl had sat for the county in 1768-1774 and was a Representative Peer in 1776-1792; and the 1st Marquess, an energetic volunteer officer during the Napoleonic Wars, was a Representative Peer in 1796-1806. Ailsa's grandson, Archibald, 2nd Marquess (1816-1870), K.T., 'a man of great force and independence of character', devoted himself to the Lord Lieutenant and his vast estates. The land paid his son, Archibald, 3rd Marquess (1847-1938) less than 10s. an acre in 1873, and early mineral ventures now produced only £1.4. But Lord Ailsa followed his father's example. An R.N.V.R. and a Volunteer in the Coldstream Guards and the Life Guards, he served as Lord Lieutenant and actively managed his property until the formation of the Cassilis and Culzean Estates Company in 1932. He was succeeded in turn by his sons, Archibald (1872-1943), Charles (1875-1956) and Angus (1882-1957), and the famous castle passed to the National Trust for Scotland in 1945. 25

The second largest landowners in 19th-century Ayrshire were the Marquesses of Bute, with 43,734 acres and an income of £22,756 (plus £2,506 from minerals) in 1873. Over the centuries the Crichton-Stuarts had collected titles—Lord Crichton (1485), Viscount Ayr (1622), a baronetcy (1627), Earl of Dumfries (1633), Earl of Bute, Viscount Kincairn and Lord Muntstuart, Cumra and Inchnamnord (1703), Lord Muntstuart of Worlhey (1761), Lord Cardiff (1776) and Marquess of Bute, Earl of Windsor and Viscount Mountjoy (1796)—and vast estates. In 1879, 29,279 acres on Bute paid £19,574, 21,402 in Glamorgan (including valuable leasehold estate in Cardiff) £100,000, 20,157 in Wigtownshire £2,936, and nearly 2,100 in Durham, Bedford, Brecon and Monmouth £5,869. Coal from Cumnock, Dunmore and the Rhondda, 26

profits from the great Cardiff docks (on which the family spent some £5,500,000) and rents from farms of very varied types contributed to the treasury of a huge empire.

One part of this remarkable dynasty descended from John Steuart, natural son of King Robert II and hereditary Sheriff of Buteshire in the late 14th century. In 1627 his great-great-great-grandson, Sir James Stuart of Ardmoileish, was created a baronet. The 3rd baronet, Sir James (d. 1710), a member of Queen Anne's Privy Council, was ennobled in 1703, though he opposed the Union (which his uncle, the lawyer Sir Robert, warmly supported). His grandson, James, 3rd Earl (1713-1792), K.G., was King George III's prime minister. By his marriage to Mary Wortley-Montagu (created Baronesse Mountstuart in 1761) he became a prominent Durham coal-owner. His second son, James (father of James, 1st Lord Wharncliffe), inherited most of this mineral estate; the fourth son, General Sir Charles, was father of the 1st Lord Stuart de Rothesay; and the fifth son, William, became Archbishop of Armagh. John, 4th Earl (1744-1814), continued family tradition. He inherited his mother's barony in 1794, was created Lord Cardiff in 1776, succeeded his father in 1792 and obtained the Marquessate in 1796; and he married the daughters of the last Viscount Windsor and the banker Thomas Coutts. He had eleven children, but was succeeded by his 21-year-old grandson, John.

The Crichtons of Sanquhar were an equally old line, first achieving prominence through the soldier Sir Robert, created Lord Crichton in 1485. They had a chequered history: the 3rd Lord was murdered in 1552, the 6th was hanged for murder in 1612, the 7th (a friend of King James V) was made Earl of Dumfries in 1633 and the 2nd Earl served on King Charles II's council. In 1698, by the marriage of Penelope, 4th Countess, to a son of the 1st Earl of Stair, the growing Ayrshire estate passed to the Stairs. The 5th Earl, who succeeded in 1742, was also 4th Earl of Stair. A soldier, mineral entrepreneur, agricultural improver and man of business, he employed the Adam brothers to build Dumfries House on his Cumnock property in 1754-1760. On his death in 1768 the Stair title and estates passed to his cousin, John Dalrymple, and the Dumfries honours to his nephew, Patrick MacDowall of Freugh (d. 1803), a major agriculturalist and a Representative Peer in 1790-1803. The 6th Earl's only child, Elizabeth, married John, Lord Muntstuart (1767-1794) and died in 1797, leaving two sons, John and Patrick. Totally orphaned at the age of 4, John became Earl of Dumfries at 9 and Marquess of Bute at 21.27
In Ayrshire the Marquess owned land in Auchinleck, Old and New Cumnock, Ochiltree and Sorn, while Lord James Stuart had property in Monkton and Prestwick. The most valuable area was undoubtedly Cumnock, where the Crichtons had bought land since the 16th century. John Wilson of Coatbridge bought the Muirkirk concern in 1843 and established Lugar Ironworks in 1846; and the arrival of the G. & S. W. R. in 1850 guaranteed a local revolution. But a recent tradition was perpetuated when this benevolent Conservative nobleman, with his Welsh estates being largely administered by his father's trustees, paid for the education of twenty poor children and distributed a large quantity of meal to poor persons in the parish in regular allowances, once a fortnight. But a recent tradition was perpetuated when this benevolent Conservative nobleman, with his Welsh estates being largely administered by his father's trustees, paid for the education of twenty poor children and distributed a large quantity of meal to poor persons in the parish in regular allowances, once a fortnight.

The development of Cumnock's mineral wealth advanced rapidly, as Wilson sold out (in 1856) to the Bairds' Eglinton Iron Company. Glasgow-financed ironworks greedily sought out the coal and ironstone seams, and sleepy Cumnock became a boom town, providing a boom income for its young owner. The Marquess passed through Harrow and Christ Church, duly registered himself at the Carlton, White's, the Traveller's and St. Stephen's clubs and was made a Knight of the Thistle in 1875. He devoted much time to Scottish affairs, the Welsh estates being largely administered by his father's trustees (who protested against the exaggerated £180,286 income mentioned in the Parliamentary Return). An antiquarian, archaeologist and Roman Catholic convert, Bute lavished much of the fortune created by his ancestors on the churches and schools of his denomination. His interests were inherited by his son, John, 4th Marquess (1881-1947), whose Mountjoy Company sold many Ayrshire farms in 1922 and much of Cardiff in 1938. The inheritance of already-declining mining areas now involved negotiations with often aggressive local authorities.

The Butes were progressive landowners, notable planters and successful dignitaries: the 3rd Marquess was Mayor of Cardiff in 1890. They restored ancient buildings, aided ancient researches and rejoiced in ancient titles; but also they used modern methods to increase their fortune. Between 1912 and 1918 their coal royalties averaged £109,277 a year, with £6,495 from wayleaves, on their 49,000 proved mineral acres. Leases were carefully negotiated. The 2nd Marquess, for instance, who strongly disliked joint-stock ventures, exploited to the full his coal monopoly in relations with Welsh ironmasters. His Cardiff lawyer, however, thought such a large fortune, coupled as it was with the hundred agents, lawyers and all the hangers-on usually attendant upon it, a great evil and ridiculously expensive to maintain.

Such considerations would not have worried many Ayrshire families, struggling to maintain great social station against gathering financial or dynastic difficulties. In 1874 Lady Loudoun appeared safely situated with an income of £15,286 from 18,638 Ayrshire acres, to which (in 1879) 10,174 acres in Leicestershire, 2,750 in Derbyshire and 1,348 in West Yorkshire added £17,722, £5,217 and £1,757 respectively and Ayrshire minerals £2,259. For five centuries the Ayrshire property had belonged to the Campbells of Loudoun. Sir Hugh, Sheriff of Ayr, was created Lord Campbell in 1601, and his grandson-in-law, Sir John, became Earl of Loudoun and Lord Tarrinzean and Mauchline in 1633. The 3rd Earl was a Commissioner for the Union, but perhaps the most distinguished member of the family was John, 4th Earl (1705-1782), Commander-in-Chief in America in 1756, Representative Peer in 1734-1782. His father's trustees (who protested against the exaggerated £180,286 income mentioned in the Parliamentary Return). An antiquarian, archaeologist and Roman Catholic convert, Bute lavished much of the fortune created by his ancestors on the churches and schools of his denomination. His interests were inherited by his son, John, 4th Marquess (1881-1947), whose Mountjoy Company sold many Ayrshire farms in 1922 and much of Cardiff in 1938. The inheritance of already-declining mining areas now involved negotiations with often aggressive local authorities.

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a celebrated agriculturalist. By enclosing, draining, planting, rotating crops and building he fairly 'deserved the name of the father of agriculture in (his) part of the shire' bestowed by Dr. George Lawrie. 'He had both a great taste and great quickness of parts'. His bridge over the Irvine, pioneering road to Newmilns and communities at Darvel, Alton and Loudounkirk provided the infrastructure for agrarian change; and he also developed lime quarries and coal workings. 33

The energetic 4th Earl was succeeded by his cousin, Major-General James Mure-Campbell of Rowallan (1727-1876), M.P. for the county 1749-1761, with whom the family's misfortunes began. His wife died at the birth of his daughter Flora (1780-1840), and despite the inheritance of the Mure property from his grandmother (Lady Glasgow), the 5th Earl's income proved insufficient. In 1786 he 'shot himself out of sheer heart-break at some mortifications he suffered, owing to the deranged state of his finances'. The infant Countess was cared for by Lord Dumfries, who, with her other tutors, protected her Loudoun and Kilmarnock property—for instance, by erecting 'a fire-engine which cost nearly £1,000' to drain her pits. In 1804 she married the 2nd Earl of Moira (1754-1836), K.G., a distinguished soldier and politician who inherited his mother's string of medieval English titles and was made Lord Rawdon in 1783 and Marquess of Hastings in 1816. Hastings was a notable figure, as Governor of Malta, Constable of the Tower of London and Governor-General of India, and his family maintained seats at Donnington in Leicestershire, Rawdon in Yorkshire and Moira in County Down, along with Loudoun Castle (expensively renovated in 1811). 34 But ill-fortune dogged the dynasty. Hastings' eldest daughter, Lady Flora (1806-1839), Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Kent, was the victim of a scandalous story at court and in High Society when, in 1839, an enlarged list led to her being 'accused of being with child'. Whig Ministers and vacillating doctors never exonerated an innocent Tory woman. Flora's brother, the 2nd Marquess (1808-1844) vehemently protested to the young Queen Victoria, who was mortified by her early unfairness and current unpopularity over what the diarist Charles Greville regarded as being 'to the last degree disgusting and disgraceful'. 35

The 2nd Marquess's son, Paulyn (1832-1851), succeeded and was followed by his brother Henry (1842-1868), 'the wicked Marquess'. The 4th and last Hastings, degenerate and dishonourable, inherited and increased the family's money troubles. Reckless gambling throughout his life ended with the loss of £120,000 to Henry Chaplin, his long-suffering and unsuccessful rival for the favours of Lady Florence Paget. In 1867 he sold his estates in Kilmarnock, Fenwick (with coal and iron) and Loudoun to Lord Bute for £300,000. The apparent Armageddon paid off the creditors, but the disaster was not complete. While the Marquessate ended, the Loudoun title passed to Hastings' sister, Lady Edith (d. 1874), 10th Countess, who bought back the Ayrshire property in 1869. Lady Loudoun passed the reduced property to her husband, Abney Hastings (Lord Donington), and her eldest son, the 11th Earl (1855-1920) inherited it, along with Rowallan Castle, other lands and an impressive list of titles. Loudoun Castle and the Manor House at Ashby-de-la-Zouch were retained into the 20th century, the former being largely destroyed by fire in 1941, twenty years after the sale of most of the estate. 36

Nineteenth-century family policy and experience varied. The Hastings family maintained schools at Darvel and Alton and in 1875 established Lady Flora's Institute at Newmilns. But the family undoubtedly suffered from its two great scandals and from local arguments: the 1st Marquess prevented William Cobbett from speaking in Newmilns church and started a bitter 62-year fight over Lime Road's right of way, which ended with the local people's victory in the Court of Session in 1893. 37 Certainly the Loudouns helped Ayrshire's early development and were often generous and progressive landowners; but a variety of circumstances led to a substantial loss of property, influence, popularity and respect.

One family which retained local esteem despite metropolitan satire was the Montgomeries line. In 1879 the 14th Earl of Eglinton and Winton (1841-1892) owned 23,585 acres in Ayrshire, 5,866 in Lanarkshire and 671 in Bute, rented at £32,505, £4,097 and £184 respectively; Ayrshire collieries added £9,520 and the 46-acre Ardrossan harbour £4,525. 38 This proud inheritance, created by centuries of Montgomerie endeavour, was, however, less impressive when balanced with huge debt burdens contracted by family recklessness. A Norman line, the Montgomeries had settled in Scotland in the early 12th century and obtained Eglinton by marriage in the 13th century. They had constantly expanded their property and status: Sir Alexander was created Lord Montgomerie in 1449; Hugh, 3rd Lord, became Earl of Eglinton in 1508; the 12th Earl was made (United Kingdom) Lord Ardrossan in 1806; and the 13th Earl

37 N.S.A., 852, T.S.A., 510; Strawhorn, op.cit.
38 'Return', 20; Baikie, op.cit., 144.
Thomas Pollock maintained that...and Manufactures in the Shire of Ayr'; and in 1794 the Reverend
children. But be also started to raise new loans to improve his
(I 723-1769) and Archibald (1726-1796), 10th and 11th Earls, varied
estates, leaving a debt of £18,000 on his death. His sons Alexander
remained. But only in the most desperate circumstances was land
sold: more often acres were added—for instance, the Hamilton
estate of Bourtreehill in Irvine, acquired by marriage, and Dundonald
Castle, bought by the 9th Earl from the 6th Earl of Dundonald in 1726.

