AYRSHIRE NOTES

HISTORY § ANTIQUITIES

ARCHÆOLOGY • NATURAL~HISTORY

Spring 2023/1

Chusan Memorial Ardrossan Cemetery

AYRSHIRE NOTES is published in Ayr by the AYRSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL & NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY
in association with AYRSHIRE FEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Contributions for the Autumn 2023 edition of Ayrshire Notes, including information about the activities of member societies should be sent before the end of August 2023 to the editor, Jane Jamieson

email: jfjamieson31@yahoo.co.uk

postal address: 247 Guardwell Crescent Edinburgh EH17 7SL

Further information about the AANHS and AFHS including their meetings and publications can be found on their websites: www.aanhs.org.uk and https://www.facebook.com/ayrshirefederationofhistoricalsocieties

AANHS President: Rob Close FSA (Scot)

AANHS Secretary: Mr Denis Rattenbury, 4 Ewenfield Avenue, Ayr KA7 2QG

Telephone: 01292 280593 email: info@aanhs.org

AFLHS Secretary: Abigayle Brown abigaylecbrown@gmail.com

Table of Contents

The Radical Camerons of Newmilns

by John D. Cameron

In August 1839, the "Great Meeting of Scottish Delegates" in Glasgow issued a ringing challenge to the "Men of Scotland" to decide "whether the monied classes of society are to maintain their present unnatural supremacy over you – or whether you will not freely, boldly, and fearlessly demand and assert your rights[1]." Among those delegates was Thomas Cameron of Newmilns, my great-great-great grandfather.

Those gathered from across country were supporters of the "People's Charter", a petition to Parliament calling for sweeping democratic reform of that body, principally universal (male) electoral suffrage. Thomas Cameron was among the most militant participants, declaring that some 500 "Chartists" in his small burgh were carrying on a "very active system of agitation"[2]. He also reported that both the town's magistrates supported the Charter and they had deputised all their fellow Chartists as special

[1] "Address to the Chartists of Scotland", *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser* (hereafter *NS*), 31 August 1839, p. 3

[2] "Scottish Convention of Delegates", *Northern Star,* 17 August 1839, p. 2

constables on the advent of Glasgow meeting, "lest the Whigs or Tories might mediate some disturbance"[3]. Among the town officials was his older brother, James Cameron.

Over the next few years, Thomas would continue his outspoken advocacy for the Charter but he would die in 1845, when the movement was at low ebb. Chartism was viewed by the London government as a revolutionary threat, and had been met by increasingly aggressive suppression. But the cause of "Radical Reform" would persist and re-emerge in the following decades. James Cameron, who lived a long life, was repeatedly elected to local office and would be celebrated as a "veteran" of reform agitation in 1884. He was remembered after he passed a decade later as having "served his generation by the will of God"[4].

By then, the right to vote had been substantially expanded in Britain, though it would take another 35 years for true universal suffrage to become the law of the land. During those 80 years, many other changes had taken place that tamed the "unnatural supremacy" of the monied classes in Scottish society, though none without struggle. The story of the radical Camerons of Newmilns is one of hope and persistence as well as heartbreak; their

[3] A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland (*Manchester, 1970), p. 83
[4] C. and C. Cameron, *Some Families of East Ayrshire* (privately printed, Mt. Gravatt, AU, 2001) p. 19

legacy was one of a constant need to "freely, boldly, and fearlessly demand" a better world for all.

Predecessors

The *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser,* the leading Chartist publication in Britain, referred to Newmilns in 1839 as such, "The whole of this district is well known to be amongst the most Radical in Scotland[5]." Yet that distinction was not new: local historian John Strawhorn would note a hundred years later that, "Through the 450 years of its existence, Newmilns has bred folk of independent mind, radical in outlook, and rebels when necessity called them to be so.[6]" As long time residents of the district, the Camerons embodied that tradition.

Portioners

The first record of my Cameron ancestors in Ayrshire's Irvine Valley is a testament dated March 13, 1621 for John Cameron of Pischenheauch. The latter was a farm "toun" along the upper reaches of the Glen Water, a

[5] "Ayrshire – Newmilns", *NS*, 5 October 1839
[6] J. Strawhorn, *Newmilns/The Story of an Ayrshire Burgh* (Ayr, 1948), p. 95

stream that runs down to the River Irvine some two and half miles south at what is now Darvel. (The farm's traditional name would subsequently be "Anglicised" as Muirhead or Moorhead.) The farm was located in the northeastern corner of the Loudoun estate, then ruled over by Hugh, Lord Campbell, whose family had been the hereditary sheriffs of the county.

Family lore has it that the Loudoun Camerons were descended of the Camerons of Erracht, a junior (and rebellious) branch of the fabled Highland clan of Lochaber, although clan history records no such southern offshoot. In August 1625, grandson John Cameron is recorded as inheriting the "three shilling, five pence lands" of Loudounhill[7]. Situated on the "Five Pound Lands of Old Extent", it lies below the commanding precipice of the ancient volcanic plug known as Loudoun Hill, the scene of several legendary battles in the Scottish history. It is unclear how the Camerons came to own this land, but family memory says the property was granted in payment "of services rendered to someone – king, earl, laird, whatever.[8]" A John Cameron appears to be mentioned in the will of Lord Hugh, who had died three years earlier and was the probable benefactor[9].

[7] Sasine RS 12/3, 31 August 1625
[8] C. Cameron, personal correspondence, 26 June 2002
[9] 1623 Campbell, Hew (Wills and Testaments Reference CC9/7/19, Glasgow Commissary Court) *ScotlandsPeople (*hereafter *SP)*, Image 322

Throughout the next century, the Camerons of Loudounhill would be designated as "portioners" – small landholders in the parish and legal records. Some of the family remained at Pischenheauch/Moorhead: in March 1675, John Cameron of Moorhead is recorded as baptising a daughter Janet just ten days after John Cameron of Loudounhill christened a son of his same name.[10] A generation later, the 1694 hearth tax rolls list John of Loudounhill with two fireplaces, as well as two other dwellings for John Cameron elsewhere in the parish[11].

It is likely that at least one of those residences, if not both, were owned by the portioner of Loudounhill; by then legal records document that John was engaged in land purchases with merchants in Kilmarnock and elsewhere outside the parish. A 1711 contract (sasine) documents his son William owning land at Burnford on the eastern edge of Newmilns, the ancient "burgh of barony" along the Irvine several miles downstream from Loudounhill[12].

[10] 04/03/1675 Camron, John (Old Parish Register OPR Births) SP 630/10 6 Loudoun p6
[11] "Cunningham", Hearth Tax Records for Ayrshire, Volume 3, *ScotlandsPlaces,* E69/2/3/27-29
[12] Sasine RS 14/7, 2 March 1711.

Weavers

In May 1717, William Cameron and wife Agnes Brown had a son named John after his grandfather at Townhead, the property immediately adjacent to Burnford[13]. Agnes was William's fourth wife, a not unusual occurrence at a time when childbirth was dangerous and often fatal for women (he had at least three other children by previous marriages.) Agnes's father James was a weaver, living in Newmilns.

Weaving had a long tradition in the burgh. Newmilns' charter from King James IV in 1491 had granted it the "full power and free liberty" to buy and sell "woolen and linen cloth broad and narrow"[14]. It was said that Flemish weavers brought the trade to the town: in the late 16th Century, the Scottish Parliament had recruited websters from Flanders to upgrade the native craft, including several sent to Ayrshire[15]. "Fleming" would become a common local surname: the parish's most distinguished son would be Alexander Fleming, the physician who discovered penicillin and was born at Lochfield, the Loudoun farm neighbouring Moorhead.

The local devotion to handloom weaving increased dramatically in the years after the Treaty of Union,

[13] 26/05/1717 Cameron, John (OPR Births), *SP* 603/10 37 Loudoun, p. 37
[14] Strawhorn, "Newmilns", p. 90
[15] D.B. Morris, *The Incorporation of Weavers of Stirling* (Stirling, 1932), p. 32

encouraged by government bounties. Ayrshire linen sales grew from 30,000 yards in 1728 to nearly 140,000 yards 30 years later[16]. Improvements in water-powered milling allowed for the rapid expansion in linen production; there was such a mill along the Irvine by the 1740s[17]. Flax was grown locally as well as imported from Ireland and elsewhere in Europe. The principal market for the finished product was the American colonies – the destination for 90% of all Scottish exported cloth[18]. Most of that went to the slave-based plantations of the southern mainland and the West Indies[19].

John would inherit the Loudounhill property, which would then be passed on to his oldest son William, but his younger son, another John, would follow his maternal grandfather's footsteps into the weaving trade. According to John Brown of Lanfine, the son of a Newmilns surgeon who trained as weaver and went on to become a wealthy Glasgow merchant and banker, "a great many gentlemen's sons went into the business…as the making of fine linens and hollands was beginning to be introduced to Scotland a little before this time[20]." Brown's firm had agents in both St. Kitts and Charleston,

[16] A. Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960 (*London, 1975), p. 83
[17] J. Mair, *Cessnock/An Ayrshire Estate in the Age of Improvement* (Darvel, 1996), p. 12
[18] T.M. Devine, *To The Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750-2010* (London, 2011), p. 51.
[19] Ibidem
[20] Mair, *Cessnock,* p. 12

allowing him to "make a quick personal fortune"[21]. Seeking his own fortune, John Campbell, the 4th Earl of Loudoun, laid out the entirely new village of Darvel in 1754. Little more than two long lines of weaver cottages, his intent was to capture through rents a portion of the prosperity that linen was bringing the neighbouring town of Newmilns[22].

With the introduction of mechanised spinning mills in the 1770s, cotton weaving began to rapidly displace linen in western Scotland. Cotton imports jumped tenfold from 1779 to 1793 alone[23]. After the American invention of the cotton gin, the spinning and weaving of cotton from the southern United States ballooned, becoming Britain's largest import right up until the American Civil War[24]. With their strong weaving tradition, the towns along the Irvine became hives of cotton handloom websters. In 1792, the Old Statistical Account counted some 344 weavers in Loudoun[25]. Fifty years later, the New Statistical Account reported "almost the whole population residing in Darvel and Newmilns, amounting to upwards of 3000, depend directly or indirectly, for

[21] Ibidem
[22] W.L. Burn, "The Ayrshire Lands of the Campbells of Loudoun during the Eighteenth Century", *Agricultural History,* 10 (2) (1936), pp. 87-90; also G. Lawrie, "Parish of Loudoun, County of Ayrshire", *Old Statistical Accounts,* III (1792), pp. 103-109
[23] Slaven, *West of Scotland* p 93
[24] B R Mitchell, British Historical Statistics (Cambridge 1988) p 180
[25] Lawrie, "Loudoun", OSA p104

their subsistence upon handloom weaving"[26]. During these decades weaver John Cameron would marry Margaret Morton, and they christened a son John in June 1775[27]. The latter would carry on the webster trade and wed Mary Brown at young age.

Seceders

Another longstanding tradition in the Irvine Valley was support for militant Presbyterianism. In 1556 John Knox himself preached from the window of Barr Castle in Galston, just two miles downriver from Newmilns. Some eight decades later John Campbell, the newly elevated Earl of Loudoun, and other local nobility would be staunch supporters of the National Covenant in the reign of Charles I, and their convictions were widely shared. William Cameron of Molmont and John Cameron of Burnhouse, both Galston farms just south of Newmilns, signed their names to the Covenant in 1639[28].

With the Restoration and the royal attempt to impose episcopacy on the Scottish church, eastern Ayrshire became a hotbed of resistance. James Campbell, the second Earl, died in exile for his opposition, while local

[26] N. MacLeod, "Parish of Loudoun, "Parish of Loudoun (County of Ayrshire)", *New Statistical Accounts,* V (1845), p. 850
[27] 28/06/1775 Cameron, John (OPR Births), *SP* 630/00 0010 0137 Loudoun
[28] "Minutes (1638-1645)", Galston Kirk Session, *SP,* CH2/1335/4, 3 January 1640, pp, 31-32

clergy and laymen were persecuted as well. A large number of Loudoun and Galston Covenanters were present at Drumclog, just east of Loudoun Hill, when their forces defeated the dragoons of "Bloody Clavers" in June 1679[29]. A few weeks later they would be part of the Covenanter army that was roundly defeated at Bothwell Brig. The following year the extremist Covenanting sect led by Richard Cameron (a Fifeshire preacher unrelated to the Loudoun Camerons) was overwhelmed by government troops at Airds Moss, just seven miles south of Loudoun. The nationwide "Fugitive Roll" of dissenters outlawed by King Charles II In 1684 included Thomas Cameron of Muirhead, among dozens of other Loudoun and Galston men[30].

After the "Glorious Revolution" in 1688, the tables turned and outsiders like the Loudoun Campbells became insiders: the third Earl of Loudoun served on the royal Privy Council and was commissioner for the Treaty of Union, which was supposedly agreed upon under an ancient yew tree on his estate[31]. With the Settlement of 1690, Presbyterianism was codified and the Church of Scotland was formally established. Local church councils (sessions) would serve as de facto government entities with authority of over social behaviour, poor

[29] Strawhorn, *Newmilns* p 92
[30] R. Woodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland,* Vol. III (Glasgow, 1836), p. 20
[31] "Newmilns' History", East Ayrshire Council, accessed 1 September 2001 at www.east-ayrshire.gov.uk

relief and education as well as religious practice. As historian T.M. Devine notes, Scotland was effectively a "parish state"[32]. John Cameron of Loudounhill, father of the first weaver John, was elected to the Loudoun church session in 1772 and to the area Presbytery three years later[33].

The merger of sacred with secular authority was further tightened in 1711 when the newly united parliament in London restored "patronage" – the power of the dominant landowners to select parish ministers. This conflation of the realm of the divine with the realm of man would be opposed by many, not just descendants of the radical convenanting Cameronians, leading to open breaches by dissenting clergy and their lay followers in 1733 and then again in 1761[34]. The first "Anti-Burgher" secessionist congregation was founded at Darvel in 1767, and six years later it moved to a new 400-seat church in Newmilns[35]. A dissenting Galston congregation was founded in 1786, though local seceders had begun worshiping separately as early as 1737[36].

[32] T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation/A History 1700-2000* (New York, 2001), p. 84
[33] "Minutes (1759-1816)", Loudoun Kirk Session, *SP,* CH2/1688/1/1, 5 November 1772 and 25 June 1775
[34] "History", The Church of Scotland, accessed 2 August 2022 at www.churchofscotland.org.uk/about-us/our-faith/history
[35] MacLeod, "Parish of Loudoun", p. 851
[36] "Galston/Ex-United Presbyterian Church", Places of Worship in Scotland, accessed 3 August 2022 at www.scottishchurches.org.uk/sites/site/id/11079/name/Ex+United+Presbyterian+Church+Galston+Strathclyde

Their strict Presbyterianism, though conservative in its theology, both rejected hierarchical authority – all the elect were equal before the Almighty – and embraced literacy, as reading the Bible was necessary not only for the clergy but all souls of the congregation. The combination was a subversive alternative to the parish state and the landholding power, one that would find growing support among the independent weavers and other townsmen along the Irvine Valley.

Revolution, Reform and the Charter

During these decades, Scottish society had undergone many other profound changes. The Atlantic trade with the American colonies brought growing prosperity to the urban elites who, in turn, patronised the country's universities where new thinking about social relations, technology and science took hold. The Scottish Enlightenment centered on reason, and the extension of rational inquiry with its practical application into many fields. In agriculture and the nascent textile industry, that meant maximising production and profit. But the consequences for many in the rest of the nation would be less salubrious.

Radicals

As revolutionary as their approach was in fields from philosophy to agronomics, the luminaries of the new thinking tended to be politically conservative[37]. They were quite comfortable hobnobbing with the new money while also seeking affirmation from the old. Their social peers, the tobacco lords, sugar princes and cotton masters, would use their new wealth to purchase country estates, replacing or marrying into the landed aristocracy. (John Brown bought the old Campbell lands of Watergaughs on which he built his new mansion at Lanfine.) While there was rising discontent among the merchant and professional classes with the antiquated, largely self-perpetuating burgh councils, there was little outcry against the scandalously manipulated parliamentary system, labelled "Old Corruption"[38].

Enlightenment thinking had a different impact elsewhere, including the American colonies and especially in France. Partially inspired by the new American republic, in 1789 the French took reason out of the salons and into the streets, toppling the *ancien régime* and its old corruption. Events in Paris were

[37] T.M. Devine, "The Failure of Radical Reform in Scotland in the Late Eighteenth Century: the Social and Economic Context", in *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700-1850*, T.M. Devine, ed. (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 56

[38] J. Brims, "From Reformers to 'Jacobins": The Scottish Association of the Friends of the People", in Devine, *Conflict and Stability*, p. 31

closely followed across the channel, not just by a terrified aristocracy but by many, both in the middle and working classes, who sympathized with the cause of *liberté, égalité et fraternité*.

Among those were the literate weavers along the Irvine Valley who read Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* and followed Gaullist developments through the radical press like the *Edinburgh Gazetteer.* In November 1792, the Society for Reason, Liberty and Right was founded in Galston and the next month the Newmilns Reasonable Philanthropic Society was established. Both resolved "to pursue all legal and reasonable measures to bring about a Fair Representation of the People at large in the Parliament"[39]. By the following summer they had linked up with the "Scottish Association of Friends of the People" and declared that parliamentary reform was "the only rational and probable means of preventing Revolution.[40]"

While this may have been the rational way, it wasn't the only way: in 1793 the authorities, fearing revolution, aggressively sought to suppress all agitation, deemed "Radical Reform". The most prominent leaders of the Association were prosecuted for sedition and transported

[39] "Galston", *The Edinburgh Gazetteer*, 7 December 1792, p. 2; also "Reform/Newmilns", *Gazetteer,* 14 December 1792, p. 1

[40] "Newmilns", *Gazetteer,* 14 December 1792, p. 1

to Australia, while radical editors were arrested and publications like the *Gazetteer* shutdown[41]. With the Reign of Terror and Britain's declaration of war against France, most middle-class support for reform dissolved into a newly professed patriotism. Working people were less enthusiastic – in 1797 anti-conscription rioting broke out in Galston – and radicalism among Irvine Valley weavers would remain on low for the duration of the French Wars[42].