'Grey Steel's' great-grandson, Alexander, 9th Earl (1658-1729),
thrice-married father of seventeen children, received the estates
as an 18th birthday present from his father, Alexander, 8th Earl
(1640-1701). He initially worked hard to pay off inherited debts,
and only after reaching solvency did he enter public life. He became
a Representative Peer, a Privy Councillor to King William III and
a supporter of Queen Mary, obtained old monastic land in Dalry.
The 4th Earl was murdered by the Cunninghames, but his son bought
the hallidome of Kilwinning, securing his rights by charter in 1603.
A cousin, Alexander Seton, son of the 1st Lord Winton, succeeded
as 6th Earl in 1612. The 'Grey Steel' of the Cromptonian army,
he later supported King Charles II and was succeeded in 1661 by
his Cavalier son, Hugh. Considerable debts were contracted by the
Setons to pay off claims on the estates, and the burden long
remained. But only in the most desperate circumstances was land
sold: more often acres were added—for instance, the Hamilton
estate of Bourtreehill in Irvine, acquired by marriage, and Dundonald
Castle, bought by the 9th Earl from the 6th Earl of Dundonald in 1726.

Alexander, who unsuccessfully tried to resign his peerage, was a
Representative Peer and prominent agriculturalist. He founded
and presided over the 'Society for the Improving of Agriculture
and Manufactures in the Shire of Ayr'; and in 1794 the Reverend
Thomas Pollock maintained that
All the valuable improvements in gardening, planting and agri-
culture which within these fifty years have been made in (Kil-

39 Burke's Peerage (1845) 356-8, (1963) 829-33; Douglas, op.cit., 92, 77, 96, 87, 83; P. Charles
Carraher, Saltcoats: Old and New (Saltcoats, 1909) 126-7; W. Douglas Simpson,
'Dundonald Castle,' (Ayrshire Coll., 22, 1, 1947-9); Irving, op.cit., 103-8; Paterson,
op.cit., 11, 226-44; Gilespie, op.cit., 1, 116; Rennie, op.cit., 270-1.

40 Ian Ainsworth, The Knight and the Umbrella (1963) ch. 2, Strathaven, Ayrshire 201.
314, 264.

41 Douglas, op.cit., 92; Irving, op.cit., 72-6; S.S.A., XI, 174-5; Robertson, op.cit., 1, 313;
Fullarton, op.cit., 14-16; Anton, op.cit., 77.
The 12th Earl, K. T., was a man of energy. A retired officer with a taste for engineering developed as Inspector of military highways, he had been M.P. for the county in 1784-1789 and 1796. To his little properties at Coylfield and Skelmorlie he added old Montgomerie land at Giffen, his brother's Greenville estate, his cousin's great acreage and—by arranging the marriage of his son, General Lord Montgomerie (1773-1814) to Lady Mary—the unentailed lands. Now supported by the largest estate ever held by the Earls, he served as a Representative Peer from 1798 to 1806, then becoming a permanent member of the House of Lords, as Lord Ardrossan. And 'Soger Hugh' resolved to enjoy the power granted by fate. A huge Gothic castle replaced the old mansion at Eglinton; a major harbour was commenced at Ardrossan; and a canal link with Glasgow was planned. Storm damage and steamship competition soon ruined the early hopes of this brave venture, though local observers always hoped for a major break-through. The harbour's foundation stone was laid in 1806, and hotels, houses and baths were quickly built. 'Ardrossan . . . owes its origin to its harbour', wrote the Rev. John Bryce in 1837, ' . . . and when completed will do honour to the taste and judgement of the projector . . . '. He explained that the harbour is formed on a magnificent design . . . It was originally projected by Lord Eglinton, who was joined by several gentlemen of Ayrshire . . . taking shares in the expense of the undertaking. The expense, however, far exceeding the sum subscribed . . . devolved on his lordship to the amount of . . . £100,000. The work was carried on with great spirit by the Earl as long as he lived, but has been suspended since his death. Although the grandiose plans never materialised, Ardrossan and the district undoubtedly benefited from the Earl's heavy investment. 'The harbour', wrote William Robertson in 1908, 'remains to this day a monument to his enterprise and foresight, and a factor in the prosperity of the district . . . '. But the monument was costly, and the eccentric old nobleman left his 7-year-old grandson Archibald, 13th Earl (1812-1861), a large property, an uncompleted port and £269,000 of debt.44

The 13th Earl's mother married, secondly, Sir Charles Lamb, removing valuable sources of income from the Eglintons. While the young peer was brought up by relatives at Eglinton, his trustees (Sir David Hunter-Blair, General James Montgomerie, R. A. Oswald, A. W. Hamilton and George Russell, W. S.—honest and capable men, rewarded for their labours) struggled to meet his inherited debts. But an annual allowance of £5,000 did not restrain expensive tastes, and an Act of 1834 gave Eglinton his freedom, authorising his tutors to sell property to meet his grandfather's creditors. Coylsfield and the original family property of Eaglesham were disposed of, leaving Eglinton with £20,000 a year, which sum would be doubled on Lady Lamb's death. But, through his interest in the Turf, a high social life, the tragi-comedy of the celebrated medieval-style 'Eglinton Tournament' of August 1839, Tory political interests, two periods as Irish Viceroy and an ever-generous nature, the double Earl (he inherited the 5th Winton title in 1840) and K.T. contrived to pile up debt, which compelled regular sales and mortgaging.45 Yet the 13th Earl, so often lampooned for 'Gothick' enthusiasms, was not simply a rash rake. He performed many public services, as a whip in the Lords, Lord Lieutenant, Lord Rector of Glasgow University, member of the Jockey Club, chairman of the 1844 Burns Festival (the 11th Earl having patronised the Bard) and a generous landlord. And it was during his 'reign' that the Eglinton estate firmly allied itself with modern industry.

In 1833 the Fullartons' old Longford, Snodgrass and Bartonholm collieries were closed by floods. Nineteen years later Eglinton bought Bartonholm and Bogend land from Fullarton and Warner proprietors, drained the pits and leased the area to the Bairds. 'Medieval' interests had not killed the entrepreneurial spirit. Ardrossan harbour might be a disappointment and its canal links rendered obsolete. But the Earl presided over three Victorian railways—the Ardrossan, the Glasgow, Kilmarnock & Ardrossan and the Glasgow, Barrhead & Neilston, and was an early director of the Glasgow & Ayrshire. He vigorously exploited mineral opportunities. When the Bairds leased lands near Dalry for furnaces in 1844, he offered them the large coalfield under the Castle policies. James Baird, who nervously negotiated with the Earl, recorded that I think I have never met a man with more thorough business habits, or a more lordly manner. He impressed me very much as being one of nature's noblemen.

43 Douglas, op. cit., 90, 92; V.S.A., 201-3.
44 Robertson, op. cit., II, 117; Anstruther, op. cit., 29.
45 See Anstruther, op. cit., ch. 1-4; Douglas, op. cit., 90; William Lee Ker, Kilwinning (Kilwinning, 1900) ch. 8; Robertson, op. cit., II, 120-4; Martin, op. cit., ch. 2.
Local furnaces (named after Eglinton at his suggestion) went in blast in December 1846. The Eglinton Iron Company subsequently took over the Blair ironworks at Dalry in 1852, the Lugar concern and the long-failing Muirkirk venture in 1856 and the Portland ironworks in 1864.46

Despite leaving a reduced estate and extensive debts, Eglinton was a popular landlord. His son, Alexander, 14th Earl, was a tax owner, of whom William Robertson wrote:

We need not do more than say that his Lordship's inclinations did not lead him towards the discharge of his public duties. He was famous as a fox hunter ...

Alexander's brother George, 15th Earl (1848-1919), was Lord Lieutenant, M.F.H., Guards officer and owner (in 1910) of about 30,200 acres. The Eglinton Hunt, founded in 1861 by the 14th Earl, who controlled it for 27 years, was served for 26 years by the 15th Earl and for 2 years by the 16th Earl. Business associations were gradually given up: Ardrossan harbour was taken over by a company in 1886, and the ironworks closed in 1924 after a varied history.47 The proud Gothic pile of Eglinton Castle itself disappeared.

The ancient Dalrymples became major Ayrshire proprietors in 1450, through William de Dalrymple's marriage to Agnes Kennedy. They played important roles in Scottish history, supporting the Reformation in the 16th century and the Commonwealth in the 17th. James of Stair, a Cromwellian lawyer, Restoration baronet, Whiggish president of the court of session and an exile in Holland from 1682, supported the 'Glorious Revolution'—which restored him to office and rewarded him, in 1690, with the titles of Viscount Stair and Lord Glenluce and Stranraer. In 1695 he was succeeded by his devious son John, successively Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Advocate and Secretary of State, the alleged planner of Glencoe, who was created Earl of Stair, Viscount Dalrymple and Lord Newliston in 1703, four year before his death. The Earl's son, Field Marshal John, 2nd Earl, K.T., ambassador to France, was childless and, the House of Lords setting aside his wishes, was succeeded by his nephew James, in 1747. The advocate 3rd Earl was second son of Dumfries. On his death in 1760 the Stair title passed to his elder son John, successively Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Advocate and Secretary of State, the alleged planner of Glencoe, who was created Earl of Stair, Viscount Dalrymple and Lord Newliston in 1703, four year before his death. The Earl's son, Field Marshal John, 2nd Earl, K.T., ambassador to France, was childless and, the House of Lords setting aside his wishes, was succeeded by his nephew James, in 1747. The advocate 3rd Earl was second son of the 2nd Earl's younger brother, Colonel William of Glenmore, the county Member in the last Scottish Parliament, by Penelope, Lady Dalrymple-Elphinstone (a baronet in 1828) and David (Lord Oxenfoord of Cousland). The twice-married soldier-politician had no children and was succeeded by his brother, Sir North (1776-1864), of Cleland and Fordell, another soldier. North's son, Sir John, 7th baronet and 10th Earl (1819-1903), K.T., inherited the family's Whiggism and military tradition. He was Lord High Commissioner in 1869-1871 and Lord Lieutenant in 1870-1897. His 82,666 acres in Wigtown, 19,758 in Ayrshire, 13,827 in Midlothian, 88 in Haddington and 31 in Hampshire had gross annual values of £43,509, £13,703, £10,512, £110 and £71 in 1879; and £1,122 from mineral lordships made his total income £69,027.

The highly-talented Dalrymples had a complicated genealogy. The 1st Viscount's third son, Sir Hew, 1st baronet, was M.P. for North Berwick and presided over the court of session. His younger brothers were Dr. Thomas, physician to the King in Scotland, and the advocate Sir David, M.P. for Culross, Commissioner for the Union, Solicitor-General to Queen Anne and (from 1700) a baronet—whose grandson, Sir David, was the great Lord Hailes of the court of session. Hew's sons were variously distinguished: Sir Robert married the heiress of Hamilton of Bargany; Hew (Lord Drunmore) whose grandson, Sir David, was the great Lord Hailes of the court of session. His younger brother William's wife was murdered by a foot-boy.

With the plethora of well-earned baronetcies the regularly-hyphenated Dalrymples amassed land. In Ayrshire Sir Hew's
grandson, Sir Hew, 2nd baronet, M.P. for Haddingtonshire and King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, cultivated the family's Hamilton contacts and particularly his brother John's Bargany estates. The second Sir Hew's son, Sir Hew Hamilton-Dalrymple, 3rd baronet, inherited Bargany, served in the Army and sat for Ayrshire and Midlothian. His son, Sir Hew (1774-1834), succeeded in 1800 and was elected M.P. for Ayrshire in 1803 and 1806. His unentailed estates passed to his daughter, Henrietta, Duchess de Coigny, who continued his county interests and whose daughter married the 10th Lord Stair. The title went to his brother, Major-General Sir John, 5th baronet (d. 1835), who passed North Berwick House in Haddingtonshire and Bargany in Ayrshire to his son, Hew, 6th baronet (1814-1887).

Despite their involved descent and prominent public service, the Dalrymples played some part in Ayrshire life. While the 1st Lord Stair arranged the separation of Stair from Ochiltree parish allegedly to save himself a 5-mile journey to church, his descendents considered the coal and lime of Dailly and largely owned Girvan. A keen agriculturalist, in Ayrshire he was a proprietor in Largs and the Ross estates and the 14th Earl of Erroll and heiress of the Carrs of Etal in Northumberland. Glasgow was an active man, as a Representative Peer in 1790-1815, Lord Lieutenant of Renfrew and Ayr, colonel of the Ayre and Renfrew militia, F.R.S. and Lord Rector of Glasgow University. A keen agriculturalist, in Ayrshire he was a proprietor in Largs and Dalrymple-Hamilton and her husband, Augustin de Franquetot, Duce de Coigny, were energetic improvers in Dailly and Girvan. Some £30,000 were spent on improvements between 1862 and 1878. But, in general, the ever-active Stairs have found little time for detailed estate work. In the late 19th century they controlled three large properties from Culhorn, Stair House and Oxenfoord Castle, and their primary interest must surely have lain in their huge Wigton property, where the 10th Earl inherited Hamilton lands and political interest and where the family has continued to play important roles.