One reason for this was the relative rise in weaving wages. Handloom weaver earnings reached as high as 30 shillings a week in 1805 during the Napoleonic Wars[43]. It was during these years of relative prosperity that John and Mary (Brown) Cameron raised their eight children. Between 1796 and 1814, Mary bore three daughters: Agnes, Margaret and Mary, as well as five surviving sons: James, Thomas White, Hugh Brown, John and Nicol Brown[44]. All were baptised in the parish church, presided over by the Reverends George and son Archibald Lawrie, friends of Robert Burns whose own sympathy for the French revolutionaries was well known.

After Waterloo, the post-war economic depression hit the

[41] T.J. Dowds, *Scotland/Free or a Desert* (Rothersthorpe, UK, 2020), p. 17
[42] P.B. Ellis, "The United Scotsmen and the Scottish Republic", *Sruth,* Vol. 2, No. 81, 30 April 1970, p. 12
[43] "2.4 Weavers' Wages 1805-1840-1875", Weavers Cottage/National Trust for Scotland Teachers' Packet, p 16
[44] Cameron, *East Ayrshire,* pp. 20-21

weavers hard. Prolonged unemployment and sharply lower wages were compounded by the recently enacted "Corn Laws" that drove up the cost of living by imposing tariffs on imported grain. Agitation resumed throughout the Lowlands. In early December 1816, a massive meeting estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 was held outside Kilmarnock, the largest of the Irvine Valley towns, which appealed to the Prince Regent for amelioration of "the distressed state of the country.[45]" Town magistrates and other local authorities tried to respond with public works programs to employ jobless tradesmen in building turnpikes and digging canals[46].

Hard times persisted and took an even more dire turn in 1819, provoking unrest across the British Isles: average weaver wages had fallen to just 5 shillings per week[47]. After a peaceful meeting at St. Peter's Field near Manchester was fired upon by government troops (dubbed the "Peterloo Massacre"), protests for Radical Reform sprung up across Scotland, some turning violent. One in Kilmarnock on 18 September drew some 7,000 attendees, including a contingent of 600 or so that came marching down the Newmilns Road with thistles in their bonnets[48]. Though a troop of hussars were dispatched to

[45] "A Public Meeting", *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 December 1816, p. 4
[46] "Expedition to Explore Africa", *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 August 1816, p. 3
[47] Slaven, *West of Scotland,* p. 156
[48] A. McKay, *Burns and His Kilmarnock Friends with Other Pieces* (Kilmarnock, 1874), p. 50

quell any disturbance, a gentleman observer was "surprised by the peaceable spirit" and noted that participants conducted themselves "in a manly, becoming manner"[49].

Two weeks later, a follow-up rally of 2,000 to 3,000 was held in Newmilns that also denounced the Peterloo killings and called for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and election by ballot, then dispersed "without any disposition to riot"[50]. Yet Nicol Brown of Lanfine (son of merchant John), the county's deputy lieutenant for the area, saw it differently, reporting that crowd was "furnished with powerful sticks… making a very formidable appearance.[51]" An alarmed Brown claimed the valley "was seething with revolutionary madness" and had already sworn in a number of the wealthier farmers as "special constables", including John Cameron of Loudounhill, first cousin to his weaver namesake[52].

Another large gathering was held in Galston later that month and a huge regional rally upwards of 15,000 was convened once again in Kilmarnock on November 20. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported, "Such an assemblage

[49] "Kilmarnock Reform Meeting", *Caledonian Mercury,* 23 September 1819, p. 4
[50] "Meeting at Newmills", *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser,* 5 October 1819, p. 3
[51] M. O'Cathain, "Irvine Valley a Hotbed of Scottish Republicanism", SRSM (Glasgow, 1996)
[52] Strawhorn, *Newmilns,* p. 93; also John Cameron of Loudounhill listed as a Special Constable in unpublished document dated 25 September 1819

of people was never before seen in Kilmarnock.[53]" Delegations from Newmilns, Galston, Darvel and other north Ayrshire towns attended, carrying banners and flags, including the "old Blue Blanket" flown at Drumclog some 140 years earlier. "The usual itinerant orators were present and the usual Radical Resolutions passed.[54]" Two cavalry officers came out to scout the festive event, but the only real drama was the collapse of the speaking stage in the midst of an oration, without any serious casualties.

Among the radical Irvine Valley men gathered there (there was also a Galston Female Reform Society with 300 members) was James Cameron, the oldest son of John and Mary Cameron. Like his father, he was a weaver. Handloom weaving was a family enterprise: "The young children winding bobbins, older children watching for faults, picking over the cloth, or helping to throw the shuttle in the broad-loom; adolescents working a second or third loom; the wife taking a turn in and among her domestic employments," as E.P. Thompson described it[55]. James had just turned 20, was recently married and had a newborn child. Interestingly, in January 1820 James and wife Margaret Inglis would be

[53] "Kilmarnock Radical Meeting", *Caledonian Mercury,* 25 November 1819, p. 3.

[54] Ibidem

[55] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966), p. 306

recorded as seeking membership in the parish congregation, having previously belonged to the burgher church and having confessed to "antenuptial fornication."

During those winter months, economic distress continued to deepen, as did popular discontent, especially when old King George III died and was succeeded by the widely despised Prince Regent. Nervous government officials responded with an even wider use of spies to infiltrate reform groups and recruit informers. Out of that same paranoia came February's "Cato Street conspiracy", a scheme to entrap radical militants in London through a purported plot to assassinate the king's cabinet members. The next month, Scottish authorities launched an equally devious "false flag" operation with similar farcical, if tragic, results.

A small coterie of government agents spread the rumour that a national uprising was being planned by English radicals, starting with a general strike and followed by an armed insurgency. Though widely met by scepticism in Glasgow, it fell on willing ears elsewhere, including the Irvine Valley. On Saturday, 1 April, handbills went up in the city from "The Committee of Reformation for Forming a Provisional Government" calling for an

immediate work stoppage and "to take up ARMS for the redress of Common Grievances", which was also widely distributed in the weaving communities[56]. That Monday, tens of thousands in central Scotland downed tools including the Newmilns and Galston men, some who spent the day sharpening their pikes and other antique weapons.

By the following morning, it was clear that no such insurrection was underway south of the border, but a contingent of 30 or so determined militants, egged on by government informants, set out from Glasgow to seize weapons from the Carron ironworks in Falkirk[57]. An even smaller band marched out from Strathhaven, a weaving village just a dozen miles east of Darvel, to join the their comrades in the ephemeral revolution. Both groups would be quickly rounded up and detained by government troops – the former after a brief skirmish known as the "Battle of Bonnymuir" and the latter after having turned back on the news of that defeat. That same morning, the Irvine radicals gathered, pikes in hand, at Patie's Mill on the Galston side of the river, just south of Newmilns[58]. Their intelligence network soon reported it was a government trap and the men dispersed, though Nicol Brown and his constables would set about

[56] "Minutes (1816-1833)", Loudoun Kirk Session, *SP,* CH2/1688/1/2, 16 January 1820
[57] Dowds, *Scotland,* p. 41
[58] Ibidem p 57

searching for their leaders[59].

In the weeks that followed, the King's officers spread a wide net to ensnare known radicals throughout the manufacturing towns, seeking many and capturing some, resulting in more disturbances and new arrests – in Greenock, eight locals were killed and ten more injured seeking to free such prisoners[60]. A "Western Campaign" was launched by the Yeoman Cavalry of Edinburgh to mop up pockets of resistance – on 14 April it marched through Kilmarnock while a separate troop headed for Galston, where "two young lads were taken" [61] . Altogether they arrested 16 locals, and more in nearby Mauchline, "while other persons implicated absconded"[62]. Several would sail for the Americas.

There followed a series of grand jury indictments and trials for sedition. Despite the prosecutors' best efforts, the outcome was largely a disappointment to the government, though eventually three insurgents would sadly pay the ultimate price while 19 more were transported to Australia [63]. In Ayrshire, the secretary-treasurer of Newmilns radical association gave himself up to Nicol Brown and turned state's witness, reportedly

[59] O'Cathain, "Irvine Valley"
[60] Ibidem
[61] Ibid, p. 80
[62] "Scotland", *Public Ledger,* 22 April 1820, pp. 3-4
[63] Ibidem

incriminating "numbers in other places besides Newmilns and Kilmarnock"[64]. Yet just a dozen radicals would be subsequently charged at the July trial in Ayr, half from Galston and just one from Loudoun. Of these, only four were actually in custody and all but one pleaded "not guilty" and were set free.

There were several Camerons among those sought by the authorities (and one killed in the Greenock riot) but none from Ayrshire and James was not one of them. Younger brother Thomas was just a lad of 16 at the time, though certainly not too young to have partaken in the exciting events of the last several months. (Andrew White, also only 16, was among the Bonnymuir captives exiled to New South Wales[65].) Whether he was disappointed in the failure of the uprising or perhaps even one of Nicol Brown's targeted suspects, Thomas would abscond as well. On 16 June, just before the sedition trials got underway, he enlisted in the His Majesty's 74th Infantry Regiment in Kilmarnock and was shortly on his way across the Atlantic to British North America[66].

Reformers

The years following the "Radical War" would see some economic improvement, but the Irvine Valley weavers'

[64] Dowds, *Scotland* p 137
[65] "Glasgow Chronicle says", *Public Ledger*, 27 April 1820, p. 4
[66] Dowds, *Scotland,* p. 151

plight remained troubled. In August 1826, the *Glasgow Chronicle* reported that, "The present distress has been so long and so severe" that those "in country villages were suffering as much as those in large towns, and Darvel, Newmilns and Galston, for instance… there is yet no improvement in these places.[67]" There were 239 empty looms in Newmilns, 219 people wholly unemployed, and weaver earnings were down to just 4 shillings a week[68]. The labour pool was increasingly glutted as technical developments had lowered the entry skills to the trade while growing competition from factory weaving reduced prices for woven goods (and living standards for weavers) even further.

During this decade, James and wife Margaret suffered in another way. After their first child, a daughter, was baptised in the parish church in January 1820, they would subsequently lose four offspring: a stillborn in 1822 and then three sons who died young by January 1830[69]. Among those losses was:

> "John Cameron, son of J(ame)s Cameron, weaver in Newmilns, was drowned in the water of Irvine. William Sommerval, weaver in Newmilns, was drowned in the water of Irvine when he went into the water attempting to save the above-mentioned child

[67] "Thos. White Cameron", 74th Foot Soldiers/16 June 1820, UK Regimental Registers of Service, 1756-1900, accessed 8 August 2022 at *Ancestry.com*
[68] "State of Trade", *Public Ledger,* 18 August 1826, p. 3
[69] Ibidem

John Cameron on the 22nd day of December (1828) last.[70]"

By then the couple had returned to the dissenting congregation, now known as the Secession Church, and its newly called minister, the Rev. John Bruce, with whom James helped establish its Sabbath School[71]. In May 1824 his soldier brother Thomas's marriage to Agnes Hannah was registered at Kilmarnock and nine months later their first child, a daughter Sarah, was born[72]. It appears Thomas had been given extended leave to return home as his service roll indicates that it was not until April 1827 that he rejoined his regiment, which was by then stationed in Bermuda [73] . His seven-year enlistment was lengthened and he was finally discharged in October 1829[74]. On his return, Thomas and Hannah settled in Newmilns. That December, father John Cameron died, leaving behind widow Mary with four of their children at home. Oldest daughter Agnes had married weaver Alexander Smith two years earlier, while son Hugh Brown had also enlisted in the army[75]. He would go on to serve a full 21 years, much of it in Ireland with the 5th Regiment of Foot[76].

In the summer of 1830, parliamentary elections following the death of George 1V brought a new Whig government into power promising electoral franchise reform. In the months that followed both middle-class

[70] Cameron, *East Ayrshire,* p. 20.
[71] "04/01/1829 Cameron John", OPR Deaths, *SP,* 603 40 266
[72] "James Cameron, Newmilns", *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald* (hereafter *A&SH*), 13 October 1893, p. 4
[73] "31/05/1824 Hannah, Agnes", OPR Marriages, *SP,* 507/0100 0093
[74] Thos. White Cameron", 74th Foot Soldiers
[75] Ibidem
[76] Cameron, *East Ayrshire,* p. 20

liberals and radical workers held rallies in support, including several in Kilmarnock, while Galston was one of a number of the Ayrshire towns that petitioned the new parliament in February 1831[77]. When the first reform bill was vetoed by the House of Lords later that year, strikes and other disturbances broke out – over 1,000 marched through the streets of Galston, including 174 horsemen[78]. The following May, the burgh of Newmilns was among the towns that once again sent in urgent petitions, and finally that fall the "Great" Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832 was passed into law[79].

The cause of reform had been kept alive since the days of Peterloo in large part by the writings of William Cobbett, a fearless English journalist who had been repeatedly jailed and exiled for his attacks on corruption. His *Weekly Political Register* had also consistently championed the cause of the working poor and was avidly read by the Irvine Valley folk. After the passage of the Reform bill, he made a triumphant tour of Scotland and northern England. While in Glasgow he was met by a delegation that presented him with fulsome invitation to visit Newmilns, signed by over 100 townsmen including James Cameron, his brother-in-law Alexander Smith and uncle Nicol Brown (his mother Mary's brother)[80]. Cobbett subsequently detoured from his route

[77] Hugh Cameron, UK Royal Hospital Chelsea Pensioner Soldier Service Records, 1760-1920, accessed 8 August 2022 at *Ancestry.com*

[78] "House of Commons – Feb. 10", *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 February 1831, p. 2

[79] O'Cathain, "Irvine Valley"

[80] "Whitehall, May 11", *English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post,* 12 May 1832, p. 7

to Kilmarnock and spent two days in the burgh. His visit was welcomed by a huge community celebration and, although denied use of the parish church by the lord of Loudoun Castle, he was welcomed by Rev. Bruce at the Secession Church. The Great Reformer left much impressed, writing "Oh! I would go a thousand miles to see the looks of these Scotchies, especially at New Milns.[81]"

The Reform Act was somewhat less than great when it came to working people. As the appeal to Cobbett put it, "We rejoice in the triumph of the Reform Bill, although we know it to be short of our just and natural rights.[82]" Though it would expand the franchise by nearly twentyfold in Ayrshire, it included a property requirement that still excluded the vast majority of the population. And not all rejoiced: when new elections were held, a large group of Newmilns and Galston young people attacked the polling station at Barr Castle, injuring local officials [83]. Subsequently, two young weavers, John Walker and Hugh Mair, were convicted that December of "forming part of a riotous mob in the street" and assaulting the Justice of the Peace. [84] Imprisoned for nine months, both men would later

[81] "To William Cobbett, Esq.", *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 27 October 1832, pp. 14-15
[82] W. Cobbett, *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland* (London, 1832), p. 234
[83] "To William Cobbett, Esq.", p. 14
[84] O'Cathain, "Irvine Valley"

become a part of the Cameron story.

Chartists

The newly elected parliament initially enacted several pieces of landmark legislation; including the final abolition of slavery in the British Empire as well new powers for local burghs like Newmilns. Cobbett himself would be elected as an MP, though without much impact and the optimism of the Radical reformers soon began to fade. Instead the new Whig majority increasingly proved to be *laissez faire* liberals with little empathy for their erstwhile working class allies. The Corn Laws remained on the books, and in England the traditional, if meagre, community support for the poor was replaced by the dreaded workhouse. Conditions for handloom weavers continued to deteriorate. In April 1835, and then again a year later, weavers from Newmilns and Galston joined with thousands of others in petitioning for "Boards of Trade" to set minimum wage levels[85]. All to no avail, as a parliamentary commission would merely conclude:

> "all that remains, therefore, is to enlighten the handloom weavers as to their real situation, warn them to flee from the trade, and to beware of leading their

[85] *Caledonian Mercury,* 27 April 1833

children into it, as they would beware the commission of the most atrocious of crimes.[86]"

Such patronizing advice went unheeded along the Irvine, where the number of "hands" employed in weaving reached 1,000 during the decade[87]. In addition to the oldest, Agnes, both the younger Cameron sisters, Margaret and Mary, married weavers while brother John followed the trade as well[88]. Only the youngest, Nicol Brown, (named for the uncle, not the laird of Lanfine) forsook the loom to apprentice as a tailor. By 1837, however, James had moved up to become a "manufacturer" – an intermediary with the Glasgow merchants who jobbed out work to the individual websters[89]. His first wife had died after giving birth to a second daughter in 1832, and James married Marion Borland who would bear four sons[90]. Thomas remained at the handloom as he and wife Agnes struggled to raise their family, now including sons Thomas, David and John (my great-great grandfather) as well daughter Sarah and lastly, a daughter, Mary[91]. None of their offspring was baptised in the parish church, and it is likely that

[86] "Petitions", *The Scotsman*, 8 April 1835, p. 4
[87] Thompson, *English Working Class*, p. 301
[88] MacLeod, "Parish of Loudoun", p. 850
[89] Cameron, *East Ayrshire,* pp. 20-21
[90] "Newmilns & Darvel", *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory of the Whole of Scotland* (London, 1837), p. 275
[91] Cameron, *East Ayrshire,* p. 20

they, like James, belonged to the Secession congregation.

In 1837 there was yet another recession sweeping the land and employers reacted by severely cutting wages in the manufacturing towns. In Glasgow this provoked a high-profile strike by the Operative Cotton Spinners' Union, which was ultimately crushed by the employers[92]. Subsequently the union leaders were prosecuted by the Whig government and sentenced to seven years transportation. The harsh sentences provoked months of protest not just in Scotland but elsewhere in Britain, and even London[93]. Along with a waves of agitation around other economic and political grievances, this helped birth the next phases of radicalism.

In April 1838, John Collins, a Birmingham toolmaker and representative of the city's Political Union, toured Scotland to assess its support for "the great work of national regeneration"[94]. As with Cobbett, he was met by a delegation from Newmilns and invited to speak to the town. On arrival, he too was greeted with a warm welcome and spoke to a large crowd, "where all who attended were highly gratified with his address, and unanimously pledged themselves to cooperate in the

[92] "01/01/1841 Cameron Thomas", 1841 Census, *SP,* 603/00 011/00 0031
[93] M. Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007), p. 5
[94] W.H. Marwick, "The Beginnings of the Scottish Working Class Movement in the Nineteenth Century", *International Review of Social History,* Vol. 3 (January 1938) p. 4

good cause"[95]. Largely based on Collins' enthusiastic reports, the great work was launched the following month with a monster meeting in Glasgow attended by some 150,000 people[96]. They heard from local reformers and trade union leaders as well Thomas Atwood, a Birmingham MP, calling for support of a national petition drive for universal suffrage, annual parliaments and vote by secret ballot. These were the core demands of "The People's Charter", which was finalised a few days later by a drafting committee in London.