Another Earl, Glasgow, was a considerably larger proprietor in 19th-century Ayrshire. His Boyle family managed a large and ancient estate from a beautiful seat at Kelburn. The Boyles traced their descent to Sir Richard de Boyle, a 13th-century Laird whose ancestors had owned Kelburn from time immemorial. They were important men in later medieval times, and extended their property from the 16th century: King James V granted Cumbrae property from the 16th century: King James V granted Cumbrae to save himself a 5-mile journey to church, his descendents considered advantageous to have purchased the property from the 16th century: King James V granted Cumbrae to save himself a 5-mile journey to church, his descendents considered advantageous to have purchased the property. Stair arranged the separation of Stair from Ochiltree parish allegedly to save himself a 5-mile journey to church, his descendents considered advantageous to have purchased the property.
£1,979 and £359 respectively, with £6,500 from mine rents, in the 1870s. His predecessor had been a determined farmer, tile-drainer and granter of long leases, but the 6th Earl devoted his time and money on restoring the battered fortunes of the Episcopal Church. Influenced by the Anglo-Catholicism of the Oxford Movement, he helped to establish St. Ninian’s cathedral at Perth for the diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane and the Cathedral of the Isles at Millport on Cumbrae, as well as several churches. Such work was inevitably expensive, and his cousin David, 7th Earl and (from 1897) Lord Fairlie of Shewalton (an estate originally purchased by the 1st Earl’s brother William in 1715) inherited a diminished property, totalling only 5,000 acres in 1910. A naval officer by profession, he was Governor of New Zealand in 1819-1897.\footnote{Irving, op. cit., 97; Bateman, op. cit., 178; D. B. MacGregor, Scottish and Anglican (Edinburgh, 1958) 18; Who’s Who (1910) 751; William Robertson, The Boyle of Kilbearn (Kilmarnock, 1909) 40; sep.; R. S. Boyce, Genealogical Account of Boyle of Kilbearn n.p., 1904); Wilkes, op. cit., 540.}

Two branches of the ancient Cathcart dynasty owned 19th-century Ayrshire land. Descended from the 12th-century Reinaldus de Kethcart, the family had a long military tradition. Sir Alan, created Lord Cathcart in 1447, was warden of the western marches; Charles, 8th Lord, was King George II’s commander in America; and General Charles, 9th Lord (1721-1776), K.T., was A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland. Army service probably left little time for estate management; and service at Court, despite useful perquisites, was expensive. Auchencruive, owned since 1456, was sold by the 9th baron, but Dundonald property, bought in 1482, was retained; and in the early 18th century the Cathcarts established a forge at Terreoch.

General William, 10th Lord (1755-1843), K.T., was the most distinguished Cathcart. For commanding the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 he was created Viscount Cathcart and Lord Greenock. As a politician, he was a Representative Peer from 1784 to 1807 and Ambassador to Russia—being rewarded by the title of Earl Cathcart in 1814. Loaded with British and foreign honours, he passed a decreased estate to his second son, General Charles, 2nd Earl (1783-1859), of Schaw Park, Clackmannanshire, commander-in-chief in Canada. Charles’ elder son, Alan (1828-1905) succeeded as 3rd Earl. By the 1870s his 5,554 acres paid £8,629, of which only £567 derived from Scotland (88 acres on the old Schaw estate at Greenock, obtained on the 8th baron’s marriage). The soldier 3rd Earl lived in Yorkshire.\footnote{Burke’s Peerage (1845) 148-9, (1963) 453-5; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 271; Irving, op. cit., 23,44; A. S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1764-1837 (1958) 109; Bateman, op. cit., 78, (1883 edn.) 81.}

An Ayrshire connection of major importance was, however, retained. In 1827 Colonel Frederick Cathcart (1789-1865), third son of the 1st Earl, married Jane, daughter and heiress of Quentin McAdam and assumed the name of McAdam Cathcart. Jane’s father was the eccentric laird of the large Craigengillan estate. In March 1805 he announced that he had married his mistress, informed his lawyer, a group of witnesses and the Dalmellington villagers, and then shot himself. An impressive batch of trustees managed the property, fending off the claims of Quentin’s cousin, Alexander, and finally Lord Chancellor Eldon upheld the marriage. Consequently, McAdam-Cathcart became a large owner in Muirkirk, Dalmellington (where he ‘possessed nearly the whole of the parish’, some 30 square miles), Straiton and Riccarton. A benevolent laird, he provided a school, library and poor rate subsidies in Dalmellington and improved plantations and roads in Straiton.\footnote{Shaw, op. cit., 66-9; N.S.A., 152, 315, 337, 609, 320, 336, 347; O.S.A., III, 589.}

A junior branch of the ancient line descended from Robert Cathcart, second son of the 2nd Lord and one of the noble band who fell at Flodden. Robert’s son, Robert, was ancestor of the Cathcarts of Carleton and Greenock, and in 1703 Hew of Carleton was created a baronet. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew, 4th baronet (1742-1828), of Killochan Castle, succeeded his brother John in 1785 and was an agricultural improver in Dailly and New Cumnock. His grand-nephew, Sir John (1810-1878), an officer in the 2nd Life Guards, inherited 13,118 acres which paid £6,386 in 1874 and £7,000 to his son, Sir Reginald (1838-1916) in 1879. The 6th baronet, a Conservative Guards officer, owned about 18,000 acres in 1910. But the title died with him, and the Killochan Castle estate subsequently declined.\footnote{Return, 19, Bateman, op. cit., 79; Who’s Who (1910) 333; O.S.A., VI, 100, X, 43; T.S.A., 840-1.}

The old aristocracy of Ayrshire was certainly varied. It included a share of rakes and, no doubt, of rogues. But it also provided many notable servants of Church and State. This little group of noble families was certainly no rustic platoon of ‘backwoods peers’. Its members not only pioneered in the new agriculture. Few counties could point to so many great aristocrats who also speeded the Industrial Revolution, while often continuing to play politics on a national stage.\footnote{Return, 19, Bateman, op. cit., 79; Who’s Who (1910) 333; O.S.A., VI, 100, X, 43; T.S.A., 840-1.}
III.

"Below the territorial magnates in the social hierarchy were often equally ancient dynasties of lairds. In general, such families owned smaller estates. Some old lines, indeed, were left with little but armorially-assured 'gentility' after the vicissitudes of the centuries, alienation to cadet branches, high living or unsuccessful political or commercial speculation. The much-chronicled Dunlops of Dunlop, for instance, proudly descended from the 13th century Gullielmus de Dunlop, retained social distinction but little land. In the 18th century John Dunlop of that Ilk married the heiress of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craige, and his eldest son, Thomas, assumed the name of Wallace. Dunlop fell to the second son, General Andrew (d. 1804) and his brother, General James (d. 1832), M.P. for Kirkcudbright. The line was distinguished: James' son John (1806-1839), a Guards officer and Whig M.P. for Kilmarnock in 1832 and Ayrshire in 1835-1839, was made a baronet in 1838, while the second son, Hugh, became an Admiral and was father of Admiral James. But Major Sir James, 2nd baronet (1830-1858), died without issue, and the trustees sold the estate to Thomas Dunlop Douglas (d. 1869), a Glasgow merchant, from whom it eventually passed to the wife of Brigadier Houison Crawford, who sold Dunlop House in 1933. Even the 'chieftainship' of the family was changed in its course when Keith Wallace Dunlop became an American citizen.56 Ancient lineage and even current political and military distinction were no longer enough in the increasingly commerce-dominated Victorian age.

The Ayr Bank disaster took its toll of such families, but several old lines survived all hazards and remained important owners in the 19th century. The Ayrshire 'Domsday' showed that Sir James Ferguson of Kilkerran, 6th baronet (1832-1907), with 22,630 acres and a rental of £13,334 (plus £204 from minerals), was the seventh largest owner, following Ailsa, Bute, McAdam Cathcart, Glasgow, Portland and Eglington but leading Stair and Loudoun. He could point to an equally ancient ancestry, descending from a 14th-century Fergus, granted a charter by King Robert I. He could also claim a reputable history: unlike some trimming aristocrats, a 17th-century Sir John ruined his Ayrshire and Galloway estates through Cavalier loyalty. Hard work saved the family and Kilkerran. John, son of the loyalist's youngest son Simon, was a distinguished lawyer and was created a baronet in 1703. His son, Sir James (Lord Kilkerran), a renowned advocate, M.P. for Sutherland and lord of session and justiciary, married the grand-daughter of the last

56 John F. Bayne, Dunlop Parish (Edinburgh, 1915) 134-43; Burke's Peerage (1845) 340; Ayrshire Directory (Ayr, 1851) xxii-xxvii. See also Archibald Dunlop, Dunlop of that Ilk, Memoire and Annals of the Families of Dunlop and of Auchenskaith, Keppoch and Gairbraid (Glasgow, 1889) 1, I. G. Drummond, The Dunlops of Dunlop and of Auchenskaith, Keppoch and Gairbraid (Frome, 1938) and George Robertson, A Genealogical Account of the Principal Families in Ayrshire-Cunningham (Edinburgh, 1823) i, 33-40; Wilkie, op.cit., 180, 53.

117

Lord Glencairn. The 2nd baronet's sons were also distinguished: Sir Adam (1733-1813), Burns' 'chaste Kilkerran', a great advocate and M.P. for Ayrshire in 1774-1784 and 1790-1796 and for Edinburgh in 1784-1790, unsuccessfully claimed the Glencairn title in 1796; James owned plantations in Tobago; and George (Lord Hermand) was a hard-drinking and benevolent lord of session and justiciary.57

From 1715 Sir James began to improve the estate, and in 1723 he was an original member of the Society of Improvers. Sir Adam extensively planted in Dailly and Kirkcudbright—where with (the Rev. Matthew Biggar) he introduced 'some farmers of great skill in husbandry (and) took (his) tenants bound to such wise regulations and such a proper rotation of crops as have contributed greatly to the improved state of agriculture'.58 Sir James, 4th baronet (1765-1838), son of Sir James' son Charles, was a proprietor in Straiton, Barr, Kirkmichael, Kirkoswald, Maybole (where he rewarded farmers' competitions) and Dailly (which he improved), and (with Kennedy of Dalquharran) embanked the Girvan. He passed a flourishing estate to his son (by a daughter of Lord Hailes), Sir Charles (1800-1849), who continued the legal connection by marrying a daughter of David Boyle, the Lord Justice-General. The gentle, generous and religious 5th baronet followed his father's example as a kindly, paternalistic landlord.59 He inherited his aunt's Newhailes estate in 1838 and bought Drummond.

The 6th baronet, Sir James, succeeded his father as a Rugby schoolboy. Always a man of action, he left Oxford to join the Grenadier Guards and was wounded at Inkerman. But he was also a politician. At 23, while in the trenches at Sebastopol, he was elected Conservative member for Ayrshire, which he represented in 1854-1857 and 1859-1868. His land management was not always successful. In 1866 Sturrock, though admiring the Kilkerran policies, noted that 'arable farming (on Balsaggart farm) has been a very unprofitable investment for several years, and unless prices and seasons greatly change for the better very soon, a complete turn-over of the farmers in that district may be looked for'. But Sir James pursued his active life, as Governor of South Australia in 1869-1873, of New Zealand in 1873-1875 and of Bombay in 1880-1885. He was Under-Secretary for India in 1854-1857 and 1859-1868. From 1885 he represented North-East Manchester, until defeated by the socialist J. R. Clynes in 1906. Amidst a very busy life he found time to improve his mansion and estate, serve as an elder in Dailly church, encourage local sports and pioneer local

57 Paterson, op.cit., i, 390-2; Burke's Peerage (1845) 390, (1963) 907-9; Shaw, op.cit., 257-9.
bicycling. Typically, a Jamaica earthquake killed him in 1907. His son, General Sir Charles, 7th baronet (1865-1951), G.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O., LL.D., a distinguished officer in the British and Egyptian armies, Governor-General of New Zealand, Lord Lieutenant and county councillor of Ayrshire and elder at Dailly, inherited his code and maintained his tradition of service to Church, State and county.60

The Law saved the Fergussons and advanced the Boswells of Auchinleck. Scottish landowners since the reign of King David I, the Boswells obtained the barony of Balmuto in the early 15th century by the marriage of Sir John and Mariota Glen. In 1504 Thomas was granted the lands and barony of Auchinleck by his friend, King James IV. Thomas Boswell died at Flodden, with such Ayrshire notables as Robert Colville of Ochiltree, Sir David Dunbar ran considerably improved by his grandfather and father, together with terms, Mrs. Mounsey and (the 5th) Lady Talbot de Malahide. In 1748 the 11,977 acres paid £8,256 (with a mineral income of £3,633) for Sir James' widow. But the estate was running down, and after the Great War most of the farms were sold to tenants.64

The Rt. Hon. Thomas Francis Kennedy (1788-1879) of Dunure and Dalquharran Castle, one of 19th-century Ayrshire's distinguished politicians, represented another old family with legal connections. Elected as Member for the Ayr burghs in 1818, he increased his Whiggish stature by marrying the only daughter of Sir Samuel Romilly, the penal reformer. He secured a reform of Scottish criminal jury selections, presided over the salmon fisheries committee, served as a Lord of the Treasury and a Commissioner of Woods and Forests, helped to plan the Scottish Reform Act of 1832 and in 1837 was made a privy councillor. His popularity was demonstrated at the first reformed election, in December 1832, when the Ayr burghs (Ayr, Irvine, Rothesay, Inverary and Campbeltown) returned him with 375 votes, to the Radical Dr. John Taylor's 164 and the Tory James Cruickshank's 33. After Kennedy's retirement in 1835 his successor, Lord P. J. H. Crichton-Stuart (1794-1859), brother of the 2nd Marquess of Bute, initially fought off the Radical challenge with difficulty—though he represented the constituency in 1835-1852 and the county in 1857-1859.65

Kennedy's property, consisting of 4,141 acres, producing £5,990 in rents and £900 from mineral royalties, passed to his son, Francis (1842-1892), and grandsons, Thomas (1872-1896) and John. His family, with the Kennedys of Bennane and Finnart, Knockpalling and Knockreoch, Underwood and Romanno, and the Clark-Kennedys of Knockgray, had an ancient history. The Dunure line descended from Gilbert, second son of Alexander, laird of Bargany and Ardystynchar. In the early 18th century Thomas, of Dunure and Kirkhill, achieved fame as a Baron of the Exchequer and Lord Advocate. His estate passed in 1754 to his Jacobite brother Francis, who had served abroad with the Chevalier and who was followed in 1765 by his son Thomas (d. 1819).