That summer Newmilns again hosted a national reform leader in the person of Feargus O'Connor, "The Lion of Freedom" and editor of the Leeds-based *Northern Star.*[97] The militant weekly paper was dutifully read in the Irvine Valley and O'Connor was revered by the radical weavers much as Cobbett had been. And he too was invited to use the Rev. Bruce's pulpit at what had now become the United Secession Church. O'Connor's visit help further energise the campaign for the Charter, which involved both collecting signatures and the "National Rent" – a small voluntary levy to help fund the campaign efforts. True to their word, the Newmilns weavers excelled at both – in October a London newspaper

[95] H. Craig, Correspondence, 21 April 1838, *John Collins-Chartist* accessed 7 August 2022 at www.chartistcollins.com/scotland-1838.html
[96] Ibidem
[97] Chase, *Chartism,* pp. 2-7

account singled out "this little village" for its exemplary contributions: "Why should not this noble example be followed and improved up throughout the kingdom?[98]" Ayrshire as whole contributed more funds that any other region in Scotland (even Glasgow)[99].

Yet Chartism was more a national movement than a national campaign, loosely organised at the local level and internally divided by debate over strategy. There was considerable tension between the advocates of purely legal means relying on "moral force" and those willing to utilize "ulterior measures" including a general strike and even "physical force". The Newmilns & Greenholm Radical Association (formerly the Working Men's Association) sided with O'Connor and came down squarely for the latter, as expressed in a strongly worded resolution in December 1838, printed in the *Northern Star* and signed by chairman James Pollock[100].

In order to give some structure to the national effort, a "General Convention of the Industrious Classes" was convened in London in February 1839, consisting of 50 or so elected delegates, including Baillie Hugh Craig of

[98] "Scotland", *NS,* 4 August 1838, p. 2
[99] "History and Politics", *London Sun,* 21 October 1838, p. 1
[100] A. Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland* (Manchester, 1970), p. 271

Kilmarnock who became its first chairman[101]. (It was Craig who had escorted O'Connor around during his Ayrshire tour.) Yet strategic differences would continue to roil the new coordinating body. The National Petition was finally presented to Parliament in June with 1.3 million signatures, including 17,000 collected in Ayrshire [102] . Not unexpectedly, it was scornfully dismissed by the Whig majority, which was followed by strong disagreements among Convention delegates over next steps. The next month, Baillie Craig quit in disgust and returned to his drapery business.

The rejection of the Charter was accompanied by increasingly repressive actions by the government: in early July, John Collins and other Convention delegates were arrested in Birmingham[103]. It was in this context that the call for a general meeting of Chartist associations went out in Scotland, an alternative to a "national holiday", i.e., a general strike. According to historian Alexander Wilson, "The greatest excitement was probably at Newmilns", where delegations from surrounding Ayrshire towns convened for a massive procession to the town green to hear John McCrea, the Ayrshire Convention delegate who had replaced Baillie

[101] "Newmilns", *NS,* 29 December 1838, p. 5
[102] Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, p. 70
[103] Ibid, p. 271

Craig.[104] As Thomas Cameron would report to the 64 representatives gathered in Glasgow, including O'Connor, the hundreds of Chartists in Newmilns, "looked to forward to this meeting with great anxiety"[105].

The conference debated the best means of maintaining the movement for universal suffrage. Despite the urgency conveyed by Thomas from Newmilns, it was clear that the majority of associations were not prepared for a nationwide work stoppage. Other means offered including "abstinence from spirits" (and their taxes) from Galston, and the creation of cooperative stores in order to boycott non-Chartist merchants [106]. The most significant development, beyond its bold declaration, was the creation of a "Central Committee of Scotland" to coordinate future strategy.

Upon returning to the Irvine Valley, Thomas was engaged in "aiding the Central Committee and more efficiently organising their Association" and "laboring with much success"[107]. As the *Northern Star* reported in October, "The whole of this district is well known to be amongst the most Radical in Scotland"[108]. Yet that optimism would diminish as the autumn wore on and

[104] Chase, *Chartism,* p. 83
[105] Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, p. 83
[106] "Scottish Convention of Delegates", *NS,* 17 August 1839, p. 2.
[107]Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, p. 86
[108] 108 "Ayrshire – Newmilns", *NS*, 5 October 1839, p. 8

government persecution increased. In November, a Chartists "uprising" was fired upon by troops from the 45th Regiment in Newport, Wales, resulting in some two-dozen deaths and twice that many wounded. John Frost, the local Convention delegate, was quickly arrested and joined an increasing role of Chartists leaders, along with hundreds of rank-and-file activists, in jail or facing trial – O'Connor himself would be imprisoned for "seditious libel" by May. Increasingly, the most common Chartist activities involved raising funds to support imprisoned comrades and their families.

As intended, such prosecutions had a dispiriting impact on Chartist activism, but were hardly fatal to the movement. When John Collins and William Lovett (author of the original Charter petition) were released in the summer of 1840, they were greeted with renewed enthusiasm both south and north of the border[109]. In the fall Collins, along with also recently released George White and Peter McDouall, made a triumphal tour of Scottish towns. In Newmilns on 9 October, they were welcomed by a procession and received by town authorities, spoke before a large meeting at the United Secession Church, and were feted with an evening soiree. "The day's proceedings will not soon be forgotten…The feelings of the people have been aroused to the sense of

[109] Ibidem

their wrongs and everything bids fair for a vigorous campaign in favour of the Charter.[110]"

Meanwhile in the York gaol O'Connor was hardly silenced: if anything, his stature in the movement only increased. Nor did prison temper his tendency for strident and personal attacks on those who did not always follow his own views. He lashed out at "Teetotal Chartism", "Knowledge Chartism" "Church Chartism" "Household Suffrage" and other strategies he considered diversions or subversions of the cause.

Even so, when he was released at the end of August 1841, he was also met with rapturous receptions. His tour of Scotland that October included a visit to Cumnock in eastern Ayrshire [111] . It too included a procession (complete with bagpipes and a Covenanter flag), a large public meeting and a soiree. The events were "swelled by the elites of various villages…all leading zealous Chartists in their several localities[112]". Newmilns was represented by Thomas Cameron and John Walker, who gave the farewell toast at the evening's event[113]. (This was apparently the same John Walker arrested for the 1832 Galston disturbance; the *Northern Star* reported his first name as "Robert", though there were no Walkers of

[110] Chase, *Chartism,* p. 169
[111] "Newmills", *NS*, 17 October 1840, p. 2
[112] "Cumnock", *NS*, 23 October 1841, p. 8
[113] Ibidem

that forename residing in Newmilns at the time.)

Despite their fealty to O'Connor, the Irvine Valley weavers actively pursued the other aspects of Chartist endeavour. There were Chartist churches in Darvel and Newmilns; co-operative Chartist stores in Darvel, Galston and Newmilns; and Chartist "total abstinence" petitioners from Galston and Newmilns[114]. Newmilns also had a Chartist "Philosophical Institution" featuring a library and lectures that covered the natural sciences and other fields of knowledge, not just politics[115].

The latter was broad-minded enough to invite the parish minister Norman Macleod to speak to them on recent developments in geology (which challenged creationist orthodoxy)[116] The Reverend Macleod at time was a young and very Established Church Tory who had succeeded George Lawrie in 1838. He was aghast on encountering the radical weavers of Newmilns, finding them "deist – knowing nothing, believing nothing, harsh, impetuous, proud, prejudiced…a new and formidable type of sinner…on matters of religion their authority was Tom Paine; of politics, Robespierre qualified by Chartism". [117] During his tenure, he became more sympathetic to circumstances that required a weaver to sit "sixteen hours a day in a damp loom-shop, without healthy bodily exercises, his digestive organs deranged"

[114] Ibidem
[115] Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, pp. 130, 132, 135, 274
[116] D. Macleod, *Memoirs of Norman Macleod, D.D.* (Toronto, 1876), pp. 113-114
[117] Ibidem

while their "families will live for days, and even weeks, on a few potatoes and salt" having discovered "upon how little food life may be supported"[118]. Ultimately they would earn his grudging respect and he admitted they were “shrewd, well-read, philosophical readers – vain, but marvelously well informed and half infidel – very civil…but they would never come to church”[119].

As a leading, zealous Chartist, Thomas Cameron was among those who did not attend Macleod’s church, but his family shows up in other parish records. In September 1842, his 39 year-old wife Agnes died; the parish burials record notes that she was entombed in the lair owned by her brother-in-law James Cameron – an indication that the brothers remained close[120]. In November two years later, their mother Mary passed away having reached age 72, though she had been on the parish poor roll since 1836[121]. And in June 1845, the parish death register notes that Thomas himself had died in Glasgow, as reported by “son-in-law” James Pollock (likely the son of the past chairman of the Newmilns & Greenholm Radical Association)[122].

By the time Thomas died, Chartism had lost much of its fervour. After a second national petition – this time with over 3 million signatures representing one of every three

[118] J. Wellwood, *Norman Macleod* (Edinburgh, 1897) p. 30
[119] Macleod, “Parish of Loudoun”, p. 854
[120] Macleod, *Memoirs*, pp. 113
[121] “20/09/1842 Cameron -----“, OPR Deaths, *SP,* Loudoun 603/ 40 346
[122] “08/11/1844 Cameron, Mary” , OPR Deaths, *SP,* Loudoun 603/ 40 358

adult Britons – was submitted in 1842 with same doomed result, O'Connor had turned to a new project[123]. The National Land Association was a scheme to purchase rural property to be divided into small lots for Chartists families. Starting in 1845, both the Newmilns and Galston associations raised funds for the effort, which only succeeded in securing a handful of such settlements and a couple of hundred allotments[124]. None were in Scotland.