Thomas Kennedy was an active improver. His fine sheep were praised by Fullarton. He became a burgess of Ayr in 1781, built a press) of Auchinleck's collection of classics. One such interest proved fatal: when he satirised James Stuart of Dunearn in 1822, he was challenged to a duel which resulted in his death.63 His son, Sir James (1806-1857) succeeded and passed the estate to his daugh­ters, Mrs. Mounsey and (the 5th) Lady Talbot de Malahide. In 1784 the 11,977 acres paid £8,256 (with a mineral income of £3,633) for Sir James' widow. But the estate was running down, and after the Great War most of the farms were sold to tenants.64


64 'Return', 14; Bateman, op.cit., 47, T.S.A., 670; J. B. Boswell, History ... of the baronies (Kilmarnock, 1899) 52.

65 Paterson, op.cit., 1, 337; D. G. Southgate, The Passing of the Whig, 1832-1886 (1962) 451; Ayrshire Directory, 1851, slv; Macintosh, op.cit., 178-9; Shaw, op.cit., 255-6; Wilkie, op.cit., 60-1, 55.
new mansion at Dalquharran and extended his estate in Dailly, Maybole, Girvan, Colmonell and Kirkmichael by buying Ferguson land at Threave in Kirkoswald in 1795. He was a lavish house builder at Girvan Mains and an important agricultural reformer in Dailly. And he increased the mining of Dailly coal; in the late 18th century production at his Dalquharran colliery and the Hamiltons’ Bargany pits was around 9,000 tons annually and by 1837 totalled 20,000 tons. 66 He hoped to join other Ayrshire and Cumbrian mineowners in the lucrative Irish trade and to this end he planned a major harbour at Dunure, with railways to the coal areas. It was a brave but very costly venture, which ended with the construction of a good small fishing harbour. Entrepreneurial virtue was ill-rewarded. Robert Adam’s work at Dalquharran, extensive estate improvements and the harbour together drained the family fortune. Kennedy’s energetic work in fact, as Paterson wrote, ‘laid (the estate) under considerably pecuniary burdens’. His son, Thomas Francis, on leaving politics was glad to take the office of paymaster to the Irish civil service for thirteen years from 1837. Yet the family retained its old property through the century, finally selling Dalquharran in 1939. 67

The Millers of Barskimming owed their ‘rise’ more immediately to the Law. Hailing from Glenlee in Kirkcudbright, they had for long married into the clerical and landowning families of the South-West. Their prominence began with a younger son, Thomas (1717-1789), who inherited his brother John’s Glenlee land. Called to the Bar in 1742, Thomas became a distinguished lawyer, Lord Justice Clerk (as Lord Barskimming) in 1766 and Lord President of the court of session in 1788. Although later preferring to be known as Glenlee, he demonstrated his pride in his purchased Ayrshire lands by his choice of title and energetic improvement. ‘A large tract of land called Machlin-muir has of late years been turned into arable land and properly inclosed and surrounded with belts of planting’, reported the Rev. William Auld in 1792. At Auchmilan Miller owned limestone and in Stair he was an active laird. But it was his service as Solicitor-General for Scotland which earned his baronetcy in 1788.

Sir Thomas’ brother Patrick (1731-1815) had meanwhile become a director of the Bank of Scotland and (in 1785) Laird of Dalswinton in Dumfriesshire, where he patronised Burns and experimented with steam navigation. Thus an estate, title and good connections were inherited by Sir Thomas’ son, William, 2nd baronet (1755-1846), whose mother was Margaret Murdoch, daughter of a Provost of Glasgow. Sir William added his own legal ability (which

earned his appointment to the court of session, as Lord Glenlee) and rural concern (as an improver in Stair and Mauchline). He was succeeded by his grandson, Sir William (1815-1861), who was followed by his own son, Sir Thomas (1846-1875) and grandson, Captain Sir William (1868-1948). In 1879 the 11-year-old Sir William, 5th baronet, drew £3,823 from 4,453 acres. He became a soldier, married Cardinal Manning’s niece and eventually settled in Kenya. 68

Various lines of the Cuninghame family have played major roles in Ayrshire history since the 14th century. Until 1796 their leading representatives were the Earls of Glencairn; but through the centuries scions of the once-great noble house established numerous cadet branches, settling (for instance) at Craigends, Roberland, Carncuren, Bedland, Auchenharvie, Southbrook and Ashinyards. Some branches contrived to remain proprietors of some importance, while others inevitably disappeared from the landed lists for various reasons.

In 1479 Alexander, 1st Earl of Glencairn, gave Craigends in Renfrewshire to his second son, William Cuninghame, and for centuries a distinguished line of lairds maintained the estate. When William (1834-1904), a Conservative Hussars officer, moved to Bedmont in Ayrshire, he sold Craigends to his son, Alexander (1804-1866), whose son, John Charles (1851-1971), of Craigends, Walkinshaw, Upper Foyers and Dunragit, drew £16,614 (and a mineral rent of £2,508) from 33,948 acres in Renfrew, Wigtown and Inverness in 1879. 69 The Robertland line, dating from William Cuninghame’s 16th-century grant of the estate to his own second son, David, was important for some time. In 1630 another David, former master of works to King James VI, was created a baronet. Regular failures to produce direct male heirs and the alienation of much of the property on the marriage of the 3rd baronet’s daughter to Thomas Cochrane weakened the family’s position. In 1741 Sir William, 5th baronet (d. 1781), of Auchinskeith, repaired his fortunes by marrying the heiress of William Fairlie of Fairlie. His son, Sir William Cuninghame-Fairlie (d. 1811) passed the property and title to his sons, Sir William (d. 1837), Sir John (1779-1852) and Sir Charles (1790-1859) in turn. But the little estate never flourished. The 5th baronet sold Robertland and built Fairlie House (itself sold later in the century). And the old order at Robertland was replaced by Alexander Kerr, a Stewarton man who had made a fortune in America. 70 In the 20th century Sir Alfred, 12th baronet

66 Burke’s Peerage (1845) 685-6; (1963) 1670-1; O.S.A., I, 110, VI, 113; N.S.A., 116, 634; Bateman, op. cit., 303; T.S.A., 117; Banking in Glasgow during the Olden Time (Glasgow, 1884) 11.
68 Bateman, op. cit., 243; Burke’s Landed Gentry (1899) I, 833-36; Paterson, op. cit., 1, 386-7; Fullarton, op. cit., 61; Strawborn, Ayrshire, 287, 315; O.S.A., X, 35; N.S.A., 401, 387, 382. See also Henrietta Taylor (ed.), The Seven Sons of the Provost (1949).
69 Paterson, op. cit., 1, 387; Strawborn, Ayrshire, 287, T.S.A.; 840, 784.
70 Burke’s Peerage (1845) 261-2; (1963) 641-3; Paterson, op. cit., II, 461-2; Gillespie, op. cit., I, 152, 192-3; George Robertson, op. cit., I, 329-30.
(1852-1910), lived in Devon and Sir William, 13th baronet (d. 1929), in Australia.

Another line of Cuninghame baronets, established at Corsehill, were more successful. Descended from William, 4th Earl of Glencairn, who gave Corsehill to his second son, Andrew, in 1532, they received their title in 1672. Sir David, 3rd baronet (d. 1770), married the heiress of the Montgomery baronets of Kirktonholm, and his son Alexander (d. 1770) assumed both names on inheriting Kirktonholm. Alexander’s eldest son, Sir Walter Montgomery-Cuninghame, 4th baronet (d. 1814), vigorously claimed the Glencairn honours in 1796, as heir male, against Sir Adam Fergusson, heir of line: both failed. Sir Walter was followed by his brothers, Sir David (d. 1814) and Sir James (d. 1837), and nephews, Sir Alexander (d. 1846) and Sir Thomas (d.1870). The 8th baronet started the family’s modern military tradition. His son, Colonel Sir William (1834-1897), of the Rifle Brigade, earned a Victoria Cross, was Conservative M.P. for the Ayr burghs in 1874-1880 and owned 3,209 acres in Ayrshire and 161 in Lanarkshire, producing £3,177 and £152 respectively in 1879, in addition to ‘some fluctuating mineral rents’. His sons, Colonel Sir Thomas, 10th baronet, and Colonel Edward, both earned the D.S.O.

The Cuninghame baronets of Milncraig, descended from the eldest son of William Cuninghame of Craigends, obtained their seat through purchase into the Cathcart baronets of Cross, owned 3,000 acres in Ayrshire and 4,437 acres in Stirlingshire, and became Conservatives about 1840. Sir David (d. 179), a celebrated lawyer and M.P., was made a baronet in 1702. His second son, Lieutenant-General Sir David, 3rd baronet, of Livingstone and Milncraig, passed an expanded property and distinguished name to his son, Sir William, in 1767. But the heavy cost of representing Linlithgow in 1774-1790 and acting as Master of the Linlithgow and Stirlingshire Hunt in 1775-1795 compelled Sir William to sell Livingstone. A diminished patrimony passed to his son, Colonel Sir David (1769-1854), whose first wife was a natural daughter of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in 1828. Sir David was followed in turn by his second son, Captain Sir David (1803-1869), his grandson, Captain Sir Edward (1839-1877), his third son Sir Francis (1808-1877), and another grandson, Major Sir Francis (1835-1900).

Several other Cunningham lines, spelling their surnames in various ways, contributed to Ayrshire history. There were the Cunningham brothers, well-established lairds in Tarbolton and lawyering and burgesses in Ayr. But William, whose riverside feite champetre to celebrate his coming-of-age and inheritance of his grandfather’s decayed mansions of Enterkine and Annbank was celebrated by

Burns, soon reduced the estate. Leglane had already been sold to Richard Oswald and futher acres were lost. Although Cuninghame's son, Captain William, married the heiress of William Allason of Logan, thus inheriting a property which produced £8,386 in 1872, Enterkine was sold in 1830 to John Bell. But the Cunningham saga is not entirely concerned with either successful or ruined small lairds. The Cuninghames of Auchencarvie, for instance, were notable mineral developers.

Descended from the 1st Glencarne’s fourth son and the Craigends family, the Auchencarvie dynasty was founded by Sir Robert, who gained his baronetcy as King Charles II’s physician. In 1656 he bought Stevenson parish and in 1674 left a much-improved property to his nephew, Robert (d. 1715), who enthusiastically continued development, starting major coal enterprises in 1678, expanding local saltworks and building Saltcoats harbour (to develop Irish trade) in 1684-1700. Parliamentary grants of the excise on local ale and beer (in 1686) and brandy and aquavitae (in 1693) only slightly mitigated the ruinous expense of the courageous ventures, and although Cuninghame perseveringly built Seabank in 1708 he had to sell Kerila to John Hamilton of Grange in 1685 and Ducatall and Ardeer (reserving the coal rights) to the Rev. Patrick Warner of Irvine in 1707. Financial stringency restrained development after Robert’s death. Local merchants leased the pits and salt pans for £250 a year and, although a steam engine was purchased to drain the colliery in 1719, successive lessees failed. Sir Robert’s son, Sir Adam (d. 1733) apparently neglected such dubious affairs. But from 1770 Robert Reid Cuninghame realised his great-grandfather’s dreams. In partnership with Patrick Warner (1710-1793), he managed the development of Ardeer’s salt and coal, subsequently defeating attempts by Warner’s son to break the agreement. With Warner’s brother, the Rev. John, he built the Saltcoats canal in 1772, later adding the Misk canal to the notable colliery opened in 1778. He quarried the harbour to cope with expanding Dublin trade and he made a valuable little business by introducing rabbits to the parochial moorland and selling 6,000 a year at 10d. a pair. On his death in 1814 he left a rapidly-changing district. Between 1770 and 1790, wrote the Rev. James Woodrow, the annual average production of West and Misk collieries was 23,000 tons—and ‘this was greatly on the increase’. By 1837 the Rev. David Lansborough reported that 40,859 tons (of 28cwt.) were raised in the parish, 27,280 tons of which were shipped to Ireland.

71 Burke’s Peerage (1845) 262, (1963) 640-1; Paterson, op.cit., 429-60; Bateman, op.cit., 11; George Robertson, op.cit., 1, 201; Wilkie, op.cit., 61-2.
72 Burke’s Peerage (1845) 263, (1963) 647-8; Strawnorn, Ayrshire, 104, 110, 306; Burrow, op.cit., 174.
74 Douglas, op.cit., 85; (anon.) Stevenson, Past and Present, Saltcoats 1902) 27-36; W. D. Paterson, op.cit., 221; Paterson, op.cit., 1, 306; Paterson, op.cit., 1, 122-3; Paterson, op.cit., 1, 201.
Even more successful were the Cuninghames of Caprington—
'Caprington Colliery, in the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock, ever
since I remember, has been noted for the superior class of workmen
employed by the proprietors', wrote James Walker, in 1895.
'This is largely to be credited to the late Thomas Smith Cuninghame,
who wrought these rich and extensive coal fields more than sixty
years ago. He was a gentleman who had the weal of his workers
at heart, and did much to improve their condition in many ways'.

The owners of Caprington Castle were a long-distinguished family,
descended from Sir William Cuninghame of Kilmours, whose
grandson, Adam (d. 1431) married the heiress of Sir Duncan
late 16th century, and one member, John (d. 1684) of Lambrughton
(1695-1777), a renowned scholar who re-purchased the whole
Wallace of Caprington. A cadet branch settled at Broomhill in the
late 16th century, and one member, John (d. 1684) of Lambrughton
and Caprington, became an eminent lawyer and in 1669 a baronet.
Sir John had two distinguished grandsons: Sir John, 3rd baronet
(1695-1777), a renowned scholar who re-purchased the whole
Caprington estate in 1740; and Sir Alexander (d. 1785), a famous
doctor in Pembroke and president of the Royal College of Edinburgh
in 1756-1764, who assumed the name of Dick on inheriting his wife's
Prestonfield estate. The 3rd baronet's son, Sir William (1752-1829),
was succeeded by Sir Alexander's third son, Sir Robert Keith Dick,
7th baronet of Prestonfield and 5th of Caprington. Meanwhile,
Sir William, 4th baronet of Prestonfield (d. 1796) had left a son,
Sir Alexander (d. 1809) and four daughters. The second daughter,
Anne (d. 1830), married John Smith (d. 1855), who added the Cuning­
hame name on inheriting Caprington. The estate passed in turn to
his sons Thomas (d. 1857) and William Smith-Cuninghame (1814-
1868).76

Minerals buttressed the family's social position. 'The coal
belonging to Sir William Cunningham of Caprington is justly
esteemed the best in Ayrshire', wrote the Rev. Alexander Moody
in 1793. 'Great quantities of blind-coal have of late been raised
... carried by land to Irvine and then exported to Ireland'. And in
1839 the Rev. James Porteous recorded that 'the coal ... found on
Caprington estate is known to be of a superior quality ... The blind-
coal ... is chiefly exported to Ireland ... in very large quantities
... (It is) carried ... to Troon from the Caprington coalthrows by
a railway'. Thomas improved both the collieries and colliers,
establishing a school, employing only literate workers, encouraging
gardens, banning Truck and (though opposed to unions) paying
good wages. His brother William, a former Bengal official and
Conservative J.P. and D.L., drew the benefit of his family's long
work. Some 2,500 acres in Lanarkshire and 5,156 in Ayrshire paid
him £1,842 and £5,946 respectively in 1879, and the mines added

£4,869. This handsome revenue allowed him to maintain Caprington
Castle and Fairlie House in Ayrshire and Auchlochan House in
Lanarkshire; and it helped the ancient estate to survive through the
hazards of 20th century taxation.77

Yet another Cuninghame line descended from a branch of the
Caprington family. The Rev. John (d. 1774), minister in turn of
Dalmellington and Monkton, inherited a fortune made in Glasgow
and Kilmarnock trade and bought the Bridgehouse estate. His land
passed to his brother William (d. 1799), a highly-successful Glasgow
and Virginia merchant, who purchased Kirkwood in 1777 and Lain­
shaw in 1779. While William's Galloway and Peebles property fell to
his second son, John, the Ayrshire estate passed to his son William
(1776-1849), a Bengal official and 'skilful agriculturalist'. In 1849
the lands were reunited, when John (1796-1864), of Lainshaw and
Duchrae (Kircudbright), succeeded his brother. John's son, John
(1834-1915), a Life Guards captain, received £7,410 (plus £740 from
minerals) from 4,677 acres in 1879. His brother and fellow-officer,
Richard, inherited Duchrae and Hensol Castle, drawing £4,700 from
7,079 acres in Kircudbright and Peebles. A third brother, Edward,
took the name of Edmonstone-Cranstoun on inheriting his aunt's
Corehouse estate in Lanarkshire.78

The Craufurds were another ancient clan who firmly established
themselves in Ayrshire. Descended from Sir Reginald de Craufurd
(d. 1320) who inherited Loudoun through his wife, they gradually
advanced through service to the Crown. Loudoun passed from them
with the failure of the direct male line in the 14th century, but
Sir Reginald's gallantry at Bannockburn was rewarded in 1320 by
the grant of Auchenham in Renfrewshire. Craufurds continued to
play active roles: Robert fell at Flodden and John at Pinkie. The old estates of Auchenham and Crosbie were reunited by
marriage in 1579 and again in the 17th century. But on the death
of the last heir in 1715 the property was sold to his son-in-law,
Patrick Craufurd, an Edinburgh merchant and younger son of
David Craufurd of Drumsoy.

A Craufurd line had owned Drumsoy since 1567, but in the early
19th century the estate was sold to Thomas Coutts, the banker, who
gave it to his daughter, Lady Bute. In 1733 the united property
passed to Patrick's eldest son, Patrick (d. 1778). Several of Patrick's
brothers were distinguished men: George commanded the 53rd
Foot; James was a Dutch merchant; Hugh was an East India
merchant; and John was Governor of Minorca. Patrick himself

75 James Walker, Old Kilmarnock (Airdrossan, 1895) 207.
76 Burke's Landed Gentry (1898) I, 356, (1939) 357-8; (1952) 578-81; Burke's Peerage
(1845) 303-5; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 280; Paterson, op.cit., II, 409-12, 498-500;
77 O.S.A., VI, 120; N.S.A., 606-7; T.S.A., 462; Walker, op.cit., 207-8; Bateman, op.cit., 111.
78 Burke's Landed Gentry (1898) I, 355, 337, (1939) 538-9; Paterson, op.cit., II, 455-6; Mac­
intosh, op.cit., 135; Bateman, op.cit., 111; Banking in Glasgow, 12; George Robertson,
op.cit., I, 319-20.
was M.P. for Edinburgh from 1741, Ayrshire from 1747 and Renfrewshire in 1761. His younger son, Colonel James, was Governor of Bermuda, while the elder, John (d. 1814), was a friend of C. J. Fox and Member for Old Sarum from 1768, Renfrewshire from 1774 and the Glasgow burghs in 1780-1790.

The bachelor Whig was succeeded by his cousin John (1780-1867), a county J.P. and D.L. The family remained in ‘High Society’. John’s second son, Frederick (1822-1875) was an Admiral; his younger daughter, Georgiana, married Count Marco Saffi, a triumvir of the Roman Republic of 1849; and his eldest son, Edward (1816-1887), was a leading Ayrshire figure. A barrister, Cambridge M.A., J.P. and D.L. in Ayrshire and Bute, he was Liberal M.P. for the Ayr burghs in 1852-1874. From Auchencames House in West Kilbride he controlled 3,440 acres, with a rental of £3,797 in 1875; Renfrewshire feus and under an acre of Surrey freehold added £78 and £75 respectively. His only son, Hugh, took up residence at Portencross, purchased by Patrick Craufurd in 1727.

The Craufurds of Craufurdland Castle near Kilmarnock descended from John, third son of the great Sir Reginald, and passed their estate through nineteen generations. Soldiers and loyalists, they supported Wallace, earned a knighthood from King James I, died at Flodden and loyally served Queen Mary. In family tradition, Colonel John (1721-1793) helped his Jacobite friend Lord Kilmarnock at his execution after the ’45, apparently being punished by relegation to the bottom of the Army list. He settled the estates on Thomas Coutts, then assiduously purchasing an Ayrshire dowry for his daughter. The death-bed deed was, however, negatived by the House of Lords in 1806, and ownership was confirmed to his aunt Elizabeth (1705-1802), the wife of John Houison of Braehead, whose daughter Elizabeth (d. 1823), wife of the Rev. James Moodie (-Houison-Craufurd), succeeded. Mrs. Moodie was followed by her son, William (1781-1871), J.P., D.L., and grandson, Colonel John Houison-Craufurd (1811-1887), J.P., D.L. The Craufurds did not allow them to cut great figures as agriculturalists or politicians: ancient lineage was no substitute for real wealth, and the colonel’s 1,876 acres paid only £1,988 in 1873.

A third Craufurd line claimed descent from Sir Archibald of Loudoun, the sheriff of Ayr murdered in 1297, adding Ardmillan to the Baidland property by a medieval marriage. In 1691 William Craufurd (as this line named itself) was the renowned defender of Bass Rock. His grandson Archibald (d. 1784) was harmed by the Bank crash and sold Ardmillan to his brother Thomas (d. 1793). Archibald’s young son, Archibald (1773-1824), was thus saved and subsequently sealed the arrangement by marrying Thomas’ elder daughter, Margaret. But Thomas’s son, Major Archibald, retained Ardmillan, which passed to his distinguished son James (1805-1876), Solicitor-General in 1853-1855 and a lord of session, as Lord Ardmillan, from 1855.

Only Thomas’ wealth from a Government sinecure at Bristol had prevented family ruin, and his son received £1,423 from 2,248 acres in 1874. Archibald’s son, Thomas McMikin (1814-1895), proudly retained the style ‘of Ardmillan’; but he could offer his family only ‘expectations’ about Ardmillan and the Grange estate inherited through the marriage of Thomas’ second daughter, Anne, to John McMikin. His son predeceased him, and the ‘claims’ passed to his sister Margaret (d. 1866), who married William Sterndale of Otter, India. Margaret’s son, William (1833-1866), was followed by his son, Henry Percy Sterndale-McMikin of Grange and Westland. The Craufurd name itself had been lost by the elder branch.

Two other ancient families had varied experiences. The Brisbanes of Brisbane, landowners in Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire and Ayrshire, renewed their line when James Shaw of Greenock assumed the Brisbane name on marrying Elizabth, daughter of James Brisbane of that Ilk in the 17th century. James’ son, John (d. 1777) was followed by his bachelor son James (d. 1777). John’s brother Thomas had a notable family: Thomas (d. 1812) inherited his uncle’s estate and John became an Admiral (and father of Admirals Sir Charles and Sir James). In 1812 Thomas was succeeded by his son Thomas (d. 1860), the most distinguished member of a family which had long connections with the Royal and East Indian services.

General Thomas Brisbane was a much-decorated Peninsular soldier and a keen scientist, F.R.S. and President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In 1819 he married the daughter of Sir Henry Macdougall of Mackerstoun and in 1826 added the Macdougall name. From 1820 to 1825 he was Governor of New South Wales, giving his name to an Australian city, and in 1836 he was created a baronet. Amidst a busy life, he followed the paternalistic traditions of his family, improving drainage in Largs (where his rental was £305 in 1842), giving ground for the harbour and endowing a school. The Brisbanes’ Largs estate had covered 9,748 acres in

79 Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) I, 327-9; Irving, op.cit., I, 176-7; Strawhorn, op.cit., II, 91, XIV, 60; McKay, op.cit., 354; Macintosh, op.cit., 308; ‘Return’, 19.

80 Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) I, 339, (1939) 504-5; Paterson, op.cit., I, 327-9; Irving, op.cit., 355; Scots Mag., XI (1778) 53, LXVII (1814) 639; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 236; Paterson, op.cit., 308; Bateman, op.cit., 106; Douglas, op.cit., 102; Macintosh, op.cit., 343; George Robertson, op.cit., I, 176-7, reports that John (1780-1867) feuded out Auchencames, while retaining Corsbie and Ardenil intact. See also, Rennie, op.cit., 244; Willie, op.cit., 61.

81 Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) I, 339, (1939) 505-6; Paterson, op.cit., II, 195-200; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 254-5; George Robertson, op.cit., I, 201; O.S.A., II, 91, XIV, 60; McKay, op.cit., 354; Macintosh, op.cit., 308; ‘Return’, 19; George Robertson, op.cit., I, 222-6.
the late 18th century, but it had considerably declined. Although Macdougall-Brisbane inherited his wife’s Mackerstoun land in Roxburghshire, he sold the Knock Castle property to George Wilson in 1835. His remaining property passed to Charles Thomas Brisbane, elder grandson of Admiral Sir Charles (d. 1829). This Conservative laird was reported to own 6,933 acres, rented at £2,050, in 1874, and although five years later the acreage was corrected to 6,982, the income was only £2,154.