Severe economic hard times would return in 1848, and along with the revolutionary upsurges in France and across continental Europe, the Chartist movement was given a new, if brief, vibrancy. Yet another massive petition for the Charter was once again rejected by Parliament that April[125]. This renewed a militancy that would lead to a hodgepodge of unrest in the summer months, which was once again met with a strong police response and mass arrests. Thereafter, the movement would disintegrate into factional infighting and legal battles around the land plan.

The last mentions of the Irvine Valley towns in the *Northern Star* were the local death counts from the 1849 cholera epidemic. That disease struck Newmilns hard: in the first two months of the year, it killed 97 people

[123] "09/06/1845 Cameron -----" , OPR Deaths, *SP,* Loudoun 603/ 640 365
[124] Chase, *Chartism,* p. 205
[125] "Mr. Doyle's Tour in Scotland", *NS*, 10 October 1846, p. 1

according to the *Glasgow Chronicle*[126]. As parish clerk Andrew McPherson later mournfully annotated the death registry:

> "There have been 202 funerals in Newmilns Church yard this year 1849 which is the most number that I had in my time as a church officer which is 39 years.[127]"

It was a sad end to a decade that had begun with much optimism. Cholera would return in 1854, killing both Hugh Brown Cameron, his wife and two visiting in-laws in just five days[128]. (Hugh had returned to Newmilns as a "Chelsea Pensioner" in 1848 and had taken up the loom as well.) Feargus O'Connor would pass away in 1855, and the vestigial remains of the National Charter Association expired in 1858.

Legacies

After a decade of widespread and intense struggle, the Chartists failed to win their core demands: in fact, it would take another four generations to achieve universal suffrage in parliamentary elections. Adult males in Britain did not fully secure the right to vote until 1918, in the very different circumstances of the Great War. It would be another decade before all adult women achieved the same status. Yet the efforts of James and

[126] Chase, *Chartism,* pp. 312-313.
[127] "The Cholera", *NS*, 10 February 1849, p. 1
[128] Marginal notation in OPR Death Registry, Loudoun, December 1849

Thomas Cameron, their many thousands of Chartist comrades, and the millions they ultimately reached, were not in vain. They would force policy changes, seed other movements for social reform, and ultimately lay the basis for a much more equal society in the United Kingdom.

Co-operators

Even while the Chartists were organizing, the hated Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. It was a response to the continued economic calamities of that decade, including the devastating Irish potato famine. Though such protectionism was anathema to free market liberalism, it was the Tory (soon to be Conservative) Prime Minister Robert Peel that secured their abolition in the face of continued resistance from landed wealth[129].

Chartists also tackled the high cost of subsistence in another, more local way. As mentioned, there were Chartist provision stores in Newmilns, Darvel and Galston as early as 1840[130]. These were organised on a "co-operative" basis in which the customers were also owners, qualifying for both lower prices and a dividend, based on their purchases. The consumer co-operative

[129] "12/09/1854 Cameron, Hugh", OPR Deaths, *SP,* Loudoun, 603/ 40 457

[130] K. Carpenter, "Petition and the Corn Laws", UK Parliament/Committees, 26 July 2019 accessed at committees.parliament.uk

movement would flourish in later decades, transforming into a sprawling nationwide system of both wholesale and retail operations. As a result, many generations of British working families were able to survive, despite the ups and downs of their wages. The Newmilns Cooperative Society lasted until 1968, while there are still co-op stores in both Darvel and Galston[131].

Councillors

Another immediate impact was on local government. Despite a property qualification (£10 in land value or annual rent), radical reformers were elected to most of Scotland's bigger municipal councils. In Newmilns, the burgh had a Chartist majority as early as 1839[132]. One of those was James Cameron: his obituary noted that he was the first magistrate elected under the burgh reform act of 1833, and would serve other posts including chancellor and treasurer for the town[133]. As noted above, he was one of the officials to escort the huge delegation that sent his brother Thomas off to Glasgow's "Great Meeting" in August 1839.

[131] Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, p. 130
[132] "Minute Books, Reports and Balance Sheets, 1889-1968", Glasgow City Archives, NRA 37230 Newmilns
[133] Wilson, *Chartist Movement*, p. 28

Teetotalers

James too would hold the post of ruling elder at Rev. Bruce's church, renamed once again as the United Presbyterian Church, for some 45 years. In that capacity he was among the Newmilns delegates to an Edinburgh conference in 1851 supporting disestablishment – ending government support for the official church[134]. Later that decade, he helped lead another reform cause as an officer of the Total Abstinence Society that would build its own "Temperance Hall" in Newmilns[135]. His support for teetotalism was matched by his younger brother Nicol, the tailor, who had moved to Kilmarnock where he was treasurer of the local Abstainers Society and active in the Ayrshire Temperance Union[136]. (Both James and Nicol had sons who became ordained ministers in the dissenting churches and carried on this crusade.)

Abolitionists

Another crusade taken up by Irvine Valley Chartists was the abolition of slavery in the United States. The radical weavers were acutely aware that the cotton that they wove everyday was grown under a cruel chattel slave system across the Atlantic. Though there had been tensions with the predominantly middle-class supporters

[134] "James Cameron", *A&SH*
[135] "Dissenter' Conference", *The Scotsman,* 29 January 1851, p.3
[136] "Newmilns", *A&SH*, 7 April 1860, p. 3

of abolition, whom the Chartists found hypocritical for ignoring the immiseration of their own countrymen, the two movements would gradually make common cause. A number of key figures, including William Lovett, were present at an August 1846 conference in Glasgow that founded a national "Anti-Slavery League" recognizing that, "The existence of slavery in the United States has strengthened the cause of despotism around the world[137]." There was soon a Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society, driven by John Donald, "a local leader in the Chartist agitation"[138].

A key catalyst for this progression was the charismatic American abolitionist Fredrick Douglass. He addressed the Glasgow meeting as well as a huge crowd at Kilmarnock and even made time to visit the weaving village of Fenwick, just the north of Newmilns and Galston [139]. During the American Civil War, the Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society would send repeated resolutions of support for the Northern cause, "in spite of the fact that local weavers were being hard hit by the blockade of southern cotton ports" [140]. One such resolution was forwarded to Washington by the American ambassador in 1864; in response the weavers received both official letters of appreciation and the gift of the Stars and Stripes. For years afterwards, Newmilns'

[137] "New Temperance Tent", *A&SH*, 8 June 1867, p. 8
[138] "Anti-Slavery League", *NS,* 22 August 1846, p. 3
[139] R.M. Paterson, *Newmilns Weavers and the American Civil War* (Ayr, 1949), p. 99
[140] J. Taylor, *The Annals of Fenwick,* ed. T.D. Taylor (Kilmarnock, 1970), pp. 70-71

"Lincoln flag" would be hauled out and flown "at all Ceremonial occasions of the Burgh" along with the old Blue Blanket from Drumclog[141]. Such popular pressure helped keep Britain from entering the war and aiding the Confederacy.

Emigrants

By then, working class eyes in Scotland were turning to America for other reasons. Many Chartists had been drawn to the United States (despite slavery); as one contributor wrote in *The Chartist Circular* of July 1841, "The tendency of American democracy...is to raise the inferior classes to a moral elevation, where they are no longer degraded and despised.[142]" Emigration had previously been viewed by radical reformers as exile at best and desertion at worst, but it now became an ever more common path for economic and social betterment. Scottish emigration would triple in the 1850s and would climb again in the next decade[143]. Though previous emigrants primarily settled in what is now Canada, this new stream increasingly headed for the USA, especially tradesmen and urban workers.

[141] Paterson, *Newmilns Weavers,* p. 98
[142] Ibid, p. 99
[143] "Tendency of American Democracy", *Chartist Circular*, 10 July 1841, p. 4

Among those leaving Newmilns during these years were Thomas and Agnes's daughter Sarah, her husband Hugh Gray and their children. They first landed in Ohio, where Hugh would join the Union Army to fight the slave power during the last year of the American Civil War[144]. They would later settle in rural Iowa, where Hugh was briefly the local postmaster, and where they are both buried in a cornfield today[145].

Before leaving, the Grays had taken in Sarah's younger siblings after their parents died. Oldest bother Thomas Cameron (junior) would follow the family weaving trade and live out his life in Newmilns. In 1856, he married Constina Mair, daughter of the Hugh Mair who had once been charged with leading a "riotous mob"[146]. His former co-defendant John Walker was by now a member of the Newmilns town council[147]. A decade later widower councilor John would wed their aunt Mary Cameron Campbell, who was now widowed as well. Sarah and Thomas's brother David would serve in the army before settling in Kilmarnock and eventually becoming a hosiery manufacturer, while youngest sister Mary would wed a Newmilns weaver – both David and Mary lived

[144] N.H. Carrier, and J.R. Jeffrey, *External Migration: A Study of the Available Statistics* (London, 1953), p. 92
[145] "Hugh Gray", U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865, Ohio 177th Infantry Regiment, Company F, *Ancestry.com,* accessed 29 January 2017
[146] "Sarah Cameron Gray" and "Hugh Gray", *Find A Grave,* Grove Center Cemetery, Rosserdale, Adair County, Iowa, USA, www.findagrave.com, accessed January 31, 2017
[147] "1856 Cameron, Thomas", Statutory Registers/Marriages, *SP*, 603/ 5

well into the next century[148]. Youngest brother John Cameron was sent to work as a farm servant in Galston where he would marry Agnes Gibson and where they would raise their children[149].

Liberals

Meanwhile the cause of expanded suffrage made progress in fits and starts. In 1868, a "Second Reform Act" was passed that reconfigured parliamentary districts and doubled the number of eligible voters in Ayrshire. Though this bill passed under a Conservative government, it was the rival Liberals that championed a wider franchise. The Liberal Party came together in 1859 as an amalgam of the Whig and Radical forces and would dominate Scottish politics for the rest of the century. In 1884, Liberal PM William Gladstone passed another reform bill, one that would triple the number of registered voters in North Ayrshire[150].

The push for the Third Reform bill was accompanied by a national campaign that included massive rallies in many locations. The one in Kilmarnock in September 1884 was "the largest and most imposing reform

[148] "Newmilns", *A&SH,* 27 October1855, p. 2.
[149] "1908 Cameron, David", Statutory Registers/Deaths, *SP*, 597/ 276; also "1904 Cameron, Mary" Statutory Registers/Deaths, *SP*, 603/ 107
[150] "1861 Cameron, John", Statutory Registers/Marriages, *SP*, 593/ 15

demonstration ever held in the county" and included some 1400 participants from Newmilns, Galston and Darvel carrying old banners and the "Lincoln Flag"[151]. The impressive procession honoured the living "Veterans" of 1819 and 1832, including 85 year old James Cameron (the events of 1820 and the Chartist years went unmentioned.) James, now long married to his third wife, Isabella Anderson, would live another nine years and died "a well known and much respected citizen", according to his October 1893 obituary[152].

Trade Unionists

Although the new law gave parliamentary voting rights to some 60% of adult males, it still contained a property qualification and did not extend to women (though it did allow certain qualified female voters to participate in local government elections.) Even so, this substantial expansion of the electorate would begin, as the Radical reformers had always hoped, a major transformation of national politics. Within just four years the Scottish Labour Party was launched, which would combine with other British working class formations to found the national Independent Labour Party in 1893, headed by

[151] Registered electors in the North Ayrshire constituency rose from 3,642 in 1880 to 12,465 in 1885. Source F W S Craig ed *British Parliamentary Results:1832-1885 and 1885-1918* (London, 1974 and 1977)
[152] "The Franchise Agitation", *Glasgow Herald*, 15 September 1884, p. 9

Scottish union leader and MP Keir Hardie[153].

Organised labour had always been a mainstay of the reform movement: the carters union had been given pride of place at the 1884 Kilmarnock procession[154]. The fundamental connection between economic justice and democratic empowerment had been a central tenet of Scottish radicalism dating back to the French Revolution. Among the handloom weavers, however, unionism had been weak – they essentially operated as independent contractors without a common employer to bargain with or organize against. Yet now things were very different in the Irvine Valley, beginning in 1875 when the first power loom laceworks started in Darvel, followed by several others in Newmilns. With collective factory work came collective grievances, and in 1890 the Newmilns and District Textile Workers Union was founded, with substantial help from Hardie[155].

Voters

By 1881, John and Agnes Cameron had left Galston and settled in Darvel where their older children were employed by Alexander Morton's laceworks. John, after

[153] "James Cameron" *A&SH*
[154] "Labour Politics: Conference at Bradford," *Glasgow Herald,* 14 January 1893, p. 9.
[155] J. Mair, *A Community Rent Asunder/The Newmilns Laceweavers' Strike of 1897* (Darvel, 1999) p15

decades as a farmhand, railway tracklayer and coalminer, had taken up the old trade at the handloom[156]. The craft had hung on in the valley, but its end was near as the manufacturers had "starved out many of the workers and forced them to find other fields"[157]. After Agnes died in 1890, John would join his sons and youngest daughter, as well as tens of thousands of other Scottish workers, in moving to Glasgow. There he found work first as a milk vanman, then in a bread factory[158].

By then the Liberal-dominated city had expanded its voting franchise considerably, including to women property owners. In 1895, the year John died and 50 years after his father the zealous Chartist had passed, his name would appear for the first time on the city's roll of registered voters.[159]

It would take another decade before a Labour candidate would stand for Parliament in North Ayrshire and until 1922, after the 1918 franchise expansion, for the first Labour prime minister. Full voting rights for both men and women were not achieved until 1928 – the universal suffrage that the Galston Female Reform Society had

[156] "1881 Cameron, John" Census, *SP,* 603/ 9/ 21, p. 21
[157] Mair, *A Community Rent Asunder,* p. 6
[158] "1895 Cameron, John", Statutory Deaths, *SP,* 644/09 1193
[159] "Cameron John" Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Scotland, Electoral Registers, 1857-1962, Vol. 1, 1894-1895, Thirteenth Ward, p. 5, accessed 8 August 2022 at *Ancestry.com*.

demanded more than a century earlier[160].

The most important legacy of Thomas and James Cameron, and the many like them now forgotten and anonymous, has been the ongoing struggle for more equitable power relations. While most of the Radical reformers' demands were long ago achieved, each generation has faced new challenges in the battle for a fairer, more just society. We owe a debt of gratitude to all those who dedicated themselves, their time and fortune, even their lives, in pursuit of a better world.

John D. Cameron, Chicago, IL USA, B.A. (Chicago), M.Sc. (Edinburgh), M.Lit (Aberdeen)

[160] "Meeting of Radicals", *Sussex Advertiser*, 8 November 1819, p. 4

The Wreck of the Paddle Steamer Chusan

By JF Jamieson

Background

The paddle steamer Chusan was built by John Elder and Company in Glasgow for Barings and the China River tea trade. The Chusan was launched on 17th September of 1874 and set sail for the far east according to the Scottish Built Ships website at https://www.clydeships.co.uk. Her official number was 71670. Her first owner was Charles L Newman in Glasgow on behalf of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company.

John Elder and Company, the ship's builders, had been renamed in 1869 and were the forerunners of the later Fairfields (created in 1885). By the 1870s Elders yard constructed liners for the far eastern and Australian companies. They also developed a reputation for the development of compound steam engines[161].

October was really too late in the sailing season for a vessel such as the Chusan which had a shallow draught designed for the calmer waters of the Chinese rivers. According to the Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette, 12th October 1877, the Chusan was 306 feet overall, with a fifty foot beam and a gross tonnage of 1381. According to the same paper she was to proceed to China with bare decks where her salons were to be fitted up. Her intended run was between Shanghai and Hankow in the China local trade. She possessed all the peculiarities of a Yankee ship and attracted much attention form

[161]Graces Guide to British Industrial History https://www.gracesguide.couk/John_Elder_and_Co accessed March 2023

her unique construction and general outward appearance according to the same paper.

Description of Maiden Voyage

According to the report in the Warder and Dublin Weekly Hail of 24th October 1874, Captain Johnstone, the ship's captain cleared from Glasgow for Shanghai but on the 6th October the vessel's machinery became disabled and she put into port on the coast of Ireland.

Off the coast of Cork, Ireland the ship ran into difficulties and the captain decided to put into the harbour and telegraphed the builders for their advice. They advised him to return to Glasgow where they hoped to effect repairs on the engine. Subsequently the Chusan travelled back the way she had come intending to make for Glasgow and the safety of Elders yard in Govan. Unfortunately she encountered a severe storm off the coast at Ardrossan while trying to make for the shelter of Ardrossan Harbour. The ship foundered in the heavy seas on the Crinan Rock about fifty yards from the pier head just at the harbour entrance and then split in two.

Rocks near the entrance to Ardrossan Harbour

One part sank while the other stuck fast and subsequently became a hazard to traffic using the harbour. The same source

also states that there was a crew of 51 souls and seventeen lives were lost. The loss of the vessel was estimated at £80,000

Aftermath

The captain and seven of the crew drowned in the incident. Amongst those saved were the captain's wife and young son. His wife was in the last stage of pregnancy and subsequently gave birth to their second child in a lodging house in Ardrossan. According to the report in the Edinburgh Evening News of 26th October 1874, the body of Captain Johnstone was found on the shore. He had a cut left hand and a deep cut to the back of the head. Several cartloads of wreckage were thrown up on the Kilbride shore. The Glasgow Herald of 22nd October 1874 reported that Mrs Johnstone was near her confinement Her husband had eleven years experience in the China trade but this was the first time he had sailed from Scotland. The London Evening Standard of 23rd October 1874 reported that Captain Johnstone had saved his wife and four and a half year old son as well as Miss Ellen Elliot who was Mrs Johnstone's sister.