By contrast with the Craufurds and Brisbanes, the Blairs of Blair were an ancient family who regularly adjusted themselves to changing circumstances. Claiming remote descent from an early 13th-century de Blair, William de Blair, one line ended with Madelene Blair in the early 18th century. But Madelene’s husband, William Scott, assumed the Blair name; as their son William died in 1732 the estate passed to Sir Thomas Blair, who inherited an estate which was both beautiful and increasingly valuable. The Parliamentary ‘Return’ reported that 6,680 acres had a gross estimated rental of £5,828 in 1873, while mineral lordships added £2,202. In 1879 the Captain corrected the acreage to 7,280 and agreed to a mineral income of ‘at least £2,000’. W. F. Blair was succeeded by his second son, Frederick (1852-1943), who was a keen Tory, he sat for the county until badly defeated in 1831 and 1832. He was colonel of the Fencible Cavalry during the French wars. As an agriculturalist, he was a great planter in Dalry and a resolute drainer, with his own tileworks. But the improving laird was also an original director of the Glasgow & Ayrshire Railway in 1837 and an energetic mineral developer. Of his five sons, four joined the Royal Navy and one the Army. Captains Hamilton (d. 1816) and John (d. 1836) having predeceased their father, Captain William Fordyce Blair (1805-1888) inherited an estate which was both beautiful and increasingly valuable. The Parliamentary ‘Return’ reported that 6,680 acres had a gross estimated rental of £5,828 in 1873, while mineral lordships added £2,202. In 1879 the Captain corrected the acreage to 7,280 and agreed to a mineral income of ‘at least £2,000’. W. F. Blair was succeeded by his second son, Frederick (1852-1943), J.P. and D.L. in Ayrshire and J.P. (and in 1886 High Sheriff) of Rutland, captain in the 16th Lancers, colonel of the Leicestershire Yeomanry and owner of Blair and Ashwell Hall near Oakham.

W. F. Blair carefully cultivated mineral opportunities, noting the sums paid for coal and ironstone to other owners. There were disapprovements. In 1845 the bluff captain complained that the lessees, Messrs. Jollie, had ‘never explored or laid open the mineral field’ and that their agent, one Thompson, ‘was as much fit to be a manager as he was fit to be Pope of Rome’. Furthermore, William Patrick had persuaded Blair to reduce some lordships to unreasonably low levels. A succession of failures was climaxed by the collapse of Alexander Alison’s Ayrshire Iron Company in 1847. But the Blair venture paid the captain £2,513 in 1851; and, after long stagnation, the five furnaces were sold in 1852 to the Bairds’ Eglington Iron Company, which paid him £3,966 in 1860.85 Blair came, indeed, to be regarded as something of an expert on mineral leases and sales. He advised Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle on his negotiations with the Bairds, subsequently watching the result enviously. ‘He would recommend the advice of a mining engineer, but those gentlemen all played into the hands of the great iron company.’86 His family’s connection with the Bairds developed, however, and his heir married the daughter of the great William Baird of Elie and Rosemount.

Perhaps socially (with a baronetcy created in 1786) and certainly territorially superior to the Blairs were the Hunter-Blairs of Blairquhan Castle. The family could claim descent from the old Hunters of Hunterston87 and the Blairs of Dunskey, through the marriage of James Hunter (1740-1787) and Jane Blair. This alliance of two small land-owning families was backed by new wealth: the son of an Ayr merchant, Hunter-Blair was M.P. (in 1780-1784) and Lord Provost of Edinburgh, after making a banking fortune in the 1780s. During the next 14 years he fathered fourteen children, and his land-buying was equally remarkable. The Robertland estate was joined in 1786 by the Whitefoords’ Blairquhan property. His land passed in turn to his sons, Sir John (d. 1800) and Sir David (1778-1857), militia colonel and county convener. Dunskey fell to a third son, Colonel James (d. 1822) of Dunskey and Robertland, thence M.P. for Wigtownshire, and to his younger brothers, Forbes (d. 1833) and Major-General Thomas (d. 1849).

Sir David completed the rebuilding of the castle in 1824, providing a splendid seat for his eldest son, James (1817-1854), Conservative M.P. for Ayrshire from 1852. But James, a Fusilier officer, was killed at Inkerman, and his brother Edward (1818-1896) inherited the title and property. Sir David had ‘planted extensively’ at Tarbolton and Maybole, and to his younger brothers, Forbes (d. 1833) and Major-General Thomas (d. 1849).

82 Burke’s Peerage (1845) 124-5; Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) 1, 157; Scots Magazine, LXIV (1818) 79; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 277; N.S.A., 798-9, 803-9; O.S.A., XVII, 304; ‘Return’, 18; Paterson, op.cit., 24; Sir T. M. Brisbane, Reminiscences (Edinburgh, 1865).
83 Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) 1, 126; Paterson, op.cit., 413 seq.
84 James Paterson, Autobiographical Reminiscences (Glasgow, 1871) 101; Macintosh, op. cit., 305; Paterson, Ayr, 417; O.S.A., XXI, 551; N.S.A., 216, 218; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 277; ‘Return’, 18; Paterson, op.cit., 41; Guide to the G. & A. R., 5; Burke’s Landed Gentry (1939) 179, (1952) 201.

85 Blair of Blair Muniments (S.R.O.) GD. 167/4E, memorandum, 1 Jan. 1868; GD. 167/4B,C,E, passim. On the history of the Blair ironworks from 1838 to 1852, see McGeorge, op.cit., 88-9, and Campbell, loc.cit. The ironworks, unsuccessfully offered for sale from 1847, at an upset price reduced to £45,000 in 1849, eventually brought £30,000 in March 1852. Blair’s net mineral income from ironstone, limestone and fireclay was £3,522 (£4,420 gross) in 1861—"£444 of a falling off', the captain sternly noted. It fell to £2,555 in 1862 and £1,868 in 1863, but rebounded to £3,150 in 1868 (including a fixed rent of £2,500) to £3,450 in 1864, but falling to £2,216 in 1867 and £2,234 in 1868.
86 Blair of Blair Muniments (S.R.O.) GD. 167/4E, memorandum, 22 Apr. 1865.
87 See Douglas, op.cit., 102; Macintosh, op.cit., 327; Paterson, Ayr, II, 473.
tively; 8,255 Wigtown acres paid his son David (1853-1939), the owner of the additional Ayrshire acres (the Fail estate), £4,948. Sir David, 5th baronet, became a Roman Catholic priest and Benedictine monk, after graduating at Oxford and serving with the Ayrshire Yeomanry. His personal property passed to his Church, owner of the additional Ayrshire acres (the Fail estate), £4,948.

There was a rich variety of individuals among the old families of landowning commoners, as among the aristocracy. Their fortunes rose or fell through brilliance or stupidity, good luck or simple misfortune. Except as a group of established landowners in a single county, they defy any simple categorisation. In a sense, indeed, their strength and justification lay in their individualism; the seeming permanance of landed property and landed status permitted the exercise of individual taste. But for all their freedom and comparative privilege, such families did much of importance for Ayrshire, as politicians and administrators, as industrial pioneers and as creators of the rural landscape.

IV.

The old Ayrshire lairds were regularly succeeded or joined by new landowners, men triumphantly demonstrating their success in trade, the Law or (eventually) industry. Not all such dynastic founders were newcomers to the land. 'Most of the wealthier merchants of Ayr, indeed, were younger branches of the families of the county', and the Hunter-Blairs provided an example of a successful return to landownership. The notion of later politicians and historians of a sharp cleavage between lairds and businessmen is not borne out by Ayrshire's family histories. For centuries there were close connections between landowning families and mercantile, banking and professional groups: younger sons of the gentry became ministers, soldiers, sailors, planters, traders, bankers or merchants, while their elder brothers often provided the capital and entrepreneurial drive for local industrial 'take-off'.

Mercantile landowners made their initial fortunes in many areas—in Glasgow's Virginia trade, in the 'Indies' (East and West), in London, Holland, America or Ayrshire. From Glasgow came the Bowmans: John, Lord Provost of Glasgow and son of John Bowman and Elizabeth Cuninghame, bought the Cuninghames' Ashinyards (Ashgrove) estate in 1766. By 1859 the property had passed, through a female line, to A. F. J. C. Rollo-Bowman-Ballantine (1835-1891), who in 1867 also inherited James Ballantine's Castlehill estate, originally purchased by John Ballantyne, an 18th century Ayr merchant and banker. Seventeenth-century profits from Beith and Holland allowed the Shedden family to buy land in Beith, Roughwood, Kerse and Auchingree. Robert Shedden (1741-1826), a merchant in London, Virginia, Bermuda and New York, maintained family tradition, setting up his relatives as small lairds. Many other families, newly-rich from 18th century trade, bought their way into landed society.

Some lines re-established or enhanced their status with trading profits. The McKerrells, for instance, for long tenants of the Cathcart's Hillhouse, bought land with legal fees in the 16th century and expanded under John (1732-1811), a wealthy merchant and banker who introduced silkweaving to Paisley. John's son William (d. 1820) and grandsons John (d. 1835) and Henry (d. 1853) maintained both the little estate and the Paisley connection. Similarly, the Campbells had long been settled at Auchmannoch, but increased their fortune when John (d. 1795) became a Bristol merchant. The Douglas family's Garrallan estate, jeopardised by Dr. Patrick's Ayr Bank involvement, was buttressed by his brother Charles' Jamaican properties. It subsequently provided a useful addition to the land of the Boswells of Knockroon, when Hamilton Boswell married Jane Douglas—particularly as Douglas-Boswell's father had sold Knockroon after the Bank failure. The Fairlies of Holms similarly enhanced older prestige with West Indian profits earned by Mungo (d. 1819) and James.

Such owners, 'new' and 'old' alike, were generally 'small' men. Rather more substantial were the Finnies of Newfield, an estate bought by Moses Craufurd from Indian profits in 1794 and sold in 1843 to James Finnie (d. 1846), 'an Ayrshire gentleman who had made his fortune in London' (and Lisbon). Finnie married the daughter of William Brown, Provost of Kilmarnock, and his family quickly settled in their new position. His third son, William (1827-1899), J.P., D.L. and barrister-at-law, inherited Newfield's 677 acres and £1,351 rents and was Liberal M.P. for North Ayrshire in 1868-1874. And the Finnies of Springhill were coalmasters of some distinction. Archibald Finnie & Son were operating in Fergushill (Kilwinning) before 1840, and Archibald built 'model'
house for his Kilmarnock employees. In the 20th century the Misses Finnie gave the mansion to the burgh of Kilmarnock.\footnote{93}

One of the most successful merchant-lairds was James Somervell of Hamilton Farm, a partner in the Glasgow colonial house of Somervell & Gordon. In 1795 he bought the Sorn Castle estate, which he sold to Lord Loudoun to William Tennent of Poole in 1782, later passing to Graham of Limekilns and Stevenson of Dalgain. His son William (d. 1818) inherited the estate, leaving it to his sisters, Christina (Mrs. Nicol Brown) and Agnes, who extended it by buying Dalgain. ‘Mrs. Agnes was, indeed, a considerable improver.’ With great taste and judgement’, wrote the Rev. John Stewart in July 1837, she had ‘laid off extensive plantations’ and her property was ‘in a very thriving condition’. In 1836 she was succeeded by a kinsman, Graham Russell (1819-1881), a well-connected D.L. and county convener, who took the name of Somervell. By 1879 Somervell’s 6,245 acres paid £3,775, to which 218 Lanarkshire acres added £799 and the little colliery near Sorn £12. His son James (1845-1924) was a man of a different stamp. A keen dairy farmer, he owned the ‘Sorn Dairy Supply’ undertaking in Glasgow. But he also enjoyed a high social life, as a barrister of the Inner Temple, lieutenant-colonel of the Ayrshire Yeomanry and Conservative M.P. for the Ayr burghs in 1890-1892. The little estate was apparently unable to maintain such expenditure, and Somervell found it necessary to break the entail and sell the land to the McIntyre family, who improved the castle and its policies. When Gordon McIntyre became a senator of the college of justice he took the title of Lord Sorn.\footnote{94}

The most celebrated mercantile landowner, however, was Richard Oswald (c. 1705-1785). The second son of the Rev. George Oswald, minister of Dunnett in Caithness, he worked for his cousins’ Glasgow merchant house and in Virginia before making a vast fortune in London. He was commissary-general to the Duke of Brunswick during the Seven Years’ War, from 1748 a partner in Alexander Grant’s slaving venture in Sierra Leone and, through his second marriage (in 1750) to Mary Ramsay, a large proprietor in Jamaica and Florida. Despite his extensive American interests, Oswald remained a loyalist during the American War, acting as an adviser to Lord North and planning to maintain British control even in alliance with Russia. From 1782 he was authorised to negotiate the peace terms with Benjamin Franklin.\footnote{94}

In 1764 Oswald purchased Auchincruive in Ayrshire and Cavens in Kirkcudbright. The ancient Wallace stronghold of Auchincruive had belonged to the Cathcart family for nearly four centuries, until it was sold to the improving James Murray (from whom Oswald bought it) in 1758. ‘The Peacemaker’ continued to develop the mansion and the estate.\footnote{95} But his two sons predeceased him, and the growing Ayrshire property in Coylon, Dalrymple, St. Quivox and Tarbolton passed to the son of his elder brother, Dr. James, sometime Moderator of the General Assembly. The minister’s elder son, George (d. 1819), of Scottstoun and Auchincruive, was a Glasgow merchant in partnership with his cousin Alexander (d. 1813) of Shieldhall.

The Oswalds maintained their agricultural and mercantile interests, soon adding liberal political involvement. George’s son Richard Alexander (1771-1841) was an ‘immensely popular’ M.P. for Ayrshire in 1832-1835. He developed the estate’s minerals and built an iron-railway from his coalworks to near the town of Ayr, but could not obtain liberty to carry it through the Burgh-acres to the harbour.\footnote{96} The family’s social status was demonstrated by his second marriage to the widowed daughter of the 12th Earl of Eglington and by his son Richard’s marriage to a daughter of the 1st Marquess of Alvis. However, the heir predeceased his father in 1834, and in 1841 Auchincruive passed to Alexander’s son, James (1778-1853).

A prominent Glasgow businessman and partner in the Glasgow Bank, James Oswald was a local campaigner for the Reform Bill and served as a Liberal Member for the city in 1832-1837 and 1839-1847. As a thorough supporter of laisser-faire economics, he strongly and consistently opposed factory legislation. He died without issue and, as his brother, the merchant Richard, of Moor Park, had died in 1821, the estates passed to his nephew, Alexander Haldane Oswald (1811-1868), Conservative M.P. for Ayrshire in 1843-1852 and husband of a daughter of the 1st Earl of Craven. The family remained keenly interested in the estate, which was regularly extended: since the 1760s land had been bought in Changue, Holmston, Ladykirk and Leglane.\footnote{97} But the Oswald tradition persisted: Alexander’s son died before him, and the bulk of the estates passed to his brother George (1814-1871), who was succeeded by his son, Richard Alexander (1841-1921).\footnote{98}
The Oswalds' new political affiliations were continued: Richard, a Harrovian infantry officer, included the Carlton among his five London clubs. He was a sizeable owner of land and minerals. In 1874 the Scottish 'Domesday' estimated that his 11,004 Ayrshire acres produced £14,296 in rents and £3,530 in royalties. Five years later Oswald reported that he owned 11,564 acres in Ayrshire and 24,556 in Kirkcudbright, producing £24,011 and £17,863 respectively (including mineral payments).

In 1825 much of Auchincruive estate was sold to John Hannah of Girvan Mains, who gave it to the West of Scotland Agricultural College and the Scottish Dairy Research Institute. Thus, in one sense, the brave pioneering spirit of the Oswalds was perpetuated.

Among the lesser lairds of Ayrshire were the Farquharsons of Invercauld, who from their Ballater seat ruled a Northern empire of 87,745 Aberdeenshire acres and 20,056 acres in Perthshire, paying £9,567 and £1,308 respectively in the 1870s. Their 1760 Ayrshire acres formed a small proportion of the total acreage of 109,561, but their rental of £1,899 made a significant contribution to a total income of only £12,974. An ancient North-Eastern dynasty, whose line was preserved when Captain James Ross, R.N. (d. 1810) assumed the name on marrying the heiress in 1808. The Farquharsons were naturally and principally interested in their Highland properties.

Colonel James (1834-1888) of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who succeeded in 1862, started the Ayrshire connection two years later when he married A. H. Oswald's elder daughter. As Oswald's younger daughter married the hon. John Manners Yorke in 1869, the valuable Ayrshire dowry was, in fact, shared with Yorke.

Despite mercantile and mineral successes, banking had proved tragically dangerous for Ayrshire landowners. In 1763 John McAdam of Craignegillan had founded the 'Old Ayr Bank', and six years later Messrs. Douglas & Heron's Ayr Bank commenced business under auspicious patronage, with Lord Dumfries as chairman and the Dukes of Queensberry and Buccleuch, the Earl of March and Sir Adam Fergusson among its shareholders. In 1771 the new venture took over McAdam's partnership and the Dumfries Bank. And on 'Black Monday', 12 June 1772, its expansionist policies led to its collapse. The balance sheet of 'virtue' and 'vice' and the effects of the failure on sections of the Scottish economy may still be arguable. But for many landowning families the effect was catastrophic, as they were compelled to sell land.

Among Ayrshire lairds totally or partially ruined were Patrick Douglas of Cumnock, Hugh Logan of Logan, Robert Kennedy of Invercauld, who from their Ballochmyle and Blairquhan, John Christian of Kinning Park, Pinmore, Archibald Crawford of Ardmillan, Sir John Whitefoord of Ballochmyle and Blairquhan, John Christian of Kinning Park, George Macrae of Picton and David McLaren of Shawood—a mixture of 'old' and 'new' men. For the Landed Interest as a whole, however, the bank's failure was not entirely without advantage. The failure of Douglas, Heron & Co. was ill . . .'; William Robertson reasonably explained, yet . . . it had enabled the impoverished landlords to improve their estates, and the improvements remained; and in compelling them to sell out, it brought into Ayrshire a new class of landowners, some of whom had amassed money abroad, some of whom had made it in commerce at home, who were able to live up to the responsibilities upon which they had entered. Certainly, the crash speeded the normally slow process of changing ownership, generally occasioned only by some sort of family excess. But among the new purchasers of (generally small) estates were several men with some experience of banking (often as part of mercantile business). Such were Hugh Hamilton of Pinmore, James Ritchie of Craighton, John Ballantine of Castlehill, William and John Mc Kerrell of Hillhouse, John Brown of Lanfain, George Dunlop of Macnairston and Robert Carrick of Montfod. Patrick Ballantine and Mungo and James Fairlie were partners in the Kilmarnock Bank of 1802; and Robert Caldwell, cashier of the Greenock Bank, assumed the style of Hunter of Hunterston on marrying his heiress-cousin, Eleonora Hunter, in 1806. These experienced businessmen, long connected with trade and agricultural affairs, could quickly establish themselves. For instance, John Brown, a partner in the house of Carrick, Brown & Co. (the Glasgow Ship Bank), established one new dynasty by purchasing Lanfine and Waterhaughs land from 1769. By the 1790s, with other landowners in Galston, he had raised 'very extensive plantations'. In 1825 Nicol Brown (1769-1829), who for some time maintained the banking connection, had 'considerable property (in Newmilns) and was superior of a village adjoining, called Greenholm'. And in 1837 Thomas Brown had a little property in Loudoun. The Glasgow bankers had become improving lairds and paternalists: Miss Martha Brown, whose 9713 acres paid £6,173 in the 'seventies (to which 1161 Lanarkshire acres added £145), built Working Men's Institutes in Darvel, Newmilns and Galston.

Hugh Hamilton was descended from the venturesome Hamiltons of Sundrum. Since the 17th century the family had sought fortunes in many fields, generally buying land after any success. Robert

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99 Return, 21; Bateman, op. cit., 154; Burke's Landed Gentry (1898) I, 490, 1132.

100 See Hamilton, loc. cit.

101 Strawhorn, Cumnock, 37; Paterson, Apr., I, 314, II, 78, 473; Strawhorn, Ayrshire, 286, 294, 310, 312; William Robertson, op. cit., I, 316; Banking in Glasgow, 3.

102 Millar, op. cit., passim; O.S.A., II, 77; Pigot, op. cit., 250; N.S.A., 845; Douglas, op. cit., 61, 63; Return, 18; Bateman, op. cit., 35; Banking in Glasgow, 18, 19, 29, 39.
The Rev. Hugh Hamilton’s son, Hugh, was an Ayr banker. He bought Pinmore from Robert Kennedy after the Ayr Bank failure, built the mansion, planted and improved the land and added properties at Bellasize and Brighouse in 1787 and 1785. His estate passed to Colonel Alexander (d. 1839), the Vice-Lieutenant’s second son, who was followed by his son, Captain Hugh, who owned 8,441 acres with an estimated rental of £3,833 in the ‘seventies. The captain bought the 1,927-acre Kennedy estate at Dalgarrock, but much of the property was later sold to William Smith Dixon, a partner in the Glasgow iron firm of Dixon & Co. With their mercantile and banking backgrounds, the Hamiltons of Sundrum were keen landowners: Colonel Alexander greatly improved his cousin’s estate, while John of Sundrum drained Coylton. His eldest son, John (1764-1837), served in the Royal and East India Navies, and his grandson John (1806-1898) worked for the East India Company and commanded the Ayrshire Yeomanry.103 Indian and Naval service had maintained the family. By contrast, the merchant Hugh’s third son, Hugh (1700-1788), was minister of Girvan, where a burgh of barony was created in 1785 by John Dalrymple (Hamilton), an energetic advocate, agriculturalist, mineral developer and M.P.

Bourtreehill, which fell to the unhappily-married Viscountess Garnock (later 21st Countess of Crawford), was partly sold by General George Lindsay Crawford, the 4th Lord Garnock (d. 1808) to pay off his father’s debts. Another Hamilton line had sold the Mount near Kilmarnock to Miss Scott’s trustees, and by 1825 the little property was the residence of the Duke of Portland’s factor, Alexander Guthrie. The Guthries prospered: in 1859 Alexander’s daughter Christina married the 2nd Lord Oramore and Browne (1819-1900), the Tory son of a Whiggish Irish politician. As the Brownes’ 4,243-acre Castle Macgarret estate in County Mayo produced only £4,860 in the seventies, the Guthries’ Mount and Bourtreehill properties must have been a welcome addition to the family’s possessions: 2,720 Ayrshire acres paid £3,600, with £1,534 for minerals.105

Traditional connections between landed and mercantile families were long maintained, which probably eased the social progress of new landowners. Certainly, the marks of county acceptance—appointment to magisterial, local government or Yeomanry office—were, in general, soon bestowed upon the incomers. The Ayrshire landowners were far from being a static, closed society.

Few industrialists set themselves up as major landowners in 19th century Ayrshire—or, indeed, in many other counties. While successful Industrial Revolution entrepreneurs had often returned to the land, from which many had recently migrated, comparatively few Victorian capitalists had the money or the interest to enter the squirearchy. In any case, by the last decades of the century landownership had lost its economic attractions and its social cachet: plutocratic renters found the doors of High Society open without it being necessary to purchase the traditional trappings of gentility. The real and alleged attitudes of some landowners towards manufacturing industry may have been a factor in this slowing down of age-old patterns of mobility. Certainly, the coming of the cotton mill was received with mixed feelings by the landed gentry. Undoubtedly, some Scottish lairds helped the new industry in various ways.106 On the other hand, ‘some of the ancient families, in their turreted houses, were not pleased with this innovation’, wrote John Galt,107 especially when they saw the handsome dwellings that were built for the weavers of the mills, and the unstinted hand that supplied the wealth required for the carrying on of the business. It sank their pride into insignificance, and many of them would...
almost rather have wanted the rise that took place in the value of their lands, than have seen this incoming of what they called o'er-sea speculation. One modest landowner, Claud Alexander (d. 1809), went much further in his dealings with the industry.

Alexander made an Indian fortune, as a civil servant, auditor-general of Army accounts and paymaster-general. He retired in 1786 to the Whitefoords’ Ballochmyle estate, and in 1787 he formed a partnership with David Dale (1739-1806), the celebrated Glasgow merchant, banker and industrialist, to build a cotton twist mill and village at Catrine. A famous community developed around the five-storey mill. By 1796, reported the Rev. Robert Steven, 5,240 spindles were working and a fulling mill was being planned. Employment was given to two clerks, 15 mechanics and 226 ‘domestic’ pickers. ‘Their sobriety is at least equal, if not superior, to their neighbours in the different villages’, asserted Steven:

It may not, however, be improper to remark that this regularity is chiefly owing to the indefatigable attention of Mr. Alexander. He endeavours to learn the real character and circumstances of each individual; and whilst he gives every encouragement to the sober and industrious, he dismisses the riotous and idle, as unworthy to eat the Company’s bread. Permit me to add, that superior penetration and prudence mark all the operations of this spirited and truly patriotic gentleman.

Thus the Church of Scotland gave its approval of early industrial discipline.

Industrial profits permitted Alexander to improve and expand his property, particularly after the sale of Catrine in 1801 to James Finlay & Company, who by 1832 employed 853 people in the mills, 1,304 at home and 194 in ancillary jobs. The estate extended over Sorn, Mauchline and Auchinleck (where pits were opened in the 1820s), and Alexander was (according to the Rev. George Gordon) a most distinguished improver... making roads, building bridges and farm houses, planting forest trees, inclosing, laying down and ameliorating lands... with a rapidity, taste and judgement which have rarely been exceeded by a man of equal fortune in any country... He has built the cotton mills and village of Catrine, which have infused new life and activity into this part of the country. These various operations he himself superintends with unwearied attention and activity.

A flourishing estate passed to Alexander’s son, Claud (d. 1845), who was followed by his brother William. When William inherited his uncle’s Southbar estate in 1846 he gave Ballochmyle to a third brother, Boyd (d. 1861). Boyd’s son, Major-General Claud (1831-1899), succeeded to Southbar and Ballochmyle. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, the General served with the Grenadier Guards in the Crimea and was Conservative Member for South Ayrshire in 1874-1885.

The General further advanced the family’s fortunes by exploiting the mineral resources of the estate. In 1865 he solicited Captains W. F. Blair’s advice on the propriety of extending (the Bairds)’ lease, there being at present an unexpired period of 17 years and whether to grant free wayleaves and calcination rights. Eventually he accepted a fixed rent of £1,500 and a charge of 2s. per 22½ cwt. of calcined ironstone. Alexander received £3,500 for his ironstone in 1864, and Blair recorded that 1,000 acres remained ‘which, if fortunate, would give him a very large sum, say at 3,000 tons per acre’. Despite Alexander’s fears that he had undercharged the Bairds, his coal and iron proved valuable. His 4,339 acres had an annual value of £4,359 in 1879, when he also had a fluctuating mineral rent of over £6,000. In 1886 he was created a baronet. In 1894 he and his wife, Hon. Diana Montgomerie, were divorced after a widely-publicised scandal. His title and estate passed to his son, Sir Claud (1867-1945). And in the 1940s Ballochmyle House became part of a new hospital.