The North Briton, published in Edinburgh, of 21 November 1874 reported that eight bodies were recovered from the ill fated steamer. On Saturday morning the body of a coloured seaman was found on the rocks at the Inches about half a mile eastward from the scene of the wreck. The body was decomposed and unidentifiable. Shortly afterwards the body of William Miller of Fort William and second mate on the steamer was discovered a hundred yards from the spot where the other was found. He was laid to rest with masonic rituals. The Edinburgh Evening News of 9th November 1874 reported that the body of David Cunningham, a coloured ordinary seaman and other coloured seamen were found behind Montgomerie

Pier. Five bodies in all were recovered leaving another four unaccounted for. Identification in at least two cases was impossible. In an earlier report the Edinburgh Evening News of 24th October 1874 stated that the actual number of those drowned was nine. Seven of them being men of colour who had been engaged for six months and obtained a month' wages on joining. In total, the American captain, second mate and seven seamen (four Jamaicans, two West Africans and one man from the West Indies) were lost.

The Glasgow Herald of 6th November 1874 reported that the body of Samuel Munro, the coloured seaman who leapt from from the forepart of the Chusan while it was entering the harbour and fell into the water was found on Thursday morning on the beach at Burnfoot. On Thursday morning a service was conducted at the hospital in the harbour over the remains of the late Captain Johnson prior to the removal of his body to Glasgow. Rev George Lakeman, MA, Ardrossan Episcopal Church conducted the service. Captain Johnson's remains were taken back to the family burying place in Salem Massachusetts (he is buried at Danvers, Essex County Mass according to Find a Grave) . The plate on the coffin read as follows – George C Johnson born 31st July 1836 died 21st October 1874. For more information see https://threeowners/net/forum/viewtopic.php

His death certificate available on the Scotlands People website gives his full name as George Crittendon Johnson married to Harriet Osborne. His father's name is given as Thomas Madison Johnson and his mother was Harriet Osborne. Captain Johnson's death was also registered in Danvers, Mass.

George Crittendon Johnson had been born in Salem Massachusetts USA on 31st July 1836 although the year of his

birth is sometimes given as 1837. According to the US census in 1850 there was a George Johnson aged 12 living in Salem with four siblings whose father was Thomas M Johnson whose profession is given as master mariner. He appears in the Massachusetts crew lists as a member of the crew of the bark Peacock in 1854, sailing from Zanzibar to Massachusetts. George Johnson married Harriet A Elliott on 28th July 1862 at Danvers Essex County Massachusetts

(https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903//1:/N4MI-47W:9). He was only 38 when he drowned.

Barr and Shearer, shipbuilders were asked to raise the vessel and pontoons were to be sent from Glasgow to help them. The ship's engineer remained unwell with a sore leg while Mrs Johnstone the captains widow was recovering from her ordeal. The Johnsons' little son aged four and half years was cared for in the meantime by Orticon, the ship's second engineer. Wreckage was still coming ashore. The Edinburgh Evening News of 27th November 1874 reported that the crew of the Chusan had been taken to the Sailors Home in Glasgow but Hassan Ali a coloured man had been stabbed by George Joyner. The crew awaited berths in the home which were to be provided by their former employers.

The wreck of the Chusan caused a great deal of trouble for the Ardrossan Harbour authorities. The Ulster Echo of 30th November 1874 reported that until the wreck could be removed two red lights were to be displayed at night. No sailing vessel was to enter the harbour at night. In the Earls of Eglinton collection housed in the National Records of Scotland there are several letters relating to the removal of the wreck of the Chusan. These include notes of the expenses for removing the

wreck on 10th December 1874 (reference GD3/18/2/35/34 and 39). There is also in the same collection an offer by Messrs Wingate Burrell and Company to the harbour master offering to remove the wreck (GD3/18/7/32/1) dated 3rd November 1874. The same collection also contains a petition from the Eral of Eglinton to the sheriff of Ayr against Charles Lloyd Norman merchant in London concerning the expenses for the removal of the wreck in 1875 (NRS GD3/18/7/32/4). The Northern Whig of 7th August 1875 advertised a sale by public auction within the coffee room of the Eglinton Arms Hotel and on the quays and elsewhere in Ardrossan upon Monday 18th August 1875 at 1 pm. This sale comprised of the hull, boilers, engine and materials of the steamer Chusan. The Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald of 21st October 1874 reported that the ship's engine room clock had been recovered and showed the time as 7.5. A good view of the hull could be obtained from either of the piers at ebb tide. Indeed many spectators visited the site in the days following. This they stated was an iron paddle steamer of 1258 tonnes. The aft section having floated onto Horse Island and subsequently sunk. Particulars could be obtained from Messrs Wingate Burrell and Company, salvage agents, Glasgow. Morrison Dick and McCulloch were to be the auctioneers.

The Edinburgh Evening News of 3rd November 1874 reported that the Board of Trade Inquiry into the loss of the Chusan opened yesterday at Ardrossan in the town hall. The second mate J B Johnstone disponed that there was a crew of 48 with five passengers when she left Greenock on the 10th of October for Shanghai and subsequently put in at Waterford in Ireland. On trying to enter the harbour at Ardrossan, the captain reversed the engine and pulled up the forestay sail to get clear

of the rock. Unfortunately the sail blew away. The Dundee Courier of 24th November 1874 reported that the Board of Trade report on the wreck of the Chusan was to the effect that it had been a mistake to slow the engines to bend sails off Holy Island and that had the vessel been steered directly for the Arran coast she would have got into smooth water. The Report acquitted Captain Johnson of all blame and attributed the loss of the vessel to an error of judgement. As stated before this was Captain Johnson's first time sailing in Scottish waters and he probably could not have anticipated the ferocity of the storm the vessel encountered. There were also delays in launching the lifeboat as some of the coastguard were absent attending a drill at Greenock according to the Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald of 31st October 1874. The survivors were initially taken off by a boat manned by volunteers and a tug. Reform and management of the lifeboat and rocket apparatus was also recommended. The commissioners for the Board of Trade Inquiry were Captain Price and Captain Wilson and it was presided over by Messrs Anthony Mack and William Mutter, justices of the peace.

There were several medals for bravery awarded for those who took part in the rescue of the Chusan. Christies, the auctioneers sold a medal which had been awarded to John Crawford for his heroic efforts in saving life at the wreck of the Chusan. Another medal was awarded to John Reid again for his heroic efforts in saving life at the wreck, 21st October 1874. In addition the Royal Maritime Museum at Greenwich has the following medal in their collection -

subscribers medal for the wreck of the Chusan, 1874 presented to Patrick Mackay for heroic efforts in saving life at the wreck

of the Chusan in Ardrossan Harbour, 21st October 1874 https://_rmg_co.uk/collections/objects/mgr_object_4104

There is a memorial in Ardrossan Cemetery which commemorates this disaster.

Detail on Chusan Memorial showing carving of paddle steamer

It is inscribed with the names of those who perished but unfortunately has suffered a great deal of weathering which has made it almost illegible.

Lettering on memorial

There are some good sources available for further reading including the excellent website

https://threetowners.net/forum/search.php?keywords=Chusan which contains many of the newspaper reports mentioned above. The newspapers themselves were accessed using Find My Past although the British Newspaper Archive is available for searching for free in most libraries. Find A Grave https://www.findagrave.com supplied the details of Captain Johnson's burial in the USA with the excellent Family Search supplying details from the US census and crew lists for his earlier life.

AANHS Publications

Publications of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (AANHS) are available from Mr Denis Rattenbury, 4 Ewenfield park, Ayr KA7 2QG
☎01292 280593 email: info@aanhs.org
Further information about the AANHS and its publications will be found on the society's website: www.aanhs.org/publications/uk
Armstrong's Map of Ayrshire 1775 (reprint 6 sheets) £12.00
Antiquities of Ayrshire by Grose (edited by Strawhorn revised 2010) £4.00
11 Robert Adam in Ayrshire (Sanderson) revised 2010 £4.00
13 Toll and Tacksmen (McClure) £1.50
20 Historic Ayr: A Guide for Visitors 2nd edition £2.50
30 The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr 1640-1730 (Barclay & Graham) 104 pages £4.50
33 Dr John Taylor, Chartist: Ayrshire Revolutionary (Fraser)
112 pages £4.00
35 The Masters of Ballantrae (Hunter) 30 pages £4.00
37 Historic Troon and Its Surroundings 40 pages £3.00
38 Excavations in Ayr 1984-1987 (Perry) 140 pages £9.99
39 The Church Buildings of Ayrshire (Hume) 94 pages £7.50
41 Mining and Quarrying in Stevenston (McLatchie) 210
pages £9.50
42 The Battle of Largs (Cowan) 95 pages £8.00
43-45 Ayrshire Collections – 128 pages £7.50
Ayr Jails by Jane Jamieson

Kilwinning Revisited by Margaret H B Sanderson
A Bonnie Lass by Petra Baillie

47 Watermills of Arran by Alastair Weir 71 pages £6.00

48 Oculeus: The Musings of a Liberal Victorian in Ayr by Carolyn O'Hara 140 pages £8.00

49 Ayrshire Castles from Kings to Covenanters 121 pages £10.00
Ardrossan Castle Revisited by David H Caldwell
Turnberry Castle and Countryside by Piers Dixon and William Wyeth
Seagate Castle with Some Family Resemblances by Aonghas Mackechnie
Ayr as a Garrison Town by Louise Turner
Castle Restoration in Ayrshire by Michael C Davies

50 John McCosh of Kirkmichael: Surgeon, Photographer and Philanthropist

51 The Diary of Thomas McClelland Ayr in the 1790s (Young and Close)

52 The Hog Score in the Great Rink in the Great Rink of Time (McCowan)

53 Witness to War – Arran and the Firth of Clyde in the Second World War (Turbett)