The careful old laird at Blair was himself a wily negotiator with his future Baird relatives and with disturbed farmers. ‘I received your letter regarding your Tenant of Blairland’, wrote George Baird in 1855:

I think there will not be much difficulty with him. The best way is to say nothing to him till we are ready to begin. All he can get is the damage he can prove he sustains by the Railway... I consider the price you stipulated for in the agreement extending... I think there will not be much difficulty with him. The best way is to say nothing to him till we are ready to begin. All he can get is the damage he can prove he sustains by the Railway... I consider the price you stipulated for in the agreement... Blair did not genuflect before business ordinances, however, and in 1856 Baird wrote

I was not aware that you had any difficulty with William as to the Railway... I consider the price you stipulated for in the agreement very high and did not think we should be called upon to pay more than was fixed by yourself and your Factor at the time.

In 1867 Blair, with some trouble and expense, transferred a Baird coal lease to Merry and Cuninghame’s Glengarnock Ironworks.
But on a visit to Cambusdoon he was inevitably impressed by the Baird empire.109

The greatest industrialist-landowner was James Baird (1802-1876) of Cambusdoon, whose 19,599 Ayrshire acres paid £8,043 in 1874 (plus £1,000 for minerals). He was a member of an outstandingly successful dynasty of ironmasters. An Aberdeenshire family long settled in Lanarkshire, the Bairds’ rise began with Alexander (1765-1833), an improving farmer and coal master. With his equally energetic sons, he moved into the ironstone business in 1828, putting his first furnace in blast in 1830. Within a decade, the Bairds, with 16 furnaces, were major powers in the Monkland field and prominent Lanark Conservatives. But local ironstone soon diminished, and in 1844 the family moved into Ayrshire. From 1830 the growing concerns were run by Alexander’s sons, William (1796-1864), M.P. for the Falkirk burghs in 1841-1846, who bought estates in Elie (Fife) and Rosemount (Ayrshire) in 1853; John (1798-1870) of Lochwood; Alexander (1799-1862) of Urie; James; Robert (1806-1856) of Auchmedden; Douglas (1808-1854) of Closeburn; George (1810-1870) of Strichen, Hadden, Kaimflats and Stonefold; and David (1816-1860) of Stichill—all Conservative industrialists and lairds.

James, in many ways the greatest Baird, narrowly defeated the Duke of Sutherland’s factor, James Loch, at the Falkirk election of February 1851, despite bitter opposition from the Duke of Hamilton’s Government and ‘the whole Whig influence of Scotland’. He held the seat until 1857, when bribery defeated his brother George. Meanwhile, he had joined the select directorate of the Forth & Clyde Canal and bought the Cathcarts’ Cambusdoon estate in 1853. He inherited Robert’s Auchmedden (Aberdeenshire) property in 1856, bought the Macdonell’s Knoydart (Inverness) estate in 1857 and expanded the Ayrshire acreage by purchasing Auchendrane, Muirkirk and Drumellan in 1862, 1863 and 1866.110 The tough ironmaster joined the Inverness deputy-lieutenancy in 1859 and Ayrshire’s in 1868. Ambition and a largely self-made fortune (which allowed the purchase of Portland’s 17,566-acre Wellwood estate for £135,000 and a gift of £500,000 to the Church of Scotland in 1873) made him a great owner. But in 1876 his land was divided among the dynasties established by his brothers. Wellwood passed to William’s son, John (1854-1917), already owner of Monkton and Adamton, who marked the family’s social ‘arrival’; Eton, Oxford and the 16th Lancers provided ‘acceptable’ training for a deputy-lieutenancy, Yeomanry commission and marriage into the Fergussons. ‘A model landed proprietor and country gentleman’, Baird was Conservative M.P. for Central Glasgow in 1886-1906. His relatives were equally well-established: Alexander, son of John of Lochwood, was created a baronet in 1897, and his sons entered military and diplomatic service; and John’s brothers, Colonel William and Colonel Edward (whose horse Woolwinder won the St. Leger of 1907) were rural proprietors.111

Ayrshire’s minerals attracted another great business family, the Houldsworths, English squares and wealthy cotton masters in Manchester and Glasgow. The three sons of Henry Houldsworth, a small landowner at Gonalston in Nottinghamshire, established a major industrial dynasty. William (1770-1854), of Farnsfield (Nottingham) and Coltness (Lanark), Thomas (1771-1852), of Manchester, Coltness and Epperston (Nottingham), and Henry II (1774-1853), of Cranston Hill near Glasgow and Coltness, first created a cotton-spinning empire. But in 1839 Henry II and his sons, Henry III (1797-1868), William (1799-1853) and John (1807-1859), founded the famous Coltness ironworks. The family was already well-established: Thomas was for long Member for Pontefract and Northern Nottinghamshire. But much of the property of the two childless elder brothers of the original partnership passed to Henry and his sons, providing valuable capital for their brave new venture. In 1845, with six Lanarkshire furnaces in blast, the Houldsworths followed the Bairds to Ayrshire, negotiating leases on the Craengninal and Skeldon estates and soon (fearing the Nithsdale Iron Company’s competition) in other districts. The Berbeth ironworks, commenced in 1846 (and assuming the title of the Dalmellington ironworks after the opening in 1848), was a hazardous enterprise, depending upon the slow growth of the Ayrshire & Galloway Railway and Irish immigration.112 Henry II and his son John led the venture through its difficult years, creating a new community at Waterside, organising road traffic to Ayr from the remote Doon valley and carrying financial losses until the Ayr & Dalmellington Railway Bill of 1853 authorised a line jointly run by the G. & S. W.R. and the family.

Henry II’s sons continued to develop the Dalmellington works, along with the husband of their sister Mary (d. 1867), James Hunter (1820-1886), the energetic general manager. Additional capital

109 Burke’s Peerage (1963) 53; Bateman, op.cit., 6; Blair of Blair Muniments (S.R.O.) GD. 107/46, Alexander to Blair, 15 Apr., 28 Dec., Blair memorandum, 22 Apr. 1865; Baird to Blair, 30 Aug. 1865, 3 Jan. 1866; Coningham-Blair correspondence, 1867.

110 ‘Return’, 17; Bateman, op.cit., 21; McGeorge, op. cit., passim. On the earlier development of Muirkirk, see J. R. Home and J. Butt, ‘Muirkirk, 1786-1862’ (Scottish Historical Review, XLV, 140, Oct. 1966); Fullarton, op. cit., 80; Campbells, loc.cit.

111 McGeorge, op. cit., 106; Hewat, op. cit., 204-5; Kerr, op. cit., 351; Who’s Who (1910) 75-6; Burke’s Landed Gentry (1898) I, 55; Wilkie, op. cit., 150.

was raised in 1852 by accepting as partners James Murray of Manchester and Henry Wickham of Bradford. Houldsworth involvement remained important, however: in 1861 Murray owned a third of the £150,000 capital and Wickham a sixth, but half belonged to Henry III, John’s son William and Henry’s son Thomas; and in 1874, of a capital of £310,000, Murray held twelve £10,000 shares, Hunter one and various Houldsworths eighteen. After the death of Henry’s third son, Thomas (1827-1876) of Farnsfield, the Dalmeellington Iron Company Ltd. was formed. Henry IV (1824-1852) had died without issue, and the management of Coltness passed to one surviving brother, James (1825-1897), while the youngest brother, William, became an Ayrshire laird by buying the Coodham estate from J. O. Fairlie in 1871. William (1834-1917) was Conservative M.P. for North-West Manchester in 1883-1906 and was created a baronet in 1887. Other Houldsworths bought Ayrshire land, but James of Coltness, with 6,212 acres in Lanark, Argyll and Nottingham, a rental of £12,379 and a Lanark mineral income of £21,239, was the family’s greatest landowner in the 1870s. The largest Ayrshire proprietor among the partners was Hunter, who bought Glenapp House and 8,580 acres near Ballantrae in 1864; after nine years’ work on improvements, his rental was only £2,705, with £400 for minerals.

In 1931 the coal enterprises of the Bairds and Houldsworths were amalgamated under the title of Baird & Dalmeellington, Ltd. It would appear from any study of such industrialists who became Ayrshire landowners that they were quickly incorporated in a county hierarchy long accustomed to receiving new members. They rapidly gained the county appointments which marked social acceptance. And their sons, educated at the Victorian public schools and often commissioned in local regular or volunteer units, were indistinguishable from scions of ancient lines—except, perhaps, by their greater wealth.

VI.

By any standard, Ayrshire’s 19th century landed proprietors were richly varied. Distinguished statesmen and politicians, military or mercantile creators of the Empire and later administrators of it, Churchmen and agriculturalists mingled with profligate wastrels. Their incomes varied enormously: in 1873 Arthur Hughes-Onslow’s 14,426 acres at Balkissock produced only £3,235 and 13,905 acres paid only £2,652 for the trustees of Sir William Fettes, while eleven owners drew over £10,000 a year in the county. Minerals undoubtedly helped many estates, especially during iron’s boom years. Ironstone incomes were supplemented by high coal royalties: the Western Scottish average of 7d. per ton was the highest in Britain in the 1890s. Workings were often commenced on the landowners’ initiative. Sir James Boswell, for instance, was largely responsible for the Lugar ironworks of 1845, and the Duke of Portland was still proving Ayrshire coal in 1909. As managerial, operational and financial problems grew, lessees took over the industries, and by 1869 only Lady Stair (at Bargany) and T. K. Kennedy (at Dalquharran) personally owned collieries. But while the Ayrshire lairds could scarcely be accused of hindering industrial development—indeed, their most vitriolic opponent tended to rest his hostility on ancient allegations—their main contribution to Ayrshire’s modern history was in agricultural reform. They not only created the county’s society but also altered its physical contours.

Farmers, politicians, mineral developers, transport pioneers, patrons, businessmen, harbour builders, socialites, scholars, sportsmen, merchants and military men, the Ayrshire landowners present a rich panorama. They deserve much further examination.


114 Sleight, loc.cit.; Campbell, loc.cit.
Table 1

**THE PRINCIPAL AYRSHERE LANDOWNERS IN THE 1870s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Ann. Value £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marquess of Ailsa</td>
<td>76,015</td>
<td>35,825</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claud Alexander</td>
<td>4,339</td>
<td>4,359</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Bair</td>
<td>19,599</td>
<td>8,043</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Bell</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>2,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Edward Hunter-Blair, Bt. and David Hunter-Blair</td>
<td>13,417</td>
<td>7,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Fordyce Blair</td>
<td>7,280</td>
<td>5,828</td>
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<td>Lady Boswell</td>
<td>11,977</td>
<td>8,256</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Boyle</td>
<td>2,358</td>
<td>2,708</td>
</tr>
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<td>Charles Brisbane</td>
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<td>Miss Martha Brown</td>
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<tr>
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<td>R. F. F. Campbell</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. M. Campbell</td>
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<td>Maurice Thomson-Carmichael</td>
<td>1,812</td>
<td>1,628</td>
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<td>36,960</td>
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<td>Edward Craufurd</td>
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<td>John Craufurd</td>
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<td>John Cuninghame</td>
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<td>3,177</td>
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<td>William Smith-Cuninghame</td>
<td>23,631</td>
<td>37,029</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Eglinton and Winton</td>
<td>17,600</td>
<td>18,638</td>
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<td>J. R. Farquharson and hon. J. M. Yorke</td>
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<td>1,899</td>
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<td>Sir James Ferguson, Bt.</td>
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<td>Trustees of Sir William Fettes, Bt.</td>
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<td>2,652</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Ann. Value £</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Glasgow</td>
<td>25,613</td>
<td>15,785</td>
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<td>R. B. Robertson-Glasgow</td>
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<td>Hugh Hamilton</td>
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<td>John Hamilton</td>
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<td>Thomas Kennedy</td>
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<td>Lady Mary Kennedy</td>
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<td>18,638</td>
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<td>750</td>
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<td>Arthur Hughes-Onslow</td>
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<td>W. Paterson</td>
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<td>W. R. Patrick</td>
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<td>Duke of Portland</td>
<td>25,369</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graham Somervell</td>
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<td>Earl of Stair</td>
<td>19,758</td>
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<td>H. R. C. Wallace</td>
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<td>2,833</td>
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<td>Patrick Warner</td>
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<td>3,706</td>
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<tr>
<td>John White</td>
<td>3,349</td>
<td>5,781</td>
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Notes: (1) Also owned land in other counties; (2) Value includes mineral income (£3,530 in 1873); (3) Value includes harbour income.

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Table 2

**MINERAL INCOMES (£)**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Ann. Value £</th>
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<td>Marquess of Ailsa</td>
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<td>Claud Alexander</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>W. F. Blair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lady Boswell</td>
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<td>Marquess of Bute</td>
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<td>hon. Mrs. Jean Cathcart</td>
<td>8,734</td>
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<td>John Cuninghame</td>
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<td>Thomas Kennedy</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lord Oranmore and Browne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Oswald</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earl of Stair</td>
